UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Cultivating the National Body:

A History of Physical Culture in Republican China

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in

History

by

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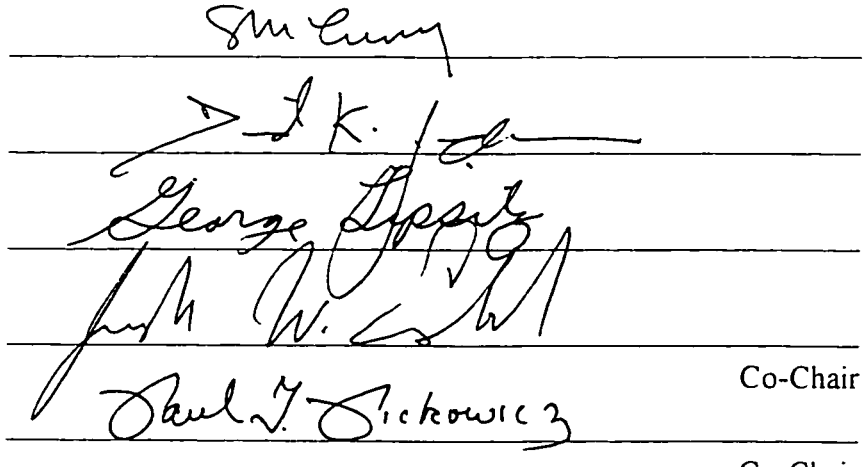

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For Ricky

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Cultivating the National Body:
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by

Andrew D. Morris

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Professor Joseph Esherick, Co-Chair
Professor Paul Pickowicz, Co-Chair

This dissertation is a study of the role played by ideas and practices of physical culture (physical education, sports, recreation, physical fitness) in China over the first half of this century. My focus is on the connections between Chinese physical culture (in Chinese "*tiyu*," or literally "body-cultivation") and notions of the nation, modernity and a modern citizenry - namely, how the realm of *tiyu* served as a conduit for teaching Chinese citizens about modernity and the nation. The work is primarily based on Republican-era physical culture journals and bureaucratic reports, collected in libraries and archives in Hangzhou, Beijing, Nanjing and Shanghai, and interviews with elderly ex-sports stars living in Taiwan and China.

During the last decades of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), two forms of modern

physical culture - the German-Swedish program of military calisthenics and gymnastics, and the Anglo-American "sports" of track and field and ball games - were imported into China. These basic forms, and the ideologies which shaped them, became the foundations for the development of a modern Chinese *tiyu*, or physical culture. Even China's indigenous martial arts, which represented to many the worst of China's "feudal" and "backward" traditions, came to be understood in terms of these new forms of rational competition, scientifically-approved modes of fitness, and the connections they posed between the individual body and national strength and worth.

Physical culture in the Republic of China (1912-1949), whatever the form, always shared two tenets. First, the Chinese nation would be based in a modern and active citizenry who would learn the arts of self-discipline and attention to the larger consequences of all one's actions and movements. Secondly, these national duties could only be taught through educational, cultural, social and political programs that emphasized a physical education, a *tiyu* "body-cultivation." This work aims to show how new ideas of physical fitness, physical education, physical exercise, and physical competition shaped the Chinese nation by influencing the ways in which Chinese understood and presented their bodies to fellow citizens and to the outside world.

INTRODUCTION

One of the amazing cultural developments of this century has been the spread of modern sporting and physical culture forms, designed in particular Western European contexts during the mid-nineteenth century, to virtually every nation on earth. Spurred on by the Olympic movement, that newborn tradition of fair competition between friendly nations, modern disciplines of sport, physical education, exercise and physical fitness have long been understood as universally relevant entities advanced by any worthwhile modern nation-state. Many indigenous physical forms - dances, races, bouts and games with specific ritual functions - live on today, but are almost always understood or studied precisely as "traditional" artifacts whose place in the museum is the logical counterpart to the modern sports that thrive on the athletic grounds and schoolyards of any nation.

In China, the universalizing physical culture forms of the West have now been welcomed, accepted and understood for some seven or eight decades simply as "*tiyu*," a thoroughly natural if extremely broad category which translates as something like "body-cultivation," "physical education," or "physical culture." China boasts a long history of physical endeavor, from the Confucian arts of archery and chariot riding, to the kickball games used in military training, to aristocratic polo and golf games, to the wrestling and "ice frolic" processions so popular with the royal spectators in the Qing court, to the storied and diverse history of Chinese popular martial arts. However, the modern physical culture introduced to China in the late nineteenth century was a clean, distinct and decisive break from these previous modes of physical endeavor. During the early years of the Republic, Chinese scholars began to classify premodern physical

activities as "ancient" or "traditional" *tiyu*. They intentionally posed contrasts between traditional Chinese exercises and competitions, and the Western forms of ball games and Olympic-style competitions being promoted in China (and indeed all over the world) as an endeavor required of a modern and healthy populace. One of the main points of this work is also to suggest that the modern physical culture so quickly accepted as *tiyu* was novel for its systematic ideology of the relationship between the individual and the national body. Individual strength, discipline and health were directly linked to the health of the nation. Even the functions of the human body - from the physiological systems imagined in terms of specialized machinery, to the brain and central nervous system's "command" over the entire body, to the immune system's ability to defeat hostile invaders - were described and codified within the language of the nation and its citizenry. The all-embracing "body-cultivation" that *tiyu* was to offer Chinese was an absolutely crucial concept in the design of those who would transform the hoary Chinese imperium into a modern and fit nation-state.

In many ways, this history can be compared to the development of modern physical culture in the nations of the West, whose strength, wealth and ability to achieve dominance through brute force so inspired Chinese. From the German *Turnen* to Baron Pierre de Coubertin's Olympic movement to American baseball, the Western nation-state's images of itself (and specifically, of itself as an Occidental opposite to Asian or Third World colonized Others) have been framed in large part on the ideals of modern athletics: masculinity, discipline, benevolent competition, and the ethic of individual excellence for the sake of the team. In 1896, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge told a rapt audience of fellow Harvard alumni that "The time given to athletic contests and the injuries incurred on the playing field are part of the price which the English-

speaking race has paid for being world-conquerors."[1] Wrote Mark Twain, after a junket to Hawaii:

> I have visited the Sandwich Islands ... where life is one long, slumberless Sabbath, the climate one long, delicious summer day... And these boys have played baseball there! - baseball, which is the very symbol, the outward and visible expression of the drive and push and rush and struggle of the raging, tearing, booming 19th century! One cannot realize it; the place and the act are so incongruous; it's like interrupting a funeral with a circus.[2]

In 1912, Francis Duckworth contributed his appraisal of the role of sports in the project of imperialism:

> Realise the importance of games. It's in football and cricket and rowing that Englishmen get that splendid moral training which no other nation gets.... None of [Germany's or France's boys] get that magnificent sporting instinct which is the real foundation of our great Empire.... Be proud of your efficiency in games - it is the source of ... higher imperial efficiency.[3]

And de Coubertin scandalized no one when he related his Olympic Games to "the essential conflict, the struggle of the colonial mind against movement towards emancipation of the native peoples" of Asia and Africa.[4]

Modern physical culture has always fit perfectly with the nation-state project and its notions of discipline, progress, and modernity. Its accepted rules and

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[1] Donald J. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), p. 28.

[2] Allen Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), p.15.

[3] Quoted in J. A. Mangan, "'Muscular, Militaristic and Manly': The British Middle-Class Hero as Moral Messenger," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 13.1 (March 1996), p. 36.

[4] Quoted in William J. Baker, "Political Games: The Meaning of International Sport for Independent Africa," in William J. Baker and James A. Mangan, eds., *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1987), p. 274.

regulations, boundaries on bodily motion and behavior, uniforms emblazoned with national symbols, quantitative measures of success, and the images of battle and war so closely associated with competition, have for over a century made these connections positively commonsensical all over the world. These values of the fit body and the strong nation took hold easily during the Republican period, as patriotic Chinese searched for anything that could finally make China the equal of the hated and envied imperialist powers.

On *Tiyu* and a Working Terminology

Despite the insistence of many scholars, and the wishes of many who would prefer a logical one-to-one correspondence between the modern Chinese and English languages, the term *tiyu* (the subject of this work) covers far too vast a terrain to render simply as "sport," "athletics," "physical education," "physical fitness," or any combination of the above. The English term which comes closest, regrettably, is "physical culture," a clunky and literal translation of the German *Körperkultur*. This category covers a wider range of activity than the more convenient but too-specific English "sport," and is a term which happens to be used more commonly by historians of this physical realm. When not addressing more specific subdisciplines of *tiyu*, which can be translated more faithfully as "sport" or "P.E.," for example, I use this term "physical culture" to encompass the larger mission that modern *tiyu* represented in Republican China.

However, in my heart of hearts, I prefer to use the romanized "*tiyu*" for several reasons. Translation difficulties aside, the Chinese term "*tiyu*" carries specifically modern and totalizing meanings that are central to my investigation into this topic. My

research focuses on the connections between Chinese ideas and practices of physical culture and notions of the nation, modernity and a modern citizenry. Specifically, I am interested in how the realm of *tiyu* served as a conduit for teaching Chinese citizens about modernity and the nation. *Tiyu* was about more than just sports, P.E., fitness, or again, any sum of these individual parts. The skills and disciplines learned from the strong and modern nations of the West (often learned via Japan), as soon as they arrived in China during the last decades of the Qing dynasty, were assigned specific duties in terms of cultivating the developed bodies and minds of new and more productive national subjects. The notion of "sports for sports' sake" was a harsh epithet in Republican China, reserved for those whose physical activity was undertaken for selfish notions of individual delight or material gain, who never sought a true body-cultivation in their *tiyu* endeavors. Rather, the "*yu*" in *tiyu* was an important element which would transform modern physical culture's scientific legitimacy, its clear regulations on physical movement and even intellectual strategy, and its links to rational record-keeping, into lived and played moral teachings to shape a new self-conscious, self-disciplining citizen.

The English "sport" in its truest sense, tracing to the old French "desport," refers to individual pursuits of "diversion, recreation, pastime, amusement," or "to amuse oneself ... to cease from labor."[5] Although "sport" is used by many contemporary Chinese scholars as an English term that can refer to physical activities ranging from chess to meditation to ancient archery rituals, I find the term a poor choice to translate the

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[5] David Sansone, *Greek Athletics* and *The Genesis of Sport* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 4; Walter W. Skeat, *The Concise Dictionary of English Etymology* (1884; Ware, Hertfordshire, UK: Wordsworth Reference, 1993 reprint), p. 363.

Chinese *tiyu*. "Physical education," which at first glance appears to be a direct translation of *tiyu* (in fact many wrongfully believe that the term "*tiyu*" was coined as a contraction of a longer phrase "*shenti jiaoyu*" translating "physical education" into Chinese[6]), is much too narrow to encompass the wide range of the term *tiyu*. The word "athletics" is an attractive option, as it signifies a physical, competitive concept of recreation; however, its Greek roots relating to combat or prize contests share nothing of the concepts of "nourishment," "uplift" or "education" that the Chinese character "*yu*" brings to the compound *tiyu*. With all apologies to the reader with no background in Chinese, the ideas and hopes built into the modern Chinese "*tiyu*" make it impossible for me to neglect this term altogether in favor of English terms which are simply insufficient translations.

Existing *Tiyu* Scholarship

One of the most exciting and daunting prospects of this work is that English-language scholarship has never produced a substantive history of the Republican-era physical culture project. Although I am treating this as a new and relatively unexplored field of inquiry, and therefore attempting to cover longer temporal, thematic and geographical expanses than does the average dissertation, I would like to briefly summarize some of the existing work that has been done in Chinese *tiyu* history.

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[6] The phrase *tiyu* is rather a direct use of the characters used in the Japanese *taiiku*, itself a translation of Spencer's concept of "a physical education" (which joins with a moral and an intellectual education to complete the whole self), a concept that he understood as a much broader understanding of the body and its workings than simple exercises in gym class. (See Chapter One.) However, Chinese scholars preferring to find Anglo-American roots to their *tiyu* have ignored this obvious Japanese connection. In the 1920s and 1930s a myth was born that *tiyu* was a simple translation of the English "Physical Education" (in its institutional sense), and this mistake has unfortunately survived to the present day. Luo Yidong, *Tiyuxue* [The science of physical fitness], (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1924; 6th printing 1931), p. 1; Wang Geng, "Tiyu zhi kexue de yanjiu" [Research into the science of physical education], *Xiandai xuesheng (The Modern Student)* 3.1 (October 1933), p. 1.

To get quickly to the point, few of these works have provided a very sophisticated critique of the rise of Chinese *tiyu* and its implications for understanding the history of Republican China. Jonathan Kolatch concentrates on explicit ties between political ideology and sport in the twentieth century, but his definition of "ideology" as simply whatever official voices like Wang Jingwei or Mao Zedong say about *tiyu* leaves his study of the Republican era very one-dimensional and nearly outside of history itself.[7] Chih-Kang Wu privileges Western missionary contributions to sport in China as the central aspect of its development, and thus is never able to distance himself from the "civilizing"-"modernizing" line that guided decades of YMCA involvement in China.[8]

More recently, scholars have begun to touch on more substantive aspects of the history of modern Chinese *tiyu*. Gael Graham, relying strictly on missionary writings for her research, sees the physical discipline of the foreign-taught *tiyu* as a way for foreign missionaries to keep some sort of control over the "tempestuous emergence of Chinese student nationalism with its emphasis on military fitness and national strength."[9] She succeeds in demonstrating the subjectivity of these missionary school

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[7] This is not to mention the problems caused by his almost-total reliance on English language sources for his three chapters on what he calls the "Pre-Communist Period." Jonathan Kolatch, *Sports, Politics and Ideology in China* (New York: Jonathan David Publishers, 1972), pp. 3-72.

[8] Chih-Kang Wu, *The Influence of the YMCA on the Development of Physical Education in China* (University of Michigan Ph.D. Dissertation, 1956).

Kimberly Risedorph, whose recent dissertation also purports to be about the role of the YMCA in cultivating "reformers, athletes and students" in China, actually deals very little with the issue of physical culture in the YMCA program. Relying totally on English-language sources (a majority of them secondary materials), Risedorph touches on most of the main traits of the early YMCA sporting agenda, but never manages to rise above common historical stereotypes to address the real aims or historical significances of this activity. Kimberly Ann Risedorph, *Reformers, athletes and students: The YMCA in China, 1895-1935* (Washington University Ph.D. Dissertation, 1994), pp. 186-219.

[9] Gael Graham, "Exercising Control: Sports and Physical Education in American Protestant Mission

students, who resisted performing the forms of calisthenics that they saw as "ludicrous," and who demanded to be taught the military drill that they hoped would enable China to strengthen itself and fight off the encroaching Japanese enemy. However, her strict reliance on a very narrow band of English-language missionary sources poses several obvious problems. Besides the painful fact that Chinese participants only appear in these writings as the objects of missionary teachers' frustration and/or pride, Graham is also precluded from access to the tremendous amount of sporting and physical education activity that went on independent of any foreign coaches and teachers.

Sociologist Susan Brownell writes on *tiyu* in terms of the Chinese body and the nation as well, here discussing the role of the body in 1980s Chinese "body culture" and morality. Many of the questions Brownell asks about sports, the body, and nationalism are by definition more germane to 1980s China and the modern Olympic Movement than to the Republican China I study. But her use of ideas of a "body culture" which "reflects the internalization and incorporation of culture," and her suggestions of sports as a site for a Habermasian "public culture" in China, are useful questions that also provide some foundation for my inquiry into Chinese *tiyu* of the early twentieth century.[10]

Schools in China, 1880-1930," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 20.1 (Autumn 1994), p. 25.

[10] I do not find her examples of a site for "civil society" to be found in 1980s Chinese sport convincing, as these new independent soccer clubs, reportage literature about the faults of the sport system, and public response to the success of the Chinese women's volleyball team, are far too wrapped up in justifications and mechanisms that are totally reliant on the PRC state and its official ideologies. But these are still important issues that are related to many of the questions I ask about Republican-era physical culture. Susan Brownell, *Training the Body for China: Sports in the Moral Order of the People's Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 70-87.

Fan Hong's recent book *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom* represents the fullest work to date on Republican-era physical culture, her dramatic title referring to her concentration on women and (as her subtitle explains) "the liberation of women's bodies in modern China." In her introduction (titled "Modern China: Women, Emancipation and Exercise"), Fan summarizes her aims in writing her book - to tell "the astounding history of [Chinese women's] struggle to reclaim their bodies, to reject mutilation on a gargantuan scale, to achieve physical normality, and finally, to seek through the exercise of their released bodies, health, pleasure, confidence, independence and achievement."[11] There are several aspects of women's physical culture that Fan touches on that I am not able to address in my work. However, most of her book can be summed up with this claim made in her last chapter, "From Cripples to Champions":

> Excellence at competitive sport was the ultimate celebration of [Chinese women's] bodies' freedom, strength and competence.... Competitive action and achievement on the sports field denied historic gender shibboleths and ensured a modern sexual identity irrespective of the 'neo-Confucian' cultural atmosphere. While women in general went backwards, pulled firmly by reactionary traditional ideology, sportswomen went forwards sustained by society's pride in their success.[12]

Fan is very interested, and heavily guided by, narratives of progress and liberation in the story of Republican-era physical culture. This frame of reference results in extended assumptions about the "liberating" aspect of sport, which she sees much more often in the young Chinese Communist Party's *tiyu* project in the Jiangxi

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[11] Fan Hong, *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom: The Liberation of Women's Bodies in Modern China* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1997), p. 12.

[12] Fan, *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom*, p. 296.

Soviet, and then in Yan'an,[13] than in the larger Nationalist China *tiyu* world on which I concentrate here. I have much less faith in the liberating qualities of modernity or of the Chinese socialist bureaucracy. Historians concerned with issues of gender might also find major problems with her writing of this "feminist" history from within grossly obsolete May Fourth narratives of the modern nation-state as a positive agent of progress. There are other serious questions - of the modern Chinese nation and the citizen's role within it, of international or imperialist norms of masculinity and physical culture, of new notions of the very meanings of "China" and "Chinese," or of the urban middle class-heavy nature of Republican *tiyu* - that a view like Fan's misses completely. It is my hope that a history that addresses these issues, and problematizes assumptions about the nation-state should be a worthy contribution to the literature on modern China and on the history of modern physical culture.

Comparative Issues

Much of the present study is devoted to Chinese notions of modern physical culture as the truest harbinger of national strength and health. Beginning in the last decades of the Qing, this quality of "national strength" was envied in the powers of Western Europe, America and Japan who were able to expand their empires around the globe almost at will. Modern-minded Chinese wanted what these powerful nations had, and thus were very amenable to the new sporting and exercise forms that seemed, from their first use, to inculcate the values and attitudes needed to create a nation that could work and struggle as a team for the cause of victory. As the modern global

[13] My answer to Fan's claims about the exceptionalism of the CCP *tiyu* project comes in Chapter Eight.

nation-state system into which Republican Chinese entered was based on particular rational models constituting the state, its industry and its citizenry, so was modern physical culture, an entity which grew out of modern ideas of the nation, based on dominant models of rational organization. Of course, the justification for this very work is the fact that these models were imagined and implemented during the Republican interregnum in ways very different from the physical cultures of other nations and communities. But it is my hope that this investigation into the role of sport and physical culture in shaping Chinese ideas of modernity, the nation, and a modern citizenry will shed some light on similar processes in other areas of the world.

Sport in the West

Here I would like to briefly discuss several aspects of previous approaches to the history of modern sport and physical culture, and also some of the further questions that they raise for an historian concerned with twentieth-century China. Modern Britain, home of the sporting movement that now covers the globe, is perhaps the most appropriate place to start. Work by Richard Holt, J. A. Mangan and Anthony Kirk-Greene on issues of nineteenth-century British "manliness" in public schools and in the colonies is valuable in understanding the historical origins of sport as an elite masculinizing endeavor that is also tightly wrapped up in the drive to conquer and rationally manage faraway colonies.[14] However, the origins of modern British sport -

[14] For example, see Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 81-96; Mangan, "'Muscular, Militaristic and Manly;'" J. A. Mangan, "Duty unto Death: English Masculinity and Militarism in the Age of the New Imperialism," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 12.2 (August 1995), pp. 16-31; James A. Mangan, "Ethics and Ethnocentricity: Imperial Education in British Tropical Africa," and Anthony Kirk-Greene, "Imperial Administration and the Athletic Imperative: The Case of the District Officer in Africa," both in Baker and Mangan, eds., *Sport in Africa*, pp. 138-150, 81-100; and Anthony Kirk-Greene, "Badge of Office: Sport and His Excellency in the

first in the public schools, and then (in the case of soccer) in clubs organized around church and chapel, the pub, workplace, and neighborhood provides a model of explicit class and local affiliation not seen in the early Chinese development of modern physical culture.[15] Finally, the questions of "leisure" and the "quest for excitement" by which Elias and Dunning understand modern British sport[16] prove simply to be of much less literal use in the study of China, where participation in exercise and sport was understood to be much more of a duty, or at least a productive and nationally-significant (if still fun) pastime, than pure "leisure" or a way to pass one's "spare time."

The French case seems in some ways to offer closer similarities. Although, as in the case of British soccer, the French gymnastics movement originated in private clubs, this history does still provide clear points in common with the Chinese case. The Chinese interest in Social Darwinian notions of the fit body and the nation, and then a more particular interest in military-flavored calisthenics and gymnastics, came as a response to the shocking 1895 Sino-Japanese War. Likewise, the French gymnastics craze also began after their 1870 defeat to Germany convinced many that there had been "serious deterioration in the racial stock," that Germany was stronger for having paid attention to physical fitness, and that French gymnasts could serve as a "regenerative elite" (who took *revanche* as the watchword of their movement).[17]

British Empire," in J. A. Mangan ed., *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1992), pp. 180-195.

[15] Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1980), pp. 14-15, 21-32.

[16] See Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, "The Quest for Excitement in Leisure" and "Leisure in the Spare-time Spectrum," in Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, *Quest For Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), pp. 63-90, 91-125.

[17] Richard Holt, *Sport and Society in Modern France* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981), pp. 40-48.

China's *tiyu* world never produced Anglophiles as committed to Arnoldian myths of social/moral education and athletic games as Pierre de Coubertin. However, his formulation of the Olympic movement as a "republic of muscles" and his faith in sport as an agent for solving "moral disorder" were surely ideas that were easy for modern-minded Chinese to accept and integrate into the Republican national project.[18] These authors who have studied the French case, however, do not stray far enough from their guiding questions of sport and nationalism or internationalism to ask how these forms might have helped to shape ideas of the modern French nation itself - how these ideas served as causes and not just symptoms of *fin de siècle* imaginations of the French nation and its place in the world.

Mark Dyreson's formulation of early twentieth-century America as a "sporting republic" allows one to see great similarities between American and Chinese notions of the role of modern physical culture in the workings of a vigorous nation. Indeed, the concepts of fair play, good sportsmanship, and the connections between vitality and liberty, all of which were finely developed by the first decade of the 1900s,[19] were imported wholesale to China's urban centers via the YMCA project of building a new Chinese man for a new Chinese nation. Dyreson's book *Making the American Team* comes closest to asking how sport has figured into the very imaginations of the modern nation-state.[20] However, there are again significant differences between the two cases. Dyreson sees the 1912 Stockholm Olympics as the "apogee" of notions of the

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[18] John J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

[19] Mark Dyreson, *Making the American Team: Sport, Culture and the Olympic Experience* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998), pp. 8-11.

[20] See especially his chapter "The Idea of a Sporting Republic," in Dyreson, *Making the American Team*, pp. 180-198.

American sporting republic. These notions became harder to hold dear after the horrors of World War I terrorized those innocent souls who believed that sport somehow could replace war, and after many indeed came to understand the true implications of the haughty nationalisms that characterized the Olympic Games.[21] This surely contrasts with China, where the postwar liberal trends of the early 1920s were what made the spread of China's self-consciously "foreign" physical culture possible and indeed so overwhelmingly smooth. The basic material conditions of the Chinese and American nations at this time provide this difference; my study addresses a society where a strident nationalism, so gauche in the Western context, becomes a desirable goal and indeed a common-sense modus operandi by the mid-1920s.

Another Western case that provides parallels to the history of modern Chinese *tiyu* is Germany. Friedrich Ludwig Jahn founded his *Turner* gymnastics movement in the early nineteenth century as a reaction to the threats posed by Napoleon (and also by German "gentry, Jews and priests"). The German gymnastic fraternity quickly became a symbol of racial regeneration and of an apolitical but fiercely committed nationalism, and a focal point of nascent ideals of the free association and its role in a German nation.[22] The "foreign vs. indigenous" battles waged in 1930s China echoed debates that raged in late nineteenth-century Germany, where patriotic *Turner* warned against

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[21] Dyreson, *Making the American Team*, pp. 203-206.

[22] George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1975), pp. 128-135; Antje Knoop, "The Early German 'Turner' Movement (GTM): Free Associations and Their Way Into the USA," paper presented at the 3rd International ISHPES Seminar on Sports History: "Sports - the East and the West," 16-22 September 1996, Shunde, Guangdong, China; Allen Guttmann, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 141.

British sports like soccer that were "as alien to German behavior as their name, for which there is no German word."[23] The German "bodybuilding" movement of the first decades of this century, which thrived on bourgeois ideals of the complete and healthy body, and the advent of specialized training regimens and publications, also saw close parallels in a China where a normalized "natural beauty" was increasingly understood to be an important quality of the modern citizen.[24] John Hoberman's work on Nazi sport theory and the fascist models of the "sportive temperament," "sportive manhood," racial superiority and "physiological patriotism," the need for a politically "committed" sport, and the preoccupation with the vital, dynamic and aggressive male body all ring very true to one who has spent time studying the Nationalist *tiyu* project of the 1930s.[25] However, again, these similar patterns of physical culture organization and philosophy do not imply the existence of thorough scholarship on the larger significances of the specific physical culture forms that seemed to make so much sense

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[23] Guttmann, *Games and Empires*, pp. 46-47.

[24] Bernd Wedemeyer, "Body-building or Man in the Making: Aspects of the German Bodybuilding Movement in the Kaiserreich and Weimar Republic," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11.3 (December 1994), pp. 472-477.

[25] John M. Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), pp. 83-109, 162-169.

For work on specific aspects of Nazi sport - militarized *Wehrsport*; physical culture as a way to inculcate the qualities of a unique national-racial volk; bureaucratic emphases on both "elite" competitive sports and a physical culture for the "masses" - which all play an important role in the Chinese Nationalist *tiyu* project of the 1930s, see: G. A. Carr, "Sport and Party Ideology in the Third Reich," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* 5.1 (May 1974), pp. 4-5; G. A. Carr, "The Synchronization of Sport and Physical Education Under National Socialism," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* 10.2 (December 1979), pp. 15-21; Arnd Krüger, "*Sieg Heil* to the Most Glorious Era of German Sport: Continuity and Change in the Modern German Sports Movement," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 4.1 (May 1987), pp. 9-12.

Very similar trends in the Italian and Japanese contexts are described in Victoria de Grazia, *The Culture of Consent: Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 164-179; Ikuo Abe, Yasuharu Kiyohara and Ken Nakajima, "Fascism, Sport and Society in Japan," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 9.1 (April 1992), pp. 13-22.

sense to Germans of these eras.

Here I have pointed out several points where the history of Republican Chinese *tiyu* seems to dovetail with models of Western European and American physical culture histories. For all these similarities, however, the Chinese story is still a very different one. Social Darwinian concepts that fell by the wayside in many post-WWI settings continued to make perfect sense to modern-minded Chinese. Notions of a united *minzu* nation-race which could move as one, clearly unacceptable in polite non-fascist Western company, were foundations of the thought of the most centrist and even leftist of Chinese *tiyu* organizers. And the Chinese *tiyu* scene of the 1930s was wracked by opposition, perhaps impossible in Western settings, between advocates of "foreign" or "modern" physical culture and agents pushing for wider implementation of "indigenous" martial arts forms that would be more appropriate to conditioning the Chinese body and mind. These were all for good reason - the simple fact of the imperialist presence in China throughout this period made the complete and whole nation a much more precious quantity than it was in communities that could take their nation-nesses for granted.

However, the most important element of this model - the notion that *tiyu* was an agent for cultivating productive and self-disciplining citizens with discriminating national tastes - was certainly shared by China with the Western nations whose physical culture legacies had provided such rich and inspiring lessons for modern-minded Chinese. My study of this history in China leaves me confident that similar histories could be found in these powerful imperialist states, which likely also owed much of their justification, reputation and guiding ideologies to similar programs of physical, moral and intellectual discipline through sport. Dyreson's work on the American

"sporting republic" establishes without a doubt the role of sports in creating the sense of a technologically-rich, fair-playing and healthy state at the beginning of this century. Indeed, Chinese agents working to push modern tiyu programs during the Republican period cited the vigor and strength of these Western states as clear proof of their sporting success; one suspects that the shapers of these nations were even more adamant about the role of physical culture in shaping worthy and winning citizenries during the rush and push of the late nineteenth century.

Sport in the Colonies

Here I turn away from China's points in common with these powerful imperialist states, and to the more commonsense connections between a "semi-colonial" China and other colonized and imperialized nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. However, a survey of the literature shows that previous models used to describe sport and physical culture in the colonial setting are not always able to help us understand the Chinese story. In the case of China and its modern *tiyu*, there is more than a semi-difference between a "semi-colony" and a the settings that have been labeled as "true" colonies. Chatterjee's notion of anti-colonial nationalism and its powerful need "to fashion a 'modern' national culture that is nevertheless not Western"[26] simply do not account for Chinese attempts to create an internationally acceptable physical culture that by definition had to follow along Western/modern lines. Fanon's anti-colonialist "national culture," which predicts that native intellectuals will turn to the "dignity, glory and solemnity" of some far-gone national past to justify

[26] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 6.

efforts for a modern culture to help free themselves from the reins of colonialism,[27] also fails to explain the development of modern Chinese *tiyu*.

Some colonial physical culture histories do involve developments that the Chinese case shares. The British attention to the physiques of a Maori "New Zealand Native" rugby team touring London in 1888[28] is similar to American missionaries' appreciation of the lithe builds of their Chinese student-athletes, a fact that seems to complicate notions of the masculine nature of imperialism and colonialism. More significant are the British attempts to remake their Nigerian, Kenyan, Indian, Caribbean and even Tibetan colonial subjects in their own image via disciplining forms like soccer or cricket.[29] There are surely differences between flat-out colonialism, and the YMCA missionary project in China which also sought, as I discuss in my first two chapters, to remake Chinese in the image of the hard-playing, God-fearing, self-disciplining American man. Retreating into the more narrow realm of sport and physical culture itself, however, these models are quite similar in their implications - in creating a hegemonic sporting realm where even the most inspiring Chinese (or Indian, etc.) victory only goes to confirm the assumptions and legitimacy of the colonizer or mere cultural imperialist.

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[27] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press Inc., 1968), p. 210.

In China, instead, it is the modern nation-state itself, which has finally allowed "the people-nation ... to *realize* itself as the self-conscious subject of History," which becomes reified as the driving force for a national future. Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 29.

[28] Greg Ryan, "'Handsome Physiognomy and Blameless Physique': Indigenous Colonial Sporting Tours and British Racial Consciousness, 1868 and 1888," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 14.2 (August 1997), pp. 71-72.

[29] Mangan, "Ethics and Ethnocentricity," pp. 140-150; Tony Mason, "Football on the Maidan: Cultural Imperialism in Calcutta," in Mangan, ed., *The Cultural Bond*, pp. 142-151; Alex McKay, "The Other 'Great Game': Politics and Sport in Tibet, 1904-47," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11.3 (December 1994), pp. 377-384.

The political connotations of the late-Qing development of physical culture in China also has analogs elsewhere. The role of Cuban returnees from the United States in promoting baseball, and then organized baseball's part in funding the late-nineteenth century independence movement led by José Martí,[30] both echo the role of Chinese students returning from Japan in spreading modern forms of physical culture, and the radical political affiliations of many of these early Chinese *tiyu* experts. China's *Tongmenghui* Revolutionary Alliance took on martial arts, military drill and physical education specialists to help spread the word to patriotic Chinese all over Asia. Likewise, baseball was also an important aspect of PSS (Partido Socialista del Sureste) programs for grassroots mobilization in early 1920s Yucatán. Although the PSS pushed a scientific "cultura fisica" program in local schools, baseball was selected as a main avenue of mobilization for its dual and complementary emphases on individual accountability and team spirit, values which socialist agents hoped to inculcate in the promising but elusive heart of the Yucatán peasantry.[31]

Other colonized peoples formulated somatic responses to the colonialist enterprise that resemble developments in China as well. Early twentieth-century Indian physical culture gave rise to two distinct forms. One was the anti-Western (yet clearly British in origin) paramilitary drill exercises associated with the ahistorical nationalistic ideology of Hindutva. Also, many turned to Indian *pahalwani* wrestling, which now served as a site of an "alternative nationalism" based on notions of pan-Indian social

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[30] Paula J. Pettavino and Geralyn Pye, *Sport in Cuba: The Diamond in the Rough* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994), pp. 26-27.

[31] Gilbert M. Joseph, "Forging the Regional Pastime: Baseball and Class in Yucatán," in Joseph L. Arbena, ed., *Sport and Society in Latin America: Diffusion, Dependency, and the Rise of Mass Culture* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 46-50.

reform.[32] These dual modes of Indian anti-colonial resistance are almost dead ringers for trends in 1930s Chinese *tiyu*. A "militarized physical culture," borrowing liberally from German and Italian fascist models, was believed by many to be an appropriate and necessary way of cultivating a united Chinese nation-race guided by philosophies of action, vigor, fearlessness and discipline. At the same time, others were just as insistent that only "traditional" Chinese martial arts, made up of the movements and philosophies ingrained into Chinese minds and muscles for millennia, could provide the inspiration and national skills needed to propel China to the top of a new global order.

However, there are limits to the usefulness of these colonial analogies. Although the imperialist powers showed China little mercy, by the late 1920s the Republic was, after all, a sovereign nation governed by a regime whose modernizing project included spreading physical culture to its citizenry on its own terms. Notions of modernity and the nation based on Western models surely ruled the day in the Republican era, as the Chinese economy became subject to the vagaries of a cruelly unpredictable and unaccountable global economy. Models of cultural imperialism, as well as the good old-fashioned models of brutal economic and political imperialism, obviously could be applied to Chinese society, culture, and the *tiyu* world. It is instructive to remember that similar motivations pushed British colonial agents and American missionaries in their work, although the structures that supported them were quite different. It is also important to note that the development of Chinese *tiyu* shared many qualities with the sports of many colonies around the world. However, the keen Chinese drive for sporting engagement with the world's powers and a physical culture

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[32] Joseph S. Alter, "Somatic Nationalism: Indian Wrestling and Militant Hinduism," *Modern Asian Studies* 28.3 (1994), pp. 562-586.

acceptable by their standards, and the bare fact that China was a sovereign nation whose modernizing government at times could reach deep into local societies and cultures, make it difficult for me to imagine any tremendous use for models of sport in the colonial setting.

Special Cases: Sport in Japan and the USSR

The histories of Russian/Soviet and Japanese sport and physical culture fit the "Western colonizer" vs. "Third World colonized" dichotomy I have sketched out above. It is perhaps for this reason that Soviet and Japanese physical culture are two cases that seem to provide the most points of similarity with China's modern *tiyu*.

With the Russian imperialist luster tarnished during the first two decades of this century, Chinese were likely little impressed by anything about their northern Tsarist neighbor, let alone its sporting prowess. However, the October Revolution and the New Economic Policy of the 1920s brought developments which foreshadowed and later inspired many Chinese physical culture activists. James Riordan has written on Lenin's faith in sport as a form of character training and his commitment to a sport that could help form the "all-around individual of communist society."[33] The Communist Party's 1925 intervention in *fizicheskoi kul'ture* - when they declared that this realm would be dedicated to health, fitness, character formation, general education, the development of individuals' harmonious personalities, military training, identification with the group, and social-political activity - is surprising in its likeness to feel-good

[33] James Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society: Development of Sport and Physical Education in Russia and the USSR* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 63-65.

YMCA models of the healthy and complete individual.[34] Besides this mainstream NEP sporting philosophy (which also used the slogan "healthy mind in a healthy body"), other Soviet models also were studied and made much sense in 1930s China. Proletarian groups' revolutionary "theatricalization" of physical culture, which introduced "labor gymnastics," mass calisthenics displays, pageants and mass excursions all were adapted handily to Chinese "militarized *tiyu*" models. Later Stalinist forms that stressed the egalitarian, labor and national defense priorities of exercise also found many attentive ears in the 1930s Nationalist *tiyu* structure. 1930s Soviet physical culture even gave rise to "mass vs. mastery" debates so similar to those between Chinese advocates pushing "mass" activities and "elite" competitive sports.[35] These similar patterns of development are best understood as a result of similarities between (1) the revolutionary Leninist parties ruling the USSR and China in the late 1920s and 1930s, (2) both nations' concern for military strength and preparedness in the face of increasingly ambitious imperialist neighbors, and (3) the absolute power and pressure of the global nation-state system which makes competitive sport and its attendant ideologies such common sense in such radically different environs.

The model and precedent to which Chinese *tiyu* owes its greatest debt, of course, is modern Japanese physical culture. Recent work by Douglas Reynolds and Lydia Liu has allowed us to see how crucial Japan was in "translating" modernity into forms and language acceptable and sensible to Chinese modernizers.[36] As is true in so

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[34] Riordan also discusses nineteenth-century Russian ideas of the fully-developed individual in works by Tolstoy and Chernyshevsky. Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, pp. 43-44, 106.

[35] Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, pp. 117-130; Robert Edelman, *Serious Fun: A History of Spectator Sports in the USSR* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 38-44.

[36] Douglas R. Reynolds, *China, 1898-1912: The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Council

many other cultural, intellectual, and political realms, it is almost impossible to imagine a Chinese *tiyu* shorn of its early Japanese influence. As I have mentioned, the very terminology of Chinese physical culture (*tiyu* "physical culture," *ticao* "calisthenics and gymnastics, *yundong* "exercise, sports," etc.) are direct translations of Japanese terminology (*taiiku*, *taisô*, *undô*) developed in the Meiji era.[37] Japan is also the site where many progressive Chinese got their first taste of the modern discipline delivered by German- and Swedish-style calisthenics and gymnastics.

As in China, modern sports and physical culture came to Japan through foreign teachers serving in urban schools, and also modern-minded Japanese scholars returning from study abroad (in Japan's case, in Britain and the United States).[38] The systemization of school gymnastics and physical education began in the late 1870s, and these forms became an important aspect of the nationalist education system designed to breed aggressive citizens of a vigorous and outward-looking Japan.[39]

The Meiji Restoration provided the context, as in almost every other realm of Japanese culture and society, for the reconfiguring of "traditional" forms to meet the urgent needs of the modern era. Japanese agents of modernity worked hard to produce

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on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1993); Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity - China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

[37] However, Gao Mingkai and Liu Zhengyan have shown that the Japanese *undô*, like *bunka* (Chinese *wenhua*) or *seiji* (*zhengzhi*) is a term restored (with modern meanings) by Meiji-era Japanese from ancient Chinese usage. Gao Mingkai and Liu Zhengyan, *Xiandai Hanyu wailaici yanjiu* [Research into terms of foreign origin in the modern Chinese language] (Beijing: Wenxue geming chubanshe, 1958), pp. 83-88.

[38] Ikuo Abe, "Dairoku Kikuchi and F. W. Strange: Japanese Earliest Encounter With Athleticism," paper presented at the 3rd International ISHPES Seminar on Sports History: "Sports - the East and the West," 16-22 September 1996, Shunde, Guangdong, China.

[39] Abe, Kiyohara and Nakajima, "Fascism, Sport and Society in Japan," pp. 4-5.

modernized and "enlightened" forms of *sumô* wrestling, now identified as the Japanese "national sport." The feudal connotations of pre-Meiji *sumô* organizational structures, the "embarrassing" nakedness of the wrestlers, and their "barbarous" customs of the topknot and the wearing of swords all presented challenges to Japanese hoping to preserve the inspiring Japanese-ness of this form.[40] Kanô Jigorô, the famed Meiji-era *jûdô* reformer, this century has been sainted for his work in transforming this ancient martial art into an international competitive form that still managed to retain "Japanese" notions of honor and techniques of mental composure.[41] The Chinese counterpart to these changes, of course, was the widespread effort beginning in the 1910s to modernize, unify and "scientize" the diverse body of Chinese martial arts into one educational, sporting and healthy discipline known as *wushu*, or later, *guoshu*.

Japanese athletes and teams, representing a nation with obvious imperialistic designs on China, became the most important opponent in the world of competitive sports. Japanese Olympic triumphs from the 1920s onward inspired and confounded Chinese *tiyu* activists who, in between tours of Japanese facilities and organizations, wondered aloud how these insolent hairy "dwarves" were able to push their Asian bodies to such greater lengths than any Chinese athletes had. This envy and enmity only intensified in the 1930s, but no physical culturist in his/her right mind would have questioned the success of Japanese physical culture in creating a state and populace that so quickly reached world-power status.

The twentieth-century histories of China and Japan diverge so dramatically that

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[40] P. L. Cuyler, *Sumo: From Rite to Sport* (New York: Weatherhill, 1979), pp. 96-100.

[41] Kevin Gray Carr, "Making Way: War, Philosophy, and Sport in Japanese *Jûdô*," *Journal of Sport History* 20.2 (Summer 1993), pp. 175-180.

it seems an oddity for the physical culture projects of these nations to have been so similar. But the modern agendas formulated by the leaders of these states, and of the Soviet Union as well, do share many of the same foundations and goals. Most obvious is the need to present a rational nation-state that could finally face up to an imperialist West that did not recognize the modern relevance of ancient-looking dynasties, shogunates or kingdoms. Especially in the case of China and Japan, who both faced national and racial "extinction" at the hands of rapacious free-traders, a healthy and manly national body was an acute priority of this age. Japan's awesome Meiji transformation was the key to Chinese adoption of these Western notions of physical fitness, free competition, fair play and friendly struggle. Especially in Chapter One, but throughout the entirety of the present work, this heritage of the Japanese model will be discussed and related to the Chinese attempt to stand up forcefully to the history of Western imperialism.

An Overview

This research for this dissertation is based primarily on Republican-era physical culture journals, books and bureaucratic reports, as well as more mainstream periodicals and newspapers which also frequently addressed these important questions of the body, physical culture and modern China. The vast majority of these materials were collected in libraries and archives in Hangzhou, Beijing, Nanjing, Shanghai, Chengdu, Taipei and Guilin. The YMCA Archives, now maintained in St. Paul as an organization affiliated with the University of Minnesota, also house many materials pertinent to the sporting element of the YMCA mission in China. I was able to view some of the more mainstream Republican-era Chinese publications in libraries

throughout the University of California library system. Finally, I was lucky enough to make the acquaintance of a handful of elderly ex-sports stars living in Taiwan and China, and to incorporate details from the many pleasurable conversations and meals I shared with them into various sections of this work.

This dissertation consists of eight chapters, with a chronological organization scheme which hopefully does not short-circuit the many themes that run throughout the work. My first chapter introduces China's rich history of physical culture, and then the two distinct strains of physical exercise, introduced during the late Qing, which laid the foundation for China's new *tiyu*. First was the German-Swedish program of military calisthenics and gymnastics, known as *ticao*, which by the last decade of the Qing was part of the national school curriculum. The second was the Anglo-American "sports" of track and field and ball games, introduced by missionaries and YMCA coaches in cities throughout China, and which quickly impressed many Chinese with its ability to summon the most sincere expressions of one's faith in the founding concepts of the modern nation. In the early Republican era, dominance in the physical culture world passed from the *ticao* drill to the sports-based *tiyu*. Chapter two covers these transformations during the decade of the 1910s. *Ticao* drill programs sought to inculcate in their participating subjects a physical discipline and constant mental awareness under the command of a single strong leader - phenomena all seen as necessary for the population of a nation facing imperialist aggression. Sports *tiyu* brought a different focus to physical culture, that of teamwork and sportsmanship. Sports were rational and modern with their measurements, times, physical and behavioral boundaries, rules and regulations, their myths of free movement and "natural" motions, and their celebration of the modern masculine national and personal ideal. As sports *tiyu* became the dominant form in Chinese physical culture, it

provided the grounds for make-believe Darwinist struggles that could cultivate the competitive instinct so necessary for survival in the modern world, and that could also condition the team's members for the ideology of "friendly struggle" and "fair competition" under which capitalism justified its global expansion.

Chapter three focuses on the model of liberal democratic *tiyu* that came of currency in the postwar, post-May Fourth 1920s. Proposed by Chinese reformers and Western missionaries alike, this new physical culture would be instrumental in creating a responsible, self-disciplining modern citizenry that would pay attention to and take care of their bodies in the interest of the national community. The Western influence mentioned above is also a subject of interest here, as I use ideas of an "intercultural zone" of contact between Westerner and Other; I see both sides able to immerse themselves in the realm of *tiyu* as a way of escaping histories of Western imperialism and violence in China. It is at this point, too, that rationalizing forms of athletic training and organization, and disciplining practices like physical fitness exams and health inspections, developed by Western physical educators, became part of the Chinese physical culture agenda. My fourth chapter covers the period from 1924 to 1928, when imperialist brutalities in China, the growing Guomindang nationalist movement, and events within the physical culture world itself gave rise to a more stridently nationalistic form of *tiyu*. The contradiction between this nationalism and the chivalric ideals of international competition is discussed here. In this chapter, I also describe the relationship between this nationalism and programs for physical culture for women, who were advised to cast aside the passivity that brought physical and mental torment their way, and to take responsibility for shaping a body that could produce the next generation of healthy, strong (male) Chinese citizens. Others (including Fan

Hong) have seen the extension of the *tiyu* gaze to women as a type of liberation; I show here that little was liberatory about a discipline that used the weight of Western science and the male dominance of Chinese media to create ideals of a physically fit "mother of citizens."

The treatment of physical culture during the Nanjing Decade is the subject of my fifth and sixth chapters. Chapter 5 covers this period's explicit party-politicization of Chinese *tiyu*, as the Guomindang sought to change the focus of physical culture efforts from the individual nation-minded citizen to the united *minzu* nation-race. The official 1930s *tiyu* agenda, followed by many loyal educators, called for the creation of a "*tiyu* for the masses," where a proper, scientific physical training would allow all Chinese to become efficient members of the production force and of the new muscular "*minzu* body." *Tiyu* was to be militarized, where correct curricula would present China's youth with systematic mixtures of team sports, military training and Boy or Girl Scout training. Alongside these efforts, however, Chinese sports teams of elite athletes were garnering national attention as they represented the nation on international stages such as the Far Eastern Championship Games and the Olympics. Chapter 6 covers this realm of elite competitive sport, including the three National Games held in this period, as I describe the Guomindang's reluctance to devote scarce resources to athletic events that clearly brought little to the Chinese masses whom this modern *tiyu* was supposed to benefit. I see these contradictions, between the Guomindang's focus on a mass militarized national-racial training, and their obligation to enter the world of commercialized international sport, highlighting political tensions in China in general, as concerned Chinese contested meanings of a modern Chinese nation.

Chapter 7 deals with Chinese martial arts (*wushu*, *guoshu*), the important subdiscipline of *tiyu* that is covered very little in the first six chapters, as a case study of the trends I have described here. In the early Republic, *wushu*, so steeped in oral and feudal tradition, was seen as simply too Chinese, too backward to be of any use in the modern age. In the 1920s, however, *wushu* activists from Shanghai to Beijing worked to remake martial arts into a "native *tiyu*;" heavy organizational and publishing efforts allowed this new *wushu* to gain a new status as an acceptably modern form of physical endeavor. One of the Nanjing government's first moves in the field of physical culture was to establish a Central Martial Arts Institute (*Zhongyang guoshuguan*), which soon worked to enlist local martial arts academies as local branches of the central *Guoshuguan*, to foist its new scientific and national (with balanced coverage of different regional forms) curricula on these branches, and to hold national *guoshu* competitions to rival the excitement and splendor of nationwide athletic meets.

Finally, my eighth chapter deals with Chinese physical culture during the war years, 1937-1949. Here I will use the Guomindang's *tiyu* efforts in these times of crisis to challenge the common notion that the story of this wartime period consists simply of the "disintegration" of the Nationalist government and the revolutionary rise of the Communists; in fact I see many of the Guomindang's measures in promoting a "*tiyu* for the masses" as setting the stage for the organizational and philosophical directions of the new Communist physical culture. In this chapter, I also look at the role of *tiyu* in Communist base and border zones and in areas ruled by Japanese-controlled puppet governments, like the regimes in Manzhouguo and Nanjing. By this time, the role of *tiyu* in creating a modern nation (of any political stripe) is such a "common sense" idea in China that the *tiyu* visions and philosophies embraced by the Guomindang,

Communist and puppet governments are remarkably similar.

The history of Republican-era Chinese physical culture was shaped by many trends diverse in origins, goals and sites where they were enacted. Whatever the outward forms of these different *tiyu* models, however, their functions always shared two tenets: that the Chinese nation would be based on a nation of citizens who would learn the arts of self-discipline and attention to the larger consequences of all one's actions and movements, and that this could only be taught through a program of discipline that included a physical education, a *tiyu* "body-cultivation." For decades, historians of modern China have paid attention to the importance of the New Culture, New Education, and new philosophies of the Republican era, and how these all influenced the Chinese nation by influencing the ways Chinese talked and thought. Rarely, however, have we bothered to see how new ideas of physical fitness, physical education, physical exercise, and physical competition shaped the Chinese nation by influencing the ways in which Chinese understood and presented their bodies to fellow citizens and to the outside world. This is the history that I hope I have written in my dissertation - a history that takes into account the modern nation-state's concern with the individual citizen and his/her every move, and where each of these movements acquires new significances as seen through lenses of national shades.

Final Notes on Terminology

There are four other Chinese terms, besides "*tiyu*," which appear throughout this work in romanized (and always italicized) form. Two, *wushu* and *guoshu*, the most common terms used to describe what we call "martial arts" during the pre- and post-1927 periods, respectively, should be familiar to many readers. *Wushu*, the term now

again used most commonly in the PRC, has earned a place in the international lexicon alongside other martial Asian exports like *taijiquan*, *taekwondo*, or *jûdô*. *Guoshu*, the term that traveled with the Republican *tiyu* structure to Taiwan and is still used there, is perhaps less recognizable. However, its significance as a powerful symbol of a rationalized and nationalized modern martial arts (it translates directly as "national skills") is important enough to my discussion of this form for me to retain this terminology.

There are two other terms used here which will appear in romanized Chinese form. One is *ticao* (< Japanese "*taisô*"), that body of German and Swedish calisthenics and gymnastics imported into China first through Japan and then through the modernizing Chinese military. I use this term, which could be translated literally as "body-drill," partly for its obvious implications for the disciplining of the individual body, and partly for the sake of brevity (instead of repeatedly using "calisthenics and gymnastics," both of which are equally represented in this genre). The last term which will bedevil the reader with no knowledge of Chinese is *minzu*, a modern compound which I sometimes translate as "nation-race" and sometimes leave as is. *Minzu*, which derives from the Japanese *minzoku*, simply carries too much national significance to translate as "race," far too much racial significance to translate as "nation," and far too much passion and richness to dismiss with a boring "people" or "folk." This term appears most often in my discussions of 1930s physical culture, when the Nationalist regime makes a (German-, Italian- or Japanese-style) "nation-race" which can move and think as one a prime goal of the *tiyu* enterprise. I hope that the reader will forgive my frequent use of these Chinese terms. It is truly not laziness, but a perhaps counterproductive concern for "accuracy," and more importantly a conviction that the

literal native meanings of these terms truly do matter in this history of Chinese *tiyu*, that makes it hard for me to abandon them for English "equivalents" that just would not make the grade.

I use the *Hanyu pinyin* system for the romanization of Chinese personal and place names in all but a very few cases. Exceptions are Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and Taipei, which all remain more recognizable in older forms. When citing scholars from Taiwan, I defer to the non-*pinyin* romanizations that they prefer (if I am aware of it), but follow with the *pinyin* form within parentheses.

A final note regards my citations of Chinese publications with English subtitles. I find that the English titles which accompany many Republican-era publications often can give insight to how an author or publisher understands a certain work, and are thus too valuable to discard or replace with my own translations. Therefore, Chinese publications that carry English subtitles are cited to include both of these, as follows: "*Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)*." This is opposed to publications for which I provide translations, which appear as, for example: "*Di san ci quanguo yundong dahui tekan* [Special Publication of the Third National Games]," with square brackets and unitalicized English translations.

CHAPTER 1

To Make the 400 Million Move: The Late Qing Origins of Modern Chinese Physical Culture

Ancient Chinese Physical Culture

> As time has progressed, so has the art of ball games kept abreast with the cultural developments and changes. At present the coaching system has been prevalent in Europe, America, and the more progressive countries and institutions. The athletic schools have furnished technical knowledge and training in all kinds of ball games. Government authorities and the public have given great encouragement and support to games. But if we trace these developments to the records of long historical past in Greece and China, who can deny that these changes and modifications might not have been derived from the Orient, and more specifically, from China thousands of years before Christ?
>
> -G. G. Tan, 1959[1]

This dissertation, a study of physical culture in roughly the first half of the twentieth century, takes as its focus the modern forms of sport and physical training described above. Taught by progressive coaches, trained in specialized schools, sponsored by farseeing governments, and supported by enthusiastic fans, modern *tiyu* became an important element of Chinese culture in the early years of this century. The bulk of this chapter is devoted to an examination into the roots of modern Chinese physical culture - from *ticao* calisthenics and gymnastics to team sports *tiyu* - and what these forms meant to educators and students living and exercising in the last years of the Qing Dynasty. The drills and sports learned from German, Swedish, Japanese, British and American models were understood in terms of self-strengthening veins of Confucianism, and later in terms of important Darwinian and Spencerian developments.

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[1] G. G. Tan (Chen Zhang'e), "Chinese Origins of Diverse Types of Modern Ball Games," *China Today* 2.10 (October 1959), p. 75.

They provided new, strange and spectacular avenues of individual participation in the new national form, and carried great significance in terms of how a modernized Qing China would relate to the established nations of the world. However, despite these impressive credentials, this modern *tiyu* by no means represented the beginning of Chinese physical culture. Rituals and performances involving what some would now call "sport"-like contests were an important part of imperial culture for thousands of years. These ancient forms are the subject of this first section of Chapter One.

The study of "ancient physical culture" (*gudai tiyu*) took off in China in the early 1980s and is a thriving industry today.[2] I personally find it hard to use this term to describe a single identifiable "ancient *tiyu*." The premodern period offers no analog to the totalizing modern physical culture introduced to China in the late nineteenth century as part of the modern world system of nation-states, which came fully equipped with a systematic ideology invested with definite ideals of the relationship between the individual and the national body.

In taking this position, I have failed to heed Prasenjit Duara's important and accurate warnings about buying the "modern versus premodern polarity," or the "assumption of modern consciousness as a *unified* episteme marked by an epistemological break with past forms of consciousness."[3] However, it remains difficult for me to understand this body of new exercises and motions, new ideas about the relationship between the individual body and national health, and the new world

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[2] One historian of ancient *tiyu* confided in me that many *tiyu* scholars choose this field of research because of its relatively light political burdens (especially compared to Republican-era *tiyu* history).

[3] Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 54.

system of nation-states that produced this physical culture, as anything but a break from the diverse set of models introduced below. These new ideas would surely have been understood in terms of indigenous "Chinese" philosophies developing during the late Qing, such as notions of practical (as opposed to "abstract" *kaozheng*) scholarship, or of the position of the Qing in a world wrought by rapid economic/technological change and shifting balances of power. But I still maintain that the understanding of *tiyu* as a unified element of this greater unifying system makes it impossible to discuss modern physical culture in any terms that did not account for this break from past bodily forms and their meanings.

These ancient physical cultures were simply too diverse and particular for us to group them together as a single "ancient *tiyu*." However, this does not mean that there is nothing to learn from the dozens of scholars, almost exclusively based in the PRC, trained in physical education and ancient Chinese literature or history, working in the "ancient *tiyu*" field now. Their exhaustive *kaozheng*-style evidential research, published in journals sponsored by provincial and national sporting bureaucracies, uncovers more and more of this glorious *tiyu* history every year. To attempt to do justice to this body of research in a book-length work would be difficult, in a chapter ridiculous, and in any less of an effort shameful. Fortunately, shame is not a characteristic associated with most Western students of Chinese history. With all apologies to the scholars whose work informed this study, in this section I hope to provide a brief introduction to these premodern Chinese physical cultures.

Depending how broadly one wants to define the term, the existence of Chinese "*tiyu*" can be dated back to the Shang Dynasty, when oracle bones provided records of

dance, swimming, riding, and other physical forms related to hunting or ceremony.[4] Scholars of martial arts have cited texts like the *Zuozhuan*, the *Wu-Yue chunqiu*, and the *Mencius*, or analyzed artwork on Zhou Dynasty bronze vessels, to trace the evolution of "martial arts" from methods of warfare and hunting to ceremonial and even exercise-like forms in the pre-Qin era.[5] Others have combed Sima Qian's *Shiji*, turning up evidence of Warring States era weightlifting, boxing and wrestling contests, and *taju* ("kick-ball") military training games.[6]

The Chinese tradition of kickball or "soccer" games, which began with these Warring States rituals, is perhaps the best-documented of any forms of premodern physical culture. In fact, a brief description of the developments in this particular form can illustrate the many different purposes served by China's ancient physical cultures throughout the imperial millennia.

Mark Lewis has written on Han Dynasty kickball as a "military ritual linked to the annual cycle," a form said to be created by the Yellow Emperor, who inaugurated the first ever soccer game by stuffing the stomach of his vanquished enemy Chi You and making it into a ball.[7] This impressive pedigree, and the design of kickball fields

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[4] Ouyang Liqiang, "Jiaguwen zhong de tiyu huodong" [Physical culture activities as seen in oracle bones], *Tiyu wenshi (Sport History)* 57 (20 September 1992), pp. 33-34, 40.

[5] Zhang Chunben and Cui Lequan, *Zhongguo wushu shi* [The history of Chinese martial arts] (Taibei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1993), pp. 21-90; Lin Boyuan, *Zhongguo wushu shi* [The history of Chinese martial arts] (Taibei: Wuzhou chubanshe, 1996), pp. 34-81.

[6] Zhang-Qin Xiaoguo, "*Shiji* zhong de tiyu huodong" [Physical culture activities from the *Records of the Grand Historian*], *Tiyu wenshi (The Journal of Sport History and Culture)* 83 (January 1997), pp. 54-55.

[7] Other Han Dynasty customs like archery and the practice of making meat stew of one's dead enemies also originated in the Yellow Emperor's conquest of Chi You. Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp. 146-148.

based on images of the state, imperial rule, and Chinese cosmology all prove that kickball was "a fundamental ritual of imperial authority in Han China."[8] Weng Shixun of Hangzhou University, through exhaustive research, has established the following characteristics of Han Dynasty soccer (*cuju*, or "kick-ball"): the ball was round and stuffed with soft objects like feathers or hair, regulations called for two teams of six players, the contest required one referee, the contests did not utilize goals, and victory was achieved by successfully passing and dribbling the ball through the opposition (as the game modeled military conquest).[9] It did not take long for soccer games to transcend this military training role, as historians recorded that emperors of the Han and Eastern Han became addicted to the game.[10]

The Tang Dynasty is seen as the apogee of soccer history in China. The Liang Dynasty of the sixth century saw the introduction of an inflated ball. By the Tang, new rules were devised and committed to writing. In one version of Tang soccer, "two long bamboos were set up, several tens of feet in height, and with a silken net stretched across, over which the ball had to be kicked."[11] The game now became a form of popular recreation, supposedly played by members of all classes. The Tang also saw the spread of soccer culture among women,[12] and even the advent of traveling *cuju*

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[8] Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, pp. 148-150.

[9] Weng Shixun, "Shilun Handai zuqiu -- jian da Liu Bingguo laoshi" [A discussion of Han Dynasty soccer - and an answer to Master Liu Bingguo], *Tiyu wenshi* 35 (January 1989), pp. 44-55.

[10] Herbert A. Giles, "Football and Polo in China," *The Nineteenth Century and After* 349 (March 1906), p. 509.

[11] Giles, "Football and Polo in China," p. 509.

[12] Shu Peihua, "Gudai nüzi zuqiu shihua" [Notes on ancient poems on women's soccer], *Tiyu wenshi* 14 (June 1985), p. 33; Ren Hai, *Zhongguo gudai tiyu* [Ancient Chinese physical culture] (Taibei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1994), pp. 14-15.

teams, with their own cheerleading squads.[13] Soccer also became an important element of imperial entertainment. One Tang emperor was treated to a soccer game played on his behalf during a birthday celebration, the winners "rewarded with flowers, fruit, wine, and even silver bowls and brocades. The captain of the losing side was flogged, and suffered other indignities!"[14] But historians since have rued the developments of Song Dynasty soccer, which eliminated many of the game's competitive elements, and changed the main emphasis to details of posture and gesture. In mid-Song, soccer was still popular among the urban classes; a "young scamp" named Gao Qiu (*qiu* a play on the term for "ball") in *Outlaws of the Marsh* was so proficient in soccer that his skills earned him a position as Marshal of the Imperial Guards.[15]

However, the popular base that made Tang soccer so vibrant was soon lost when the once-competitive game was turned into merely an exhibition of specialized and flashy skills.[16] By the Yuan, soccer seems to have become merely a common antidote to aristocratic ennui; a Yuan drawing shows three robed scholars kicking a ball back and forth in the air in a luxuriant garden, all the while accompanied by servants and flautists.[17] These trends proved to weaken the *cuju* traditions so much that by the

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[13] Weng Shixun presentation. Quanguo gaoxiao *Tiyushi* jiaocai jianshe yantaohui [National Conference on Designing the High School *Sports History* Textbook], Hangzhou, Zhejiang, China, 22-25 November 1996.

[14] Giles, "Football and Polo in China," p. 510.

[15] Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, translated by Sidney Shapiro, *Outlaws of the Marsh (Shuihu zhuan)* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1993), Volume 1, pp. 15-20.

[16] Ren Hai, *Zhongguo gudai tiyu*, pp. 16-17; Giles, "Football and Polo in China," p. 510; Weng Shixun presentation, Quanguo gaoxiao *Tiyushi* jiaocai jianshe yantaohui; Chang Sheng-Ping (Zhang Shengping), "Tang Song Yuan Ming shiqi zuqiu yundong yanjiu (The Football of Tang, Sung, Yung, and Ming Dynasties)," unpublished paper, pp. 51-52.

[17] Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds, *Zhongguo gudai tiyushi* [The history of ancient Chinese physical culture] (Beijing: Beijing tiyu xueyuan chubanshe,

early Qing, soccer was subsumed into both the body of Manchu *bingxi* ice games and *jianzi* shuttlecock kick-juggling performances.[18] By the time that Western-style soccer arrived in China in the last years of the Qing, via British missionaries and Overseas Chinese returning from Southeast Asian colonial entrepots, there was literally no native soccer tradition to compete with this new form.

Thus, this single premodern physical form of kickball-soccer games (just one of 198 types of traditional Chinese physical culture listed in one work on the subject[19]), over a history of some two thousand years, manages to represent many of the different and diverse characteristics and histories of "ancient *tiyu*": military and ritual significance, its flourishing during the Tang and its subsequent decline from the late Tang on, its popular appeal among lower society, its importance in aristocratic life, and its status as a favorite activity in imperial palaces as well.

As was stated above, Chinese soccer first developed as a ritual packed with military significance, obviously an element that infused many early Chinese "*tiyu*" forms from martial arts to tug of war to strategic chess games. It is no recent late-twentieth century development that "sports" or physical contests or rituals reflect and symbolize the violence of contemporary society; Chinese soccer's origins in the kicking of an enemy's stuffed innards perhaps was not an image easily forgotten by participants in these games.

1990), illustration #26 before p. 219.

[18] Xiong Zhichong, "Qingdai cuju yundong shiliao buzheng" [Additions and corrections to materials on the history of Qing Dynasty soccer], *Tiyu wenshi* 24 (April 1987), pp. 62-65; Ren Hai, *Zhongguo gudai tiyu*, p. 19.

[19] Sheng Qi and Ding Zhiming, *Zhongguo chuantong tiyu fengsu* [Forms and practices of traditional Chinese physical culture] (Taibei: Baiguan chubanshe, 1994).

This ritual utility of physical culture is also seen in lighter settings as well. Kite-flying dates to the Warring States period and became widely popular during the Tang. By the Qing it was an important part of *Qingmingjie* celebrations, as it was a practical and joyous symbol of the coming of spring's pleasant weather and light breezes.[20] Likewise, tug of war contests originated in *Zhanguo*-period military training regimens, but by the Tang huge *bahe* tug of wars with hundreds of competitors per side became part of raucous New Year's celebrations.[21] Ever since the Tang, no *Duanwujie* summer solstice celebration could really be the same without the dragon-boat race. William Rowe sees these celebrations in Qing-era Hankou as not only the celebration of the "triumph of *yang*" (in both solar and masculine terms), but as an important and valuable chance for spectators of lower society to take control of the city for a few days in attempts to resolve subethnic and economic tensions.[22] Mountain hikes, another celebration of the *yang*, was also the order of the day on the *Chongyang* festival celebrating old age (the ninth day of the ninth month, "9" being the most *yang* of all the digits).[23]

Chinese soccer's Tang Dynasty flowering (and subsequent Song-era decline) is also a characteristic shared by many other of China's physical cultures. Like poetry, art, religion, architecture, cuisine, and virtually all aspects of Chinese culture, physical

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[20] Zhao Jianhua, Su Xiaoqing, Luo Shiming and Cao Shouhe, *Zhongguo tiyu jianshi* [A short history of Chinese physical culture] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1996), pp. 75-79.

[21] Zhao, Su, Luo and Cao, *Zhongguo tiyu jianshi*, pp. 79-80.

[22] William T. Rowe, *Hankow: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796-1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), pp. 201-206.

[23] Zhao, Su, Luo and Cao, *Zhongguo tiyu jianshi*, pp. 87-89.

cultures too were allowed to flourish and reach creative peaks in the cosmopolitan "renaissance" atmosphere of the Tang. What Tang poetry is to Chinese poetry, elegant, free, natural and unequaled by the boors and pretenders of the Song and later eras, Tang "*tiyu*" is to Chinese physical culture. The wonderful influences of Central Asia on Tang culture are also seen in the history of polo in China. Though some scholars identify Three Kingdoms-era references to games of "swiftly hitting the ball into earthen mounds" as early forms of polo,[24] the game was introduced to China on a large scale by Persian and Turkic peoples who came to China in the early Tang. As the horses purchased from these Turkic tribes became important symbols of wealth and power in Tang China, and equestrian training became a key element of the Tang military system, the popularity of polo boomed, even infecting rulers like the Xuanzong Emperor.[25] The first references to Chinese golf (called *chuiwan*, or "hit-ball") also date to the Southern Tang of the tenth century, a fact that researchers today proudly cite as preceding by 500 years the earliest references to golf in Scotland.[26]

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[24] Weng Shixun, "'Lian pian ji ju rang' shuo de shi maqiu" [What the references to "swiftly hitting the ball into earthen mounds" refer to is polo], *Tiyu wenshi* 18 (1986), pp. 19-20.

[25] Ya-sen-ha-si-mu, "Wei-wu-er maqiu shi tanyuan" [An investigation into the roots of Uighur polo], *Tiyu wenshi* 35 (January 1989), pp. 67-68; Giles, "Football and Polo in China," pp. 511-513; Ren Hai, *Zhongguo gudai tiyu*, pp. 20-21.

James T. C. Liu has written a fascinating study of Tang-Song polo, in which he describes the degeneration of the once-proud sport into an unhealthy obsession for late Tang emperors, a sport restricted to professional soldier-players and court entertainers, and a convenient pretext by which late Tand and Jurchen rulers killed off their enemies. The Song disregard for all the Tang's unorthodoxies, the depletion in the supply of horses after the fall of the Northern Song, and a near-fatal polo accident involving the Xiaozong Emperor of the Southern Song combined to nearly kill off the sport altogether in late imperial China. James T. C. Liu, "Polo and Cultural Change: From T'ang to Sung China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45.1 (June 1985), pp. 208-222.

[26] Ling Hongling, "Xuanchuan gao-er-fu qiyuan woguo de lishi zhenxiang, guangfan kaizhan gao-er-fu de qunzhong yundong" [Spread the word of the historical evidence proving golf's origins in our nation, and widely develop golf as a sport for the masses], *Gansu tiyu shiliao* 22 (December 1994), pp. 32-33.

Many authors also emphasize the popular, mass nature of soccer and other Chinese physical cultures, many of which were significant and meaningful ways to reproduce in playful and ritual form relationships of family, belief, labor and power. Even after the Song "decline" of soccer as a competitive sport, *baida* kick-juggling remained part of the popular realm.[27] Martial arts are the most obvious example of a physical culture belonging almost purely to the popular realm.[28] It is no accident that these fighting arts, practiced and performed to establish personal, factional and local hierarchies, as a *yang* aspect of religious and community festivals, for self-defense and for personal health and longevity, are celebrated as the truest and most vibrant form of traditional Chinese physical culture. *Zaji* acrobatics, part of imperial court entertainments since the Han, by the Yuan also had a strong foundation in popular culture. Ming and Qing courts called much less on acrobats for entertainment, and the culture became the domain of wandering *jianghu* itinerants who performed their death-defying stunts in markets, teahouses, religious festivals and theaters.[29] Most of the 198 forms of traditional physical culture listed by Sheng Qi and Ding Zhiming, from Tibetan *jiren* billiards-like games, to *maocai*, a game resembling hockey played by Yao people of Jianghua County, Hunan, to a brand of body-surfing called "sea-horse racing"

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[27] A Daoist priest of Ming times was able to use "shoulders, back, breast, and belly, to take the place of his feet; he could withstand several antagonists, making the ball run around his body without dropping." Giles, "Football and Polo in China," p. 510.

[28] The military exams administered by the imperial house were based on archery and feats of strength, not this domain of "martial arts."

[29] Fu Qifeng and Fu Tenglong, *Zhongguo zaji shi* [The history of Chinese acrobatics] (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1989), pp. 247-280; Chen Zhenhua, Lu Enchun and Li Shiming, *Zhongguo ticao yundong shi* [The history of Chinese gymnastics and calisthenics] (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1990), pp. 31-42.

invented by Yu tribes living on the southeast coast, belong to this popular realm.[30]

Physical culture was also an important part of aristocratic and elite life. Images of elites playing at soccer and golf games portray these activities as a relaxing pastime, where pursuit of skill was accompanied by the comfort of elite dominance, of being a member of, and associating with other members of, a class with the free time to present their bodies to each other in these serene and placid settings. Archery and *touhu*, a game of shooting arrows into a bottle, were genres in which the ideal Confucian gentleman would be proficient, and were favorite games in banquets and parties held by the learned elite. It is likely true that what was emphasized about archery was its "ritualistic aspect," which symbolized the well-rounded noble proficient in civil and military skills, and that later romantic notions of the "Confucian Warrior" were not credible.[31] But the more leisurely of Chinese physical cultures did belong to this elite realm of gentlemen and ladies passing their time in dignified and graceful movements which reproduced and justified even further their status atop society.

Finally, there was the imperial domain of physical culture, those contests and pageants held for imperial audiences, and sometimes even joined by rambunctious young emperors discounting the advice of their concerned ministers.[32] Where the Tang and Song sponsored soccer, polo and acrobatics contests and demonstrations, the Yuan

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[30] Sheng and Ding, *Zhongguo chuantong tiyu fengsu*, pp. 137, 185-186, 207-208.

[31] Jui-sung Yang, *A New Interpretation of Yen Yüan (1635-1704) and Early Ch'ing Confucianism in North China* (UCLA Ph.D. Dissertation, 1997), pp. 80-83; Benjamin I. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 57-58. These points here are from Yang's excellent discussion (pp. 73-119) of early Qing philosopher Yan Yuan's "masculine protest" against elite culture and his "reconfiguration of Confucian learning" into a more martial genre.

[32] One Tang emperor had a minister put to death after he dared remonstrate against his emperor's participation in sports like soccer and polo. Giles, "Football and Polo in China," p. 509.

held super-marathon races of 80-100 miles, showering silver and silk on the first four finishers.[33] Despite the popular line that the Qing Dynasty suppressed Chinese physical culture as part of the Manchu plot to enslave the entire Han race, their dynasty seems to have been the most energetic in hosting "*tiyu*" performances and contests. In fact, games of one sort or another were held every day, with emperors in attendance on the most auspicious days.[34] The Qing maintained a "Wrestling Excellence Camp" (*Shan pu ying*) of some 300 wrestlers, archers and jockeys who could serve as guards, work during military exams, or perform during feasts.[35] An image of young wrestlers taking part in an official Qing celebration shows several pairs of men grappling at once, accompanied by a orchestra and what seem to be scholarly rites taking place nearby.[36] Imperial banquets also featured leaping, throwing, dancing and hunting performances by Koreans, Mongolians, Central Asians, Javans and southern Miao peoples.[37] But the Manchus' favorite spectator sports were the *bingxi* ("ice-frolic") sports and pageants. These ice games, practice for which was seen as a supplement to military training, included contests and demonstrations in speed skating, figure skating, ice soccer,

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[33] One race went from Southeast Beijing to Wuqing County, Hebei (now Tianjin) and back, and the other from Xuanhua County to Beijing. Liang Tian, *Zhongguo tianjing fazhan jianshi* [A simple history of the development of track and field in China] (Guangdong tiyu kexue yanjiusuo and Guangdong tiyu wenshi weiyuanhui, 1982), p. 3.

[34] Wu Wenzhong, *Zhonghua tiyu wenhua shi tu xuanji (Selections of Historical Literatures and Illustrations of Physical Activities in Chinese Culture)* (Taibei: Xingzhengyuan xinwenju, 1975), p. 70.

[35] Wrestlers in the camp could earn bonuses based on their present ranking in the group. Cheng Shanqing, "Qingchao gongting he Minguo Tianqiao de guanjiao huodong" [Wrestling in the Qing Dynasty court and in Republican-era Tianqiao], *Tiyu wenshi* 50 (July 1991), pp. 21-22.

[36] Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds, *Zhongguo gudai tiyushi*, illustration #13 before p. 219.

[37] Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo tiyu fazhan shi* [The history of the development of Chinese sport] (Taibei: Guoli jiaoyu ziliaoguan, 1981), p. 60.

hockey-like games, ice wrestling, and massive dragon processions of skating archers shooting at "sky ball" and "earth ball" targets.[38] Every fall, a massive *bingxi* gala was held on Beihai Lake, with each of the eight Qing banners sending 200 skating representatives who competed in these events for prizes of silver.[39] These ice frolic games, a favorite of the Qianlong Emperor in particular, recalled a flavor of life in the Manchurian homeland, and reproduced the Manchu military legacy that had achieved the Great Enterprise of conquering and unifying China. The court's "*tiyu*" enterprise as a whole also worked as a type of tribute, as performers were rewarded handsomely for their part in enacting a live demonstration of the august suzerainty of the dynasty which could call before it participants in any and all activities popular among its millions of subjects.

I find this wide range of physical activities and the ideologies they carried simply too diverse to accurately characterize as a singular "ancient physical culture." There were too many of these cultures, originating in different parts of China or coming to China from different parts of Asia, used in different ritual forms to express different beliefs and hierarchies, and allowing their participants to relate to their bodies and to present their bodies to observers and fellow participants in different ways. It is for these reasons that I see the modern physical culture, introduced to China in the later decades of the Qing, as a clean break from these premodern cultures. Where these ancient Chinese physical genres were laced with different proportions of martial

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[38] Li Songfu, "Woguo gudai de 'bingxi'" [Our nation's ancient "ice frolics"], *Xin tiyu* 366 (February 1980), p. 35; Wu Wenzhong, *Zhonghua tiyu wenhua shi tu xuanji*, pp. 68-71; Ren Hai, *Zhongguo gudai tiyu*, pp. 58-62.

[39] Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds, *Zhongguo gudai tiyushi*, pp. 390-391.

manhood, aristocratic privilege, local flavor, cosmological patterns and calendrical patterns, the modern physical culture known as *tiyu* was a systematic ideology invested with definite ideals of the relationship between the individual and the national body. The modern *tiyu* was to these old physical cultures what the nation-state was to the old *Tianxia* - a break, brought in the name of unforgiving and violently intolerant international standards, commerce, and engagement. Once they came, courtesy of the imperialist powers, it was a whole new ballgame.

Origins of "Modern *Tiyu*": Late Nineteenth Century Military Drill

Conventional Chinese *tiyu* historiography would support my claim that the origins of modern Chinese physical culture lay in important military events of the mid-nineteenth century. Most similarities between my work and this accepted formula end here, however. National narratives and other forces of modernity have combined to gouge deep in Chinese stone the magic date of 1840 as the dawning of modern Chinese history and of modern Chinese *tiyu* history. This date is usually justified in a few different ways. The first manifestation of "modern *tiyu*" is usually identified as the heroic resistance of the "British-Quelling Squads" (*Pingyingtuan*) recruited from martial arts bands in Sanyuanli, Guangzhou in 1841.[40] If the forms of the martial arts "*tiyu*" methods they used in fending off the British imperialists were not modern in themselves, their function certainly was. This instance of Chinese using "*tiyu*" methods to fight off a modern military has thus been recognized as a pliable instance of modern

[40] For example, see Gu Shiquan, *Zhongguo tiyu shi (xia ce - jindai bufen)* [The history of Chinese physical culture (Volume II, Modern section)] (Beijing: Beijing tiyu xueyuan chubanshe, 1989), pp. 4-5.

tiyu in the Opium War era. Imperial Commissioner Lin Zexu's exhortations on the training of Guangdong armies are also cited with similar utility.[41] Other, more tortuous, methods have been used to justify the 1840 fountainhead. The fact that the tragic wars served as inspiration to Wei Yuan in his 1840s writings on maritime defense and use of barbarian methods, including Western methods of raising and training troops, has also been cited as clear proof of a "modern *tiyu* philosophy" in 1840s China.[42]

Not convinced by these arguments,[43] however, I have insisted on a later date of modern *tiyu*'s origins in China, instead seeing the events and trends surrounding the Taiping Rebellion as bearing the earliest possible roots of modern Chinese physical culture. It is during the 1850s and 1860s that the Qing's great regional armies began using Western drilling methods (*yangcao*) among their forces. One scholar, citing the presence of the phrase *yangcao* in relevant documents, claims that "foreign (military) calisthenics" were being taught in Zeng Guofan's Hunan Army as early as 1853.[44] I am

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[41] Gu Shiquan, *Zhongguo tiyu shi (xia ce - jindai bufen)*, pp. 14-15.

[42] Qiao Keqin and Guan Wenming, *Zhongguo tiyu sixiangshi* [The history of Chinese physical education philosophy] (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1993), pp. 169-171; Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds., *Zhongguo jindai tiyushi* [The history of modern Chinese sport] (Beijing: Beijing tiyu xueyuan chubanshe, 1989), p. 51.

[43] There are recent exceptions to this conventional model. One new history bypasses altogether the difficult 1840s-Opium War question (and many of the chief assumptions of contemporary Chinese historiography) by posing the entry of Western physical culture into China in the 1860s, a position that I also describe below. Zhao, Su, Luo and Cao, *Zhongguo tiyu jianshi*, p. 95.

Another approach is taken by Taiwan scholar Hsu I-hsiung, who sees the roots of modern *tiyu* in the early national-racial appeals for self-strengthening. He traces this philosophy (and thus the origins of modern *tiyu* philosophy) to 1862 and the establishment of the College of Foreign Languages (*Tongwenguan*). Hsu I-hsiung (Xu Yixiong), "Qingmo Minchu junguomin jiaoyu tiyu sixiang de xingcheng (shang)" [The formation of late Qing-early Republican military citizenship physical education thought, Part 1], *Guomin tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 20.3 (September 1991), p. 131.

[44] Li Ning, "Wan Qing jundui bianlian yu jindai tiyu chuanbo" (Late Qing military training and the

somewhat skeptical of this early date as an origin of modern physical training methods, because I am not convinced that the phrase *yangcao* refers to a "foreign (military) calisthenics." Military writings from the 1830s use the phrase *caoyan* to describe military practice drilling. The post of Drill Supervising Officer (*ducao guan*) required overseeing preparation of massive yearly drills held for the inspection of military superiors. From this brief data, the term *cao* seems to refer to something more along the lines of modern military marching, as opposed to the mass daily teaching of relevant movements or exercises referred to as "teaching skills" (*jiaoxi jiyi*).[45]

I accept the 1860s as a suitable time frame for the entry of military calisthenics into Chinese armies, and thus the earliest entry of concepts of modern physical culture into Chinese culture. In 1862, the Qing invited 17 British officers to teach artillery and physical training to the Tianjin "Foreign-Arms" Squadron (*yangqiang dui*).[46] Zuo Zongtang, while serving in Zhejiang, maintained contact with the mixed British-Chinese "Ever-Peaceful Army" (*Chang'an jun*) and French-Chinese "Ever-Triumphant Army" (*Changjie jun*), leading to the spread of modern military calisthenics to many of Zuo's forces as well.[47] This contact with modern physical drill was still scarce, however, and probably cannot be said to be truly significant until the next decade. By the mid-1870s, Zuo was working to spread modern military calisthenics throughout his troops in

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spread of modern physical culture), *Tiyu wenshi* 7 (June 1984), p. 7.

[45] *Xiamen zhi (Daoguang shijiu nian)* [Xiamen gazetteer (1839)] (Xiamen: Lujiang chubanshe, 1996), Section 3, p. 71.

[46] Li Ning, "Wan Qing jundui bianlian," p. 7.

[47] Qiao Keqin, "Gansu jindai tiyu dashi jilüe (1840-1949)" [A chronology of important events in Gansu modern physical culture (1840-1949)], *Gansu tiyu shiliao* 9 (March 1987), p. 24; Li Ning, "Wan Qing jundui bianlian," p. 7.

Gansu.[48] In 1876, Li Hongzhang sent seven young Zhili officers to Germany to study modern military methods; upon their return in 1879, German military calisthenics became standard training in the Zhili army.[49] This trend continued with the 1880s-1890s founding of various military academies in Tianjin, Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Shanghai, Hubei and Nanjing, where it was common to have German, French, Japanese and English officers teaching military calisthenics and gymnastics.[50] By 1884, a Li Fengbao had translated into Chinese a German textbook on military calisthenics that apparently achieved wide use.[51] The Hubei Military Academy, sponsored by Zhang Zhidong, in 1900 printed a two-volume set describing several types of military exercises, with several of the chapters narrated to Chinese translators by the school's German instructors.[52]

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[48] Qiao Keqin, "Gansu jindai tiyu dashi jilüe," p. 7.

[49] Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds., *Zhongguo jindai tiyushi*, p. 53.

[50] Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds., *Zhongguo jindai tiyushi*, pp. 54-55; Li Ning, "Wan Qing jundui bianlian," p. 8; Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo tiyu fazhan shi*, p. 67.

Military calisthenics were not all that was taught in these academies. Decades later, an ex-midshipman remembered the inclusion of track and field, martial arts, boxing and even ball sports in the curriculum at the Beiyang Naval Academy in the mid-1890s. Wang Enbo, "Tantan liushisan nian qian de tiyu huodong" [Discussing the physical culture of 63 years ago], *Zhongguo tiyu shi cankao ziliao, di san ji* [Reference materials on the history of Chinese physical culture, Volume 3], p. 121, quoted in Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds., *Zhongguo jindai tiyushi*, p. 55.

Lu Xun later mentioned the gymnasium and swimming pool facilities in use at the Jiangnan Naval Academy when he began study there in 1898. Wang Shiqing, *Lu Xun: A Biography* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1984), pp. 37-38.

[51] Zhang Tianbai, "Woguo jindai chuban tiyu jiaokeshu de zaoqi gaikuang" [Our nation's early physical education textbooks], *Tiyu wenshi* 41 (January 1990), p. 51.

[52] *Hubei wuxue* [Hubei Military Academy] (1900).

On Strength: Late Qing Notions of Physical Fitness

These new texts and the military culture they represented were an important foundation for a modern Chinese *tiyu*. Without the bourgeois sporting and gymnastics clubs which characterized European sporting beginnings in the mid-19th century, it took this military element in China to begin to spread the earliest awareness of modern-Western physical forms. However, a set of military exercises does not a modern physical culture make. The systems of physical drill and exercise to which I have referred above were obviously isolated to the military environment only. In fact, their existence is likely much more useful in helping contemporary scholars to posit early *tiyu* origins in China than they ever were in effectively disseminating any *tiyu* methods or ideologies within greater late Qing society. The text printed at the Hubei Military Academy, mentioned above, contains traces of an explicit *ticao* ideology, as an Officer Reiner is quoted as saying that his exercises could "strengthen one's courage, steel one's heart, and in time of danger, the self-confidence obtained will eliminate any trace of fear."[53] However, it seems unlikely that this kind of specialized martial-drill ideology ever spread too far outside these military encampments and training centers. A useful search for the roots of modern Chinese physical culture must also include a study of late Qing self-strengtheners, reformers and revolutionaries who, alarmed by imperialist advances over the Chinese empire, looked to individual bodily strength and physical fitness as the key to national and racial survival.

It is certainly debatable how great a revelation this late-Qing "realization" of the connections between individual bodies and the welfare of the larger national (or

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[53] *Hubei wuxue*, Volume 2, Chapter 1, p. 1.

imperial) community was. The Confucian gentleman, foundation of the social order for millennia, was expected to (at least symbolically) master the Six Arts, two of which (archery and chariot driving) were affairs of the body. The martial ethos, another realm which combined wits and physical might, and embodied by heroes like Yue Fei, was a cardinal element of the imperial heritage. Recent work by Angela Zito illustrates the importance of the human body in state rituals designed to "center" the imperial state, allowing it to "make the triad with heaven and earth."[54] These examples prove that the simple fact of association between the individual body and the affairs of the empire clearly did not present a radical break from "traditional" imperial precepts.

The atmosphere that gave rise to the "wealth and power" reformers of the late nineteenth century, who became the first to advocate ideas that can be seen as "modern *tiyu* ideology," can also be seen as firmly based in Confucian tradition. When concerned observers earlier in the century began to understand *kaozheng* evidential scholarship as a field which bred bookish neglect, as opposed to a more "rigorous" concentration on moral reform and statecraft, a program which later lent itself easily to new ideas of the body and strength, their concerns were still rooted securely in the classical Confucian canon.[55] The "self-strengthening" Tongzhi-era reformers active after the disasters of the Second Anglo-Chinese War and the Taiping Rebellion, whose plans for military modernization were also fertile ground for notions of physical

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[54] Angela Zito, "Silk and Skin: Significant Boundaries," in Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow, eds., *Body, Subject & Power in China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 105, 117.

[55] Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984) pp. 236-241; Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1964), pp. 6-8.

strength and the nation, also envisioned their plans as part and parcel of the Confucian concern for the state and the military.[56] And Benjamin Schwartz has described the 1880s search for "the techniques of wealth and power," the avenue by which modern physical culture entered into Chinese reformist thinking just years later, as a revived commitment to "that Legalist vein of Confucian thought which had stressed the compatibility of wealth and power with Confucian values."[57]

But could these indigenous traditions have led by themselves to notions accommodative to modern forms of physical culture brought by Western and Japanese imperialists just years later? It troubles the researcher to have to posit the Chinese discovery of nineteenth-century Western writings on evolution and human progress as a deciding factor in the course of history, here the late Qing turn to matters of the individual body and racial-national strength. But discourses on the interrelatedness of moral, intellectual and physical education, or on physical preparedness and competition in a ruthless world never could have arisen in Chinese reformist circles without these Spencerian and Darwinian nudges.[58] I do maintain that the mid- to late-nineteenth century trends of practical and morally relevant research (as opposed to *kaozheng*), self-strengthening and the search for techniques of wealth and power were all important and necessary blocks in the foundation of this later awareness of the modern role of the

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[56] Mary C. Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-Chih Restoration, 1862-1874* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), pp. 2-8, 43-67.

[57] Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power*, pp. 12-17.

[58] James Pusey makes the point that although 1860s self-strengtheners like Feng Guifen did not need Darwin to understand Western intentions and the source of these nations' strength, it was Darwin, as "translated" by Spencer, that allowed Yan Fu to bring in biology and physical strength, and to proclaim that (in Pusey's words) "they who make themselves fit survive." James Reeve Pusey, *China and Charles Darwin* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1983), pp. 6, 50-79.

individual body. The progressive sociological and scientific teachings of these latter-day Western sages made much sense to Chinese reformers at the end of their collective rope and hunting determinedly for innovations that would allow China's ancient heritage to survive the ominous crises of the late Qing.

The disastrous Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 was the final straw that brought Chinese reformers and revolutionaries to these Western ideas of the supremacy of the individual body. In this world narrated by Spencer and Darwin, the individual self was now a self-enclosed container, yet one whose matter was a trainable and improvable whole whose condition carried critical importance for the welfare of the greater community. Here, mind and body were now understood as separate and independent, but still mutually influential entities. The self also contained a "morality," a quality that was understood to be a socially relevant force that intervened between the affairs of the mind and one's corporeal habits and behaviors.[59] And this new self was graciously welcomed to a late Qing world where reformers for decades now had decided, on thoroughly Confucian terms, to use new practical and forceful ways to strengthen the nation.

From a Physical Education to the Martial Spirit

Most scholars agree that the earliest Chinese usage of the phrase "*tiyu*" came in Yan Fu's 1895 essay "On Strength."[60] Yan used the phrase in the context of his

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[59] This notion of morality in Spencer was suggested to me by Michael Chang.

[60] Hsu I-hsiung (Xu Yixiong), "Zhongguo jindai minzu zhuyi tiyu sixiang zhi tezhi" [Special characteristics of modern Chinese nationalistic philosophies of physical culture], *Tiyu xuebao (Bulletin of Physical Education)* 12 (December 1990), p. 15.

However, one scholar has raised the possibility that, depending on the veracity of two generations of copied works, the phrase "*tiyu*" appeared in late 1860s writings on Yang-style

discussion of Spencer's formulation of the holy trinity of moral, intellectual and physical education, and this origin of the term is important for several reasons. Schwartz describes Spencer's world as told by Yan Fu as "energy, dynamism, struggle, self-assertion, and the fearless realization of all human potentialities on ever higher levels of achievement," all in terms of Spencer's nation-society, where the duty of the individual is "above all a commitment to the survival and growth of the social organism of which he is a part."[61] This is the context in which Yan imagined "physical education" or "physical culture" to be relevant; his "*tiyu*" did not connote a given set of physical activities or even ideologies, but was an all-encompassing construction representing the importance of the individual body in a new China fit to survive in modern times. These Spencerian connections are also significant in that the earliest appearance in Japan of the phrase "*taiiku*" (> Chinese "*tiyu*") was in documents explaining the new Meiji educational system of 1872, also via contemporary translations of Spencer.[62] Whether Yan Fu knowingly borrowed this term from Japanese is difficult to establish. However, these shared Spencerian origins of the terminology of modern physical culture are at the very least symbolically important, as

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taijiquan. Shen Shou, "Woguo 'tiyu' yi ci keneng chuxian zai shijiu shiji de liushi niandai" [On the possibility of the phrase "*tiyu*" appearing in writings of our nation in the 1860s], *Chengdu tiyu xueyuan xuebao (Journal of Chengdu Physical Education Institute)* 20.2 (28 April 1994), pp. 18, 43.

It should also be noted that what are likely the earliest Chinese comments on modern physical culture were written on these forms as observed in American and British society. Zhang Deyi, in his *Diary of European and American Travels*, made 35 entries from the period between April 1868 and September 1869 on subjects ranging from children's games and swimming techniques to ice skating and modern military physical training. Zhang Deyi, translated by Simon Johnstone, *Diary of a Chinese Diplomat* [*Ou-Mei huanyouji*] (Beijing: Panda Books, 1992), pp. 49-318.

[61] Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power*, pp. 55-57.

[62] Private conversation with Munakata Tatsuya, Taipei, Taiwan, 21 December 1995; Private conversation with Inoue Akio and Abe Ikuo, Shunde, Guangdong, China, 21 September 1996.

they also can represent the heavy debts owed by the early Chinese *tiyu* community to Japanese adaptations and translations of European physical culture.

"*Tiyu*" to the late Qing reformers signified any general program that would allow the people of China to develop their bodies and the latent martial virtues that would be unlocked with this new personal strength. In "On Strength," Yan writes,

> Today, if we want to talk about the wealth and power of nations, the basis must be the physical strength of the people... if we look at the lessons left us from Chinese and Western history, of the fifty to sixty nations that exist on five continents today, there is not one that did not arise out of this [physical strength]. Greece of the Zhou [Dynasty], Rome of the Han, the Turks of the Tang - these dominant groups of each age have all grown to be strong and beautiful, able to withstand suffering and capable in war, ruling over their era ..."[63]

By locating China squarely within the powerful legacies of Western antiquity (or vice versa: Greece of the Zhou, Rome of the Han!), Yan posed the new connotations of physical and national strength as standard common sense, which indeed it must have seemed to intellectuals raised on decades of talk of practical, immediate, Western-modeled reform.

Once Yan made these bold claims to an immediate and straightforward solution to China's problems of weakness, scarce was the reformer who did not weigh in with his own suggestions in the field of physical training. Revolutionary martyr Tan Sitong saw direct connections between a society's "dynamism" or "love of movement" and the status of that nation on the world stage. Tan wrote on the need "to make the 400 million move (*dong*)," explaining that "Western hegemony over the five continents

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[63] Yan Fu, "Yuan qiang xiudinggao" [On Strength, A revised draft], in Wang Shi, ed., *Yan Fu ji, di yi ce* [Yan Fu's writings, Volume 1] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), p. 27.

comes from their love of movement."[64] Convinced of the primacy of movement, Tan declared that "A body that moves is a strong body, and a family that moves is a strong family. A nation that moves is a strong nation, and if the empire moves it will be a strong empire."[65] Kang Youwei was another of the earliest "*tiyu*" voices in China. One of his famed 1898 memorials included his observations that "moving the body makes it strong, while sitting for too long leaves one weary and broken-down."[66] In Kang's incredible *Datong shu* (Book of the Great Harmony), which he finished in 1902,[67] he outlined plans for elementary and middle schools, colleges, and institutions for the poor, which all would include recreational facilities and instruction in physical education.[68]

Kang's student Liang Qichao felt just as strongly about this need for a new physical culture.[69] In his 1902-03 series "On the New Citizen," Liang wrote on the

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[64] Tan Sitong, "Renxue, juan shang" [A study of humanity, Part 1], in *Tan Sitong quanji* [The complete collection of Tan Sitong's writings] (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1954), p. 37.

[65] Quoted in Hsu I-hsiung, "Qingmo Minchu junguomin jiaoyu tiyu sixiang de xingcheng (shang)," p. 135.

Lu Xun was clearly influenced by this strain of thought. In his 1908 work "On the Demoniac Poets," he wrote of the need for "spiritual fighters" to combat lethargy in China, and asked, "Shall we remain meditating and only capable of meditating?" Wang Shiqing, *Lu Xun: A Biography*, pp. 74-75.

[66] Kang Youwei, "Shang Qingdi er shu," quoted in Qiao and Guan, *Zhongguo tiyu sixiangshi*, p. 205.

[67] However, Kang's first draft of the book was finished as early as 1885. Laurence G. Thompson, *Ta T'ung Shu: The One-World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1958), pp. 13-19.

[68] These plans are included in Kang's Part Six, "Abolishing Family Boundaries and Becoming 'Heaven's People.'" Thompson, *Ta T'ung Shu*, pp. 196-200.

[69] Liang's late 1890s writings show the sprouts of this theme. Influenced by Tan Sitong's theories on self-renewal, Liang's "On Dynamism" saw all the world's functions rooted in and dependent on movement. These cosmological ideas were brought closer to ideas of modern physical culture by his transformation of Mencian ideas of the *qun* collective into notions of popular sovereignty. Hao Chang, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 87-89, 103-105.

calamitous legacy of the weak Chinese body, which had everything to do with the absence of concepts of progress and public morality and duty in China.[70] Liang saw "competition" (*jingzheng*) as "the mother of evolution" (*jinhua zhi mu*). Only by keeping abreast of this constant Darwinian competition could an individual or nation survive, and this was possible only by keeping physically strong (as well as morally and intellectually strong, which would directly follow).[71] Liang even came to imagine the constant contest of life in the modern age in terms of physical competition, describing it thusly: "Yesterday B beat A. Today C beats B. Tomorrow A still has to beat C. All are proud, all are jealous of the others, but all still teach the others. It is like a horse race, or a footrace, or a boat race."[72] In "On Martial Spirit," Liang went so far as to advocate specific types of physical training. He maintained that there was not a single European nation that did not aggressively push calisthenics, fencing, horsemanship, soccer, wrestling, marksmanship, swimming and boat races among the citizenry, and identified China's weakness and lack of a martial spirit as a result of China's lack of these programs of physical competition.[73]

The writings of future Republican military hero Cai E were also important in proving the demand for a new Chinese physical culture. Writing in 1902 in Tokyo for

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[70] Liang Qichao, "Xinmin shuo, di shiqi jie: Lun shangwu" [On the New Citizen, Chapter 17: On Martial Spirit], in Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi heji, zhuanji di san ce* [A collection from the ice-drinker's studio, Commentaries, Volume 3] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju), pp. 108-109.

[71] Even Wang Guowei, the prototype loyalist bookworm, was able to identify with and advocate this logic. In his 1906 article "On the Principles of Education," Wang discussed the direct connections between "physical ability" and "spiritual ability" in the "complete individual." Qiao and Guan, *Zhongguo tiyu sixiangshi*, p. 209.

[72] Liang Qichao, "Xinmin shuo shi" [On the New Citizen, Part 10], *Xinmin congbao* 2 (1902), p. 47.

[73] Liang Qichao, "Xinmin shuo, di shiqi jie: Lun shangwu," p. 117.

Liang Qichao's *New Citizen*, Cai coined the phrase "military citizenship" (*jun guomin*) in his discussion of the military training that Chinese would have to undertake in order to strengthen their bodies. His article "On Military Citizenship" made Yan Fu-influenced appeals to antiquity and the lessons of military strength.

> Sparta's heroic domination of Greece, the sway Rome held over Europe, the Mongolian Tartars' riding roughshod over the Orient, the Turkish barbarians' forcing the Roman race into a retreat -- none of these [peoples] had what we would call outstanding knowledge, but their bodies were strong and ferocious, so that they could withstand the most intense winters and the fiercest summers, wind and rain, hunger and famine, and not even think anything of it.... With regards to physical fitness, our encouragement will not be credible until we come up with something tangible. If it is boat racing, racing, swordfighting, racewalking, hitting balls, swimming, firing guns, wrestling, equestrian events, archery, or bicycle racing, the winners need to be rewarded with something of value. Even if it means getting some famous scholar to give his encouragement to a winning team, this will add to the reputation [of the physical fitness movement], and before long it will become a custom.[74]

Cai's formulation of this "military citizenship," complete with his very concrete suggestions for breeding this quality in China's citizenry, soon became one of the cornerstones of late Qing *tiyu* philosophy. Later that same year, Jiang Baili, a cadet in the Army Officers' Academy in Japan, wrote another important article entitled "Military Citizenship Education" in *New Citizen*. Jiang understood the nation, and even each school, as an army writ small, and described the need to organize all of society like an army, inculcating respect for law and order and a martial spirit. Jiang also called for the construction of public recreation areas, and state sponsorship of competitive

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[74] Fenhesheng (Cai E), "Jun guomin pian" [On military citizenship], *Xinmin congbao* 1, 3, 7, 11 (1902), reprinted in Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Quanguo tizong wenshi ziliao bianshen weiyuanhui, eds., *Tiyu shiliao di 17 ji: Zhongguo jindai tiyu wenxuan* [Historical materials on physical education, Volume 17: Selections from modern Chinese physical culture] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1992), p. 5.

sporting events.[75] The odd syntax of these formulations of "military citizenship" and the "military citizenship education" is instructive. I see the "*jun*" in "*jun guomin*" as a transitive verb, describing a "militarizing" process which was effected as a "new citizenry" was targeted as the direct object of these competitive activities. Like Liang's writings, then, these famed pieces by Cai and Jiang posed this system of grueling and competitive physical activities as a regimen that would work wonders on the physical strength, and also the national commitment, the very citizenship, of its subjects.

Women's Physical Fitness: Race and Nation

The ideas expressed above all relate the health of the individual body to the status and welfare of the nation. However, the Chinese "race" was an important aspect of late Qing ideas of physical fitness as well, and entered the dialogue via the great emphasis placed on the condition of women's bodies. Like the general discourse of physical fitness and preparedness and the state of the nation, this discussion of race and Chinese women began with references to Greek and Roman antiquity. The first to make this connection was Yan Fu, who described with great admiration Spartan programs of physical training and the public *jin-meng-na-zhi-an* ("gymnasium") where women could train their bodies.[76] Liang Qichao's "On Martial Spirit" also praised the

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[75] Jiang Baili, "Jun guomin zhi jiaoyu" [Military citizenship education], quoted in Hsu I-hsiung (Xu Yixiong), "Qingmo Minchu junguomin jiaoyu tiyu sixiang de xingcheng (xia)" [The formation of late Qing-early Republican military citizenship physical education thought, Part 2], *Guomin tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 20.4 (December 1991), pp. 65-66.

[76] Yan glossed "*jin-meng-na-zhi-an*" as "facility for training the body" (*lianshenyuan*). Yan Fu, "Yuan qiang xiudinggao," p. 132.

However, recent research has established that while Spartan girls and women did undergo systematic military training, the Greek public gymnasium and Olympiad explicitly excluded female participation or even spectatorship. Gertrud Pfister, "Women's Sports in Europe," paper presented at Di yi jie Dongbeiya tiyu yundongshi xueshu yantaohui [First Conference on the History of Physical Education and Sport in Northeast Asia], National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan, 19-21

universal physical training programs of ancient Sparta, where women and men, old and young, were all included.[77]

This concern for women's bodies and health was mostly an extension of concern for the Chinese racial stock. Editorial comments by Yan Fu included in his translation of Spencer's *The Study of Sociology* refer to the need for strong women who can bear and nurse strong sons.[78] Liang also saw the need for women's physical fitness programs as vital to the strength of the military, since it was women who had the task or power (*quan*) of preserving the race by giving birth to "strong and stately infants."[79]

Most of this concern was phrased in terms of harmful Chinese customs which weakened women's bodies, like the practices of early marriage and footbinding. Benevolent male reformer after benevolent male reformer registered ringing condemnations of the awful custom of footbinding, which made its victims the chief cause of the lethargy and enervation of the Chinese nation. Yuan Shikai, in an article entitled "On the Harm of Not Initiating Women's Education," gave this important explanation:

> Mothers with bound feet cannot exercise, so their arteries get stopped up and they are all sick. All the sons and daughters they produce are emaciated and weak, dizzy and likely to die young. Most never live as long as Heaven intended them to, and if they do grow up, they are just

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[77] Liang Qichao, "Xinmin shuo, di shiqi jie: Lun shangwu," pp. 108-109; Pusey, *China and Charles Darwin*, pp. 263-265.

[78] Quoted in Hsu I-hsiung, "Qingmo Minchu junguomin jiaoyu tiyu sixiang de xingcheng (shang)," p. 132.

[79] Liang Qichao, "Xinmin shuo, di shiqi jie: Lun shangwu," p. 117; Hsu I-hsiung, "Qingmo Minchu junguomin jiaoyu tiyu sixiang de xingcheng (shang)," p. 134.

> more sick people. This is why people of our nation are ridiculed as "sick men" (*bingfu*) by all the nations of the globe.[80]

Another author, inspired by this logic, made a similar point:

> There is not one [Chinese woman] who does not have a disease of the blood or spirit, and these illnesses are never cured well. So the sons and daughters whom they bear are polluted by heredity and this diseased body, and when they become adults, they will never grow to be strong and healthy either. And each generation just gets weaker than the one before it. This is why Westerners laugh at us and call us the "Sick Man of the Orient" (*dongfang bingfu*).[81]

The logic was simple. Everything about the Chinese nation was weak and feminized in the imperialist narratives of the late nineteenth century. Chinese women, an easily isolated target as the weakest of the weak, the most stagnant, sluggish, passive, the "most Chinese" of all, were thus identified (with the rapier point of scientific wisdom) as the root of the problem.[82] The late Qing reformist fascination with the objective "health" of Chinese women's bodies appeared as they used a new and unchallengeable biological authority to present Chinese women's weakness as a dangerous but solvable racialist cause of the weakness of the Chinese nation.

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[80] Quoted in Cheng Ruifu, *Qingmo nüzi tiyu sixiang de xingcheng (1894-1911) - yi ziqiang baozhong sixiang wei zhongxin zhi tantao* [The formation of late Qing philosophies of women's physical fitness (1894-1911): A study undertaken from the perspective of self-strengthening and racial-preservation thought] (Taibei: Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue tiyu yanjiusuo Master's Thesis, 1994), p. 67.

[81] Lianshi, "Discourses on Five Great Philosophies," quoted in Cheng Ruifu, *Qingmo nüzi tiyu sixiang de xingcheng*, p. 33.

One scholar identifies a Japanese columnist named Kikui, writing in 1901, as the first to use this term "Sick Man of the Orient," although Yan Fu and Kang Youwei both used terms like "afflicted" (*bingzhe*) or "affliction" (*bingzheng*) to describe China's weak populace. Tan Huawen, "'Dongya bingfu' xiaoshi" [A short history of the term "Sick Man of the Orient"], *Tiyu wenshi* 17 (April 1986), p. 48.

[82] Julie Broadwin has explained how boundfoot women came to be seen as perhaps China's worst enemies, as their condition could be blamed for a Chinese lack of production and military strength, as well as for an abundance of laziness and irrational eroticism. Julie Broadwin, "Walking Contradictions: Chinese Women Unbound at the Turn of the Century," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 10.4 (December 1997), p. 427.

There were, however, women making themselves heard about the need for women's physical education programs. Many of these women used the trope of the healthy Western woman, utilized and implied so often by Chinese men in their criticisms of weak Chinese women, to their advantage. In 1896, a Mrs. Jia-Fu wrote in her article "On Footbinding":

> Bound feet make one sigh with distress from morning to night, as the discomfort of our unhealthy spirit and blood, and our misery, are always there. What makes this even more difficult is that it is not easy at all for us to exercise. When one compares us with the women of the West, so free to move wherever they wish, how could our situations be so far apart, as far apart as heaven and earth?[83]

Xiaomei Chen has coined the term "Occidentalism" to describe the practice where "constructing its Western Other [allows] the Orient to participate actively and with indigenous creativity in the process of self-appropriation, even after being appropriated and constructed by Western Others."[84] When Jia-Fu asks Chinese men to explain the miseries Chinese women have to suffer while Western women are so "free," she creates a perfect instance of what Chen calls "anti-official Occidentalism," where dissidents design powerful discourses "using the Western Other as a metaphor for political liberation."[85] Jia-Fu's imaginings of free and mobile "Other" Western women allow her to call attention to the status of women in Chinese society, in the same hegemonic terms used by male intellectuals. But her clever use of their modernist gaze - which also happened to accommodate this critical space - turns women's *tiyu* from a category subservient to the national-racial good to a category of women's liberation.

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[83] Quoted in Cheng Ruifu, *Qingmo nüzi tiyu sixiang de xingcheng*, p. 66.

[84] Xiaomei Chen, *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 5.

[85] Chen, *Occidentalism*, p. 8.

A more famous woman who advocated women's *tiyu* was the revolutionary martyr Qiu Jin. A martial arts aficionado and founder of the Shaoxing Women's Physical Education Association, Qiu also wrote about the larger implications of unbinding women's feet in her article "Warning to My 200 Million Fellow Chinese Women":

> How wonderful is it to unbind one's feet? Walking down the street will never again wrinkle your brow with difficulty. One can make one's body strong with much exercise, not like the old weakness and tenderness where we had to ask men to do every little thing for us.... First, everyone is capable of being independent and not depending on men. Second, we can go all-out in anything we do, so the great number of female heroines will put people in awe of us. Third, family education simply cannot do without the mother, and this can be extended to the nation, whose education also cannot do without women.[86]

Qiu's appeals for women's say in their own physical fitness and well-being were also phrased in terms that male intellectuals could never dispute. While toeing simultaneously the Yan-Liang line that national strength depends on women's physical strength, and the orthodox ideal of the wise mother educating her sons and daughters, Qiu's association of women's liberation with national liberation made the powerful point that women were being prevented from ever truly aiding the nation.

In these ways, the male-dominated late Qing discourse of physical strength was mediated and appropriated by women who worked to keep the realm of women's *tiyu* open to women's own ideas of what their healthy bodies represented. But the larger idea, that a strong and healthy society and nation would correlate directly with the physical strength of its populace, was virtually unassailable by the early 1900s. With

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[86] Quoted in Lin Jingping, "Qiu Jin yu jindai Zhongguo nüzi tiyu" [Qiu Jin and women's physical culture in modern China], *Guomin tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 20.3 (September 1991), p. 157.

the nineteenth century trends toward practical endeavor and modern methods as the foundation, topped off by Spencerian and Darwinian notions of society and race, energy and dynamism, and the ability for the individual to make his or her discrete contribution to the whole, these notions of the utility of the healthy and fit individual body provided the background for China's modern *tiyu* enterprise.

The Institutionalization of *Ticao* Programs in the Late Qing

Late Qing *ticao* calisthenics and drill developed in uniquely Chinese ways from the concerns about national-racial health and the trends toward a "military citizenship" described above. The following section deals with the Anglo-American sports *tiyu* model, introduced by missionaries and good-doing foreign observers concerned with the weak state of Chinese national and individual bodies. For all the use many Chinese saw in these forms, their universality made it impossible for Chinese to add to this realm their own innovations. *Ticao*, however, allowed more space for the "Chinese." Although clearly inspired by Swedish, German and Japanese models,[87] the late Qing *ticao* push was engineered by Chinese reformers and educators even more concerned than the foreigners about the health of their China. *Ticao* was a Chinese response, fashioned together partly out of impressive foreign examples, to calls made by influential Chinese to reform the bodies and spirits of their nation's endangered populace.

The very earliest calisthenics instruction in Chinese schools was carried out

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[87] The Japanese term "*taisō*" (> Chinese "*ticao*") was introduced during the late Tokugawa era, and was used to refer to the foreign exercise forms originally known as *jimunasuchiki* (from the French "gymnastique"). Private conversation with Inoue Akio and Abe Ikuo, Shunde, Guangdong, China, 21 September 1996.

under the auspices of Western missionary education. In 1890 the Shanghai Broad Learning Association published a book called *Physical Workouts for Young Students*, edited by Beijing native Zhai Ruzhou and a British missionary using the name "Qing-pi." Sixty pages in length, with 32 illustrations of enthusiastic youth doing push-ups, stretches and barbell exercises,[88] the book presents an example of the intersection between muscular Christianity and muscular Confucianism. Physical drill and gymnastics reached a new peak of popularity in the United Kingdom in the 1860s and 1870s, as a reaction to the Crimean War and a strong distrust of France.[89] The manly virtues that made up this realm were an important part of the message brought to China by British missionaries.[90] There is little reason to doubt the claims made by *tiyu* historians that these calisthenics and gymnastics were introduced to British-run schools in China, namely Shandong's *Dengzhou wenhuiguan* and St. John's University of Shanghai, as early as the 1870s and 1880s, respectively.[91]

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[88] Qing-pi and Zhai Ruzhou, *Youxue caoshen* [Physical workouts for young students] (Shanghai: Guangxuehui, 1890).

[89] W. David Smith, *Stretching Their Bodies: The History of Physical Education* (North Pomfret, VT: David & Charles, 1974), pp. 34-40, 83-95.

[90] British missionary publications in China also contained much on aspects of modern physical culture. The Shanghai-based *Gewu huibian* [Works on the Investigation of Things] included articles on women's physical fitness, strength-testing machines and physical training methods in 1876, 1877 and 1881, respectively. Zhang Tianbai, "*Gewu huibian* yu xifang tiyu wenhua zai woguo de zaoqi chuanbo" [*Works on the Investigation of Things* and the early spread of Western physical culture in our nation], *Tiyu wenshi* 50 (July 1991), pp. 18-20.

[91] Shandong sheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Shandong shengzhi: Tiyu zhi* [Shandong provincial gazetteer: Chronicle of physical culture] (Jinan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 1993), p. 75; Li Baojun, "Sheng Yuehan daxue tiyu shilüe" [A chronology of physical education at St. John's University], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 9 (December 1984), p. 11.

However, other scholars do place the beginnings of St. John's calisthenics instruction in 1894. Qu Lihe, *Qingmo Minchu minzu zhuyi jiaoyu sichao* [The late Qing-early Republic nationalist education tide of thought] (Taibei: Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yundong tuixing weiyuanhui, 1984), p. 99.

With few notable exceptions, Chinese schools did not offer physical education until the very turn of the century. The earliest known school to feature such instruction, perhaps not surprisingly, was Kang Youwei's Grass Hut Academy Among the Myriad Trees (*Wanmu caotang*), founded in Guangzhou in 1891. Liang Qichao, who began studying with Kang in 1890, later remembered that Kang's curriculum included one hour of daily exercise.[92] It is likely that Kang's travels to Hong Kong or his wide readings in the affairs of foreign nations allowed for his precociousness in this field as well.

Others not blessed with Kang's vision would wait until around the turn of the century before making their move. In 1898, Hubei-Hunan Governor-General Zhang Zhidong decreed that all schools under his dominion would include military calisthenics in their curricula. To honor this new program, Zhang included in his "Academy Anthem" a verse that went in part, "The first goal of physical education is to use hygiene to make the people strong; the discipline of *ticao* will turn decline into prosperity, with everyone as a victorious soldier bringing glory to the nation."[93] 1898 also saw the introduction of Japanese-style military calisthenics to many official and private schools in Guangdong province.[94] As early as 1900, the county academy in Yaoan, Yunnan, some 100 miles from Kunming, added military-style calisthenics to its

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[92] Jung-Pang Lo, ed., *K'ang Yu-Wei: A Biography and a Symposium* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1967), p. 3; Qu Lihe, *Qingmo Minchu minzu zhuyi jiaoyu sichao*, p. 99.

[93] Qu Lihe, *Qingmo Minchu minzu zhuyi jiaoyu sichao*, p. 100.

[94] Xiang Qin, "Jiu Zhongguo Guangdong de liang jian tiyu xuexiao" [Two physical education institutes in the Guangdong of old China], in *Guangzhou wenshi ziliao xuanji, di ershisi ji* [Selected materials on the history of Guangzhou, Volume 24] (Guangzhou: Wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui, 1981), p. 154.

curriculum.[95] In 1902, a new educational directive for Zhili Province signed by Governor-General Yuan Shikai provided for "soft calisthenics," gymnastics and military drill instruction for elementary-, middle-level and normal academies, respectively.[96] However, these early efforts were disparaged by later critics, who charged that this important physical drill work was usually led by retired Chinese soldiers, for lack of any formally trained native personnel.[97] This problem was likely the motivation for Wu Zhifu, founder of the Tongcheng Academy in Tongcheng, Anhui, to hire Japanese instructor Hayakawa Tômei to teach *ticao* for the 1903 and 1904 school years.[98]

This is also the same time at which Chinese students in Japan began to form their own associations organized around the culture of military calisthenics. In 1901, a Chinese Students Abroad Guild was formed in Tokyo, with gymnastics equipment for members' use. In 1903, as part of a protest against the continued Russian military presence in Manchuria, some 130 Chinese students in Tokyo formed the Military Citizenship Education Association. This body, called by many the Physical Education Association, consisted of three departments - Gymnastics and Drill, Archery and Fencing, and Lecture and Study (on strategy and weapons).[99] Two years later, Chinese students formed an Ômori Physical

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[95] Jiang Zhenhua and Wang Qionghua. "Jindai tiyu zai Yunnan zaoqi de chuanbo" [The early spread of modern physical culture in Yunnan], *Yunnan tiyu wenshi* 14 (October 1992), p. 59.

[96] Hsu I-hsiung. "Qingmo Minchu junguomin jiaoyu tiyu sixiang de xingcheng (xia)," pp. 65-66.

Ernest Young makes mention of Yuan's reforms as Zhili Governor-General, calling these the "days of his greatest glory." Ernest P. Young, *The Presidency of Yuan Shih-k'ai: Liberalism and Dictatorship in Early Republican China* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1977), p. 54.

[97] Hao Gengsheng, "Tiyu" [Physical education], in Wu Junsheng, *Zhonghua minguo jiaoyu zhi* [Chronicle of education in the Republic of China], Volume 2 (Taibei: Zhonghua wenhua chuban shiye weiyuanhui, 1955), p. 2.

[98] Yue Shuxian, "Qingmo Tongcheng xuetang tiyu genggai" [Outline of Tongcheng Academy physical education during the late Qing], *Anhui tiyu shiliao* 12 (July 1985), p. 48.

[99] Xiao Chong. "Qingmo liu Ri xuesheng dui 'Ouhua' de Riben tiyu chuanru Zhongguo suo qi de zuoyong"

Education Association, using the facilities of the Japanese Ômori Physical Education Institute. Despite occasional hassles with the Tokyo police, these students found many administrators and officials sympathetic to and willing to devote time to teaching these unlucky sons of the decrepit Qing.[100]

In 1905 and 1906, Chinese students in Tokyo published two translations of books by their Japanese instructors on military drill and Swedish calisthenics. Along with the pages of diagrams and descriptions of these exercises, these works also passed on important notions about the uses of physical drill. One book, translated by the "Qing Empire students of the Kôbun Academy," included a detailed table of the uses of military drill in inculcating knowledge of fields from family hygiene to international linguistics, aesthetics, philosophy and evolution.[101] Another included a preface which described all aspects of society, commerce, labor, and agriculture as war - "There is no time that is not wartime. There is no place that is not a battlefield. There is no thing that is not a weapon of war." And these wars, like all others, would be decided by the strength of their participants' physiques.[102] This knowledge did not just remain in the world of these students abroad, either. The copy

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[The role of the "Europeanized" Japanese physical culture introduced by students returning from Japan to China during the late Qing], *Tiyu wenshi* 25 (June 1987), p. 10.

[100] Hsu I-hsiung (Xu Yixiong), "Qingmo Minchu junguomin jiaoyu tiyu sixiang zhi yuanyuan (xia)" [The origins of late Qing-early Republican military citizenship physical education thought, Part 2], *Dazhuan tiyu* 1.2 (June 1991), pp. 86-88.

This sympathy demonstrated by Japanese educators for Chinese students is in keeping with the thesis advanced by Douglas Reynolds of a "Golden Decade" of cooperation between Chinese and Japanese in the late Qing reform years. Douglas R. Reynolds, *China, 1898-1912: The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1993).

[101] Ueno Tatsumi and Yoshida Jinzô, translated by Kôbun gakuin Qingguo xuesheng, *Bingshi daquan* [Encyclopedia of military-style (calisthenics)], (Tokyo: Bunseidô, 1905).

[102] Kawase Genkurô and Tejima Gitarô, translated by Li Chunnong, *Ruidian shi tiao chubu* [An introduction to Swedish-style calisthenics] (Tokyo: Yunnan tongxianghui shiwusuo, 1906), pp. 1-2.

of this last book that I read in Hangzhou in 1997 was acquired by the Zhejiang Higher Academy in 1907, just one year after its publication. *Tiyu* historian Xiao Chong has also written on the great influence returned students from Japan had on the physical education community of Sichuan during the early 1900s. It was their translations of Japanese treatises on physical education, sponsorship of calisthenics meets, and founding of physical education institutes during the years 1902-1907 that allowed Sichuan, despite its geographic distance from the modern coastal cities of China, to keep pace with developments in the Chinese *tiyu* world even from this early period.[103]

With the great outpouring of concern for the bodies of the Chinese populace, and the substantive measures put into place by many progressive officials and educators, it did not take long for Qing officialdom to respond to this popular demand and include martial drill in official school curricula. The 1902 Educational System drawn up by Zhang Baixi, new Chancellor of the Imperial University (*Jingshi daxuetang guanxue dachen*), included a great emphasis on "soft calisthenics," gymnastics and military drill for elementary-, middle- and higher-level students, respectively.[104] The system drawn up the next year by Zhang, Zhang Zhidong and Rong Qing (the latter two having been enlisted by the Qing to water down Zhang Baixi's reformism), and promulgated in January 1904, also devoted two to

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[103] Xiao Chong, "Qingmo Sichuan liu Ri xuesheng yu Sichuan jindai tiyu" [Sichuanese students who studied in Japan during the late Qing and modern Sichuan physical culture], *Sichuan tiyu shiliao* 17 (August 1986), pp. 32-36.

Zhu De, future Communist military great, studied physical education for one year at one of these schools, the Sichuan Higher Academy Physical Education Institute, in 1907-08, before leaving the school to teach physical education at the Yilong County Higher Elementary Academy in northeastern Sichuan. Shu Qi, "Zhu De tongzhi reai tiyu" [Comrade Zhu De ardently loved physical culture], *Tiyu wenshi* 24 (April 1987), p. 2.

[104] For example, during the first three years of elementary education, soft calisthenics would occupy 12 of 72 total credit hours. Lin Mingyi, "Qingmo xuexiao tiyu" [Physical education in late Qing schools], *Shida tiyu* 31, pp. 21-22.

three hours a week to calisthenics and military drill at each level of education up through the higher-level academy.[105] With this decree, along with other important reforms made, the Qing court gave its first official endorsement of (or perhaps co-opted for the first time) this culture that would drill the young bodies of those youth who would hopefully build a strong future for their dynasty. This commitment was then reaffirmed two years later when the Qing Board of Education's 1906 program of educational aims cited the phrase "military citizenship education" made famous by Cai E and Jiang Baili. The "martial spirit," one of the five main goals of this program,[106] would be inculcated via vigorous programs in drill and education in military topics, and would be the key link between a strong citizenry and a strong empire. The Prussian martial ideal and the Japanese *bushido* proved strong examples to emulate, the latter especially after the shocking results of the Russo-Japanese War. The physical fitness and discipline introduced with games and soft exercises to young children, polished and hardened by a potent and effective military *ticao* regimen, and combined with the national awareness and constant preparedness of the "martial spirit," would revive the Qing as it had these other once-victimized nations.

It is important to note that these edicts did not just remain as unenforced proclamations that merely sat and gathered dust as the Qing dynasty crumbled. Unlike most of the edicts put forth by the dynasty, these physical drill programs were quite popular

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[105] Lin Mingyi, "Qingmo xuexiao tiyu," pp. 21-22; Paul J. Bailey, *Reform the People: Changing Attitudes Towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-Century China* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 31-34; Lu-Dzai Djung, *A History of Democratic Education in Modern China* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1934), pp. 46-48. Table 1-1 includes a rough description of physical education in the 1904 Education System.

[106] Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo tiyu fazhan shi*, p. 68; Paul J. Bailey, *Reform the People*, p. 39; Edmund S. K. Fung, *The military dimension of the Chinese revolution: The New Army and its role in the Revolution of 1911* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980), p. 99.

among educators and students, many of whom likely had subversive ideas in mind as they trained and drilled their bodies. Records from academies from all parts of China show that *ticao* classes were duly added to the curricula of government-run schools. In 1904, an item in the *Hunan guanbao* mentioned that the Mingde Academy included in its curriculum six hours of *ticao* a week, double the total required by the new government ruling.[107] Documents from the Zhenru Girls' Academy in Fengtian mention that *ticao* was part of the curriculum for all of its students, from age seven to 19.[108] Moving farther inland, the Guizhou Higher Academy added *ticao* courses in 1904, with Guangdong native Huang Shilong coming to Guiyang to serve as the school's *ticao* instructor.[109] Even the few government-run schools in Tibet, such as the *Zangwen chuanxisuo* and the *Hanwen chuanxisuo*, included *ticao* as part of their curricula by 1907.[110]

The Qing educational edicts of 1904 and 1906 show a interesting willingness to implement the ideas of radical foreign-educated theorists and educators. The goals of both parties may have been somewhat different, with reformers concerned much more with the survival of the Chinese race than about the Manchus' Qing empire. However, the basic ideas seemed to translate easily enough to suit Qing officials and theorists in their dynasty's

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[107] Hunan sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Hunan shengzhi, di ershier juan: Tiyu zhi* [Hunan provincial gazetteer, Volume 22: Chronicle of physical culture] (Changsha: Hunan chubanshe, 1994), p. 81.

[108] I have found no records that would allow me to compare the *ticao* programs taught to boys and girls in the late Qing. "Xuebu jiaoxue xuewu" [Board of Education teaching materials and school affairs], File 84, First Historical Archives, Beijing, China.

[109] In all, records remain for at least 18 Guizhou academies offering *ticao* courses in the late Qing. Wang Qihua, "Guizhou Qingmo Minguo shiqi jindai tiyu jilüe (yi)" [A brief record of modern physical culture in late Qing and Republican Guizhou], *Guizhou tiyu shiliao* 1 (May 1986), pp. 45-50.

[110] Yang Wanyou, "Jindai Xizang chuangban xuexiao tiyu gaikuang" [A description of the establishment of modern physical education in Tibetan schools], *Tiyu wenshi* 52 (November 1991), pp. 27-28.

last years. Though the *ticao* movement grew quickly and smoothly through China for years before the Qing gave the culture its seal of imperial approval, this association with the dynasty would later curse the genre. But despite its later villainization at the hands of progressive-minded *tiyu* reformers, this Qing endorsement of *ticao* by no means symbolized its ossifying into obsolete and useless forms. Instead, the dynasty's sponsorship of the modern physical culture movement in this early form allowed *ticao* to grow in many different directions during the last years of the Qing. Borrowing methods and forms from the rapidly-growing sports programs run by missionary forces in China, a very unique physical culture (described both below and in Chapter Two) was created in China that mixed these different heritages, and that came to transcend the early simple hopes for a people merely following as one the sharp and vigorous commands of a single autocratic leader.

Good Laughs and Hard Knocks: Sports in the Late Qing

> There is no athletic movement in China.... This is not because the Chinaman is lacking in ability, for, on the contrary, he has a much better head (and heart too) than the Japanese, but because unity of purpose or endeavor or progression of any sort is foreign to China.... It is really only using up good space to discuss further the Chinaman's relation to sport. He has none, and, from the present outlook, it will be many years before he acquires any."
>
> - Caspar Whitney, in *Harper's Weekly*, 1898[111]

> "Competetion is the life of trade." "All is fair in love and war." "To every action there is an egual and opposite reaction" "The spirit of contest is the joy of exercise." "Evolution and man" "The ying and the yang" These and many others are fragmantary statments of a great and universal truth. They are expression that have come to us from various fields of observation and experience they are all related because they have to do with a great principle

[111] Caspar Whitney, "Non-Athletic China," *Harper's Weekly*, Volume 42, No. 2148 (19 February 1898), p. 189.

> the meaning and extent of which the world has not yet been able to state nor even to conceive in its entirety.... A manifestation of one phrase of this great principle among men is included in the word "athletics."
>
> - *Tientsin Young Men*, 1906[112]

> Just as our women [swimmers] dominate you now, so will our men dominate you in four, five, six years, and so too will we dominate you in world economics.
>
> - Zhou Ming, PRC National Swim Team Head Coach, 1997[113]

There is little doubt that, after a century's exposure, Chinese have absorbed and understand quite clearly the greater meanings of the realm of sport - the connections between competitive athletic endeavor, imperialist bluster, and economic standing in the world community. In this section, I will outline the introduction of this culture of sport (the track and field, and team sports that I call the "Anglo-American" model) into Chinese schools and urban settings during the last two decades of the Qing dynasty, a process that had momentous effects on the development of a modern Chinese physical culture in the early years of the twentieth century.

It is difficult to identify exactly the earliest presence of sporting activities and ideologies in China. Some point to the experiences of the 1872 Chinese student mission to the Philips Academy, and the outstanding achievements in that most American of endeavors, baseball, as the dawn of sport in China. The "Chinese Baseball Team" formed there included Tang Shaoyi, later Qing minister and Republican Premier, Zhan Tianyou, famed railroad engineer who later pitched for the Yale baseball team, and Liang Cheng, later Qing Ambassador to the United States.[114] After being recalled to China in 1881, the

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[112] "Athletics," *Tientsin Young Men* 5.6 (23 March 1906), p. 1. The several misspellings and missed punctuation are the original author's.

[113] Phillip Whitten, "Strong-Arm Tactic," *The New Republic*, 17 November 1997, p. 12.

[114] Liang later related to Andover Principal Alfred Smith how his baseball skills had profited the entire Chinese nation. When meeting with President Taft to discuss the Boxer Indemnity, the Canton-

last Chinese Philips team achieved one last thrill during their brief stay in San Francisco, defeating a powerful Oakland professional club before a frenzied crowd of Overseas Chinese.[115] The team members' baseball days ended with this triumph, as they moved on to successful careers in the later years of the Qing and Republic, but these achievements in the United States qualify them in many minds as progenitors of the sports movement in China.

Missionaries working to spread sports and the Good Book decades later claimed that there had been missionary-organized sports meets in "the interior" of China as early as 1885.[116] Other scholars have pointed to Overseas Chinese returning from Southeast Asia, who brought back to their homes (especially Meixian County, Guangdong) rubber soccer balls and their zest for the game they learned in colonized Southeast Asia, as Chinese sporting forebears.[117] Meanwhile, Wu Wenzhong, grandfather of the Chinese *tiyu* history field, has judiciously identified the first modern sporting competition in China as a meet held at St. John's University in Shanghai, organized by a Canadian missionary named S. E.

Hankou Railroad and the status of Chinese laborers in the United States. Taft mentioned that during his days at Exeter, the Philips varsity baseball team had an excellent Chinese player whose exploits decided the important Philips-Exeter showdown one year. When Liang admitted that player was he, Taft was so impressed that Liang felt he was able to achieve even more beneficial settlements for China on all three of these issues. Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo tiyu fazhan shi*, p. 71; Chen Xianming, Liang Youde and Du Kehe, *Zhongguo bangqiu yundongshi* [The history of baseball in China] (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1990), p. 7; Gao Zhengyuan, *Dongsheng de xuri: Zhonghua bangqiu fazhan shi* [Rising sun in the east: The history of the development of Chinese baseball] (Taibei, 1994), pp. 19-21; Zhan Deji, "Woguo bangqiu yundong de fawei yu zhanwang" [The humble beginnings and future hopes for our nation's baseball movement], *Jiaoyu ziliao jikan* 10 (June 1985), p. 434.

[115] Zhan Deji, "Woguo bangqiu yundong," p. 434; Chen, Liang and Du, *Zhongguo bangqiu yundongshi*, p. 7.

[116] "The Athletes of China," *China's Young Men* 11.10 (15 June 1916), p. 524.

[117] The game caught on so rapidly in Meixian that by the end of the Qing, soccer was part of the curriculum of every elementary school in the county. Li Cimin, "Meixian zuqiu yundong shihua" [Stories from the history of the soccer movement in Meixian County], in *Guangzhou wenshi ziliao xuanji, di ershisi ji*, pp. 164-65.

Smalley in 1890.[118]

To the extent that this particular debate matters much, I am inclined to agree with Wu's formulation of the "earliest" instance of Chinese participation in modern sport. There is little question, however, about the source of the largest and most lasting contribution to Chinese sport - the Young Men's Christian Association. A fine explanation of the proselytizing mission of nineteenth-century America comes in Reginald Horsman's work *Race and Manifest Destiny*. Horsman demonstrates that politicians and intellectuals joined common missionaries in hoping not only to spread the Christian faith, but indeed to recreate the superior "Anglo-Saxon" American society of free trade, democracy, liberty, republicanism and science, over all God's creation.[119] The YMCA was only the latest group to "follow the sun" westward and take as its mission the spread of this civilizing culture to "that Asia in which their first parents were originally planted."[120] The YMCA's timely emphasis on physical fitness in the Darwinian world of the nineteenth century was surely one of the reasons for its great success, first in the West and then elsewhere. In China, it also likely did not hurt that the Y's "three-self" formulation of the complete individual healthy in body, mind and spirit matched perfectly the Spencerian ideal so influential in Yan Fu's China. There was perhaps a bit of pure good luck involved too that allowed the YMCA Chinese mission to begin just as Chinese ideals of a modern physical

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[118] Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo tiyu fazhan shi*, p. 69.

[119] Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), especially pp. 287-289 on the mission to expand to Asia and China in particular.

[120] Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, p. 90.

Jun Xing has characterized this mission in the more familiar terms of spreading the "social gospel." Jun Xing, *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution: The American Social Gospel and the YMCA in China: 1919-1937* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 1996), pp. 13-15.

culture were beginning to coalesce and take shape. The YMCA quickly took advantage of the power of this realm of Anglo-American sport, planting seeds that still blossom today.

The first YMCA in China was founded in Tianjin in 1895. In 1896, the Hankou Association recorded that it furnished two tennis courts, a croquet lawn, quoits, and boxing gloves for their members' use.[121] Depending on whose account one believes, the first YMCA basketball game (which in turn would be the earliest recorded YMCA-sponsored competition) took place in Tianjin in 1895, 1896 or 1898.[122] In November 1897, the Tianjin University (*Tianjin daxuetang*) held a track meet (*saipao*) with events that looked very similar to the track events so popular among the sporting missionaries of the Tianjin YMCA, including the 100-yard hurdles, running high jump, standing long jump, pole vault, and four-man relay.[123] Others have commented how quickly the Tianjin YMCA's basketball fever spread among Tianjin government academies;[124] it is reasonable to assume that this track meet was also inspired by other teachings at the Y at this early date. By the turn of the century, then, in locations like Hankou and especially Tianjin,[125] the YMCA was

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[121] *China's Young Men* 1.1 (June 1896), p. 5.

[122] Lan Feng'ao, "Lanqiu yundong yinru Tianjin kaolüe" [An investigation into basketball's introduction to Tianjin], *Tiyu wenshi* 51 (September 1991), p. 65; Dong Erzhi, "Dui lanqiu yundong chuanru Zhongguo de yidian kaozheng" [A short investigation into the spread of the basketball movement to China], *Tiyu wenshi* 24 (April 1987), p. 66; Letter of Mrs. D. W. Lyon to C. K. Wu, August 1952, quoted in Kimberly Ann Risedorph, *Reformers, athletes and students: The YMCA in China, 1895-1935* (Washington University Ph.D. dissertation, 1994), p. 186; Tang Mingxin, "Lanqiu chuanru woguo de lishi kaozheng" [An historical investigation into the spread of basketball to our nation], *Guomin tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 7.2 (September 1978), p. 26.

[123] Zheng Zhilin and Zhao Shanxing, "Jiushi nian qian de yi ci tianjingsai jishi" [Records of a track meet held ninety years ago], *Tiyu wenshi* 45 (September 1990), pp. 43-44.

[124] Tianjin shi difangzhi bianxiu weiyuanhui, ed., *Tianjin tongzhi: Tiyu zhi (Overall Annals of Tianjin: Sports Volume)* (Tianjin: Tianjin shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1994), p. 181.

[125] For example, in 1899 the Tianjin YMCA organized a City Academy Athletic Meet, hosted by the Beiyang University and including representatives from the Beiyang Maritime Academy, the Military Training Academy and the Telegraph Academy. *Tianjin tongzhi: Tiyu zhi*, p. 168.

already working to spread Western notions of the relationships between the individual body, one's spirituality, and society, and by easy extension, the state of the Chinese nation.

The YMCA was not the only missionary group active in promoting the muscular Christian ideal in China at this time. In fact, Shirley Garrett's statement that "without question the YMCA was the founder of modern physical education in China"[126] is much more problematic than she might believe. The early YMCA *tiyu* efforts were virtually limited to Tianjin; it was 1908 before an athletic department was established at the Shanghai YMCA. But this vacuum was filled by other missionary movements with similar programs and visions for China's young men. For example, in 1895, British missionaries built a ball field on the grounds of a church in a Yunnan Lahu minority village called Nuofu near the Burmese border.[127] Athletic activities at St. John's University in Shanghai were "loosely organized" at the time, but a contingent of Hawaiian Chinese youth who came to the school in 1895 gave the St. John's athletic scene an important and enthusiastic boost.[128] Years before the Fuzhou YMCA (complete with an Athletic Department) opened in 1905, other missionaries led the sports movement in Fujian. In 1897, missionaries at Xiamen shared a "good laugh" over their efforts to teach cricket, and their seemingly unrealistic hope that "the lads would learn to play so skilfully as to be able to play with Westerners, and to beat them!"[129] By 1898, British were teaching soccer at Anglican and Presbyterian academies in

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[126] Shirley S. Garrett, *Social Reformers in Urban China: The Chinese Y.M.C.A., 1895-1926* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 102.

[127] Jiang and Wang, "Jindai tiyu zai Yunnan zaoqi de chuanbo," p. 60.

[128] *St. John's University 1879-1929* (Shanghai: St. John's University Alumni Association, 1929, Taipei reprint 1972), pp. 58-59.

[129] *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 28.8 (August 1897), pp. 391-392.

Xiapu County and Xiamen. The American-run Methodist Episcopal Church School in Putian County also offered track and field and team sports in the late 1890s.[130] The YMCA was not even the only missionary sports organization to develop important political connections. Sometime between 1902 and 1904, Duan-fang, Acting Hunan-Hubei Governor-General, attended the Boone University (Wuchang) commencement ceremonies, taking in a soccer game afterwards and, on a brief whim, even kicking the ball himself.[131] However, for reasons of space, I will deal mostly with the YMCA in this section on missionaries and early Chinese sport. If their claim on "earliest" does not necessarily hold water, the YMCA must still receive credit for achieving the sporting enterprise most illustrious, best organized, and most thoroughly committed to historical record, of the late Qing and early Republic.

The general mission of the YMCA in China is fairly simple to comprehend - if it was more complex than we have assumed it to be, then this fact was likely lost on most early single-minded missionaries - and so will not be discussed in broad terms here. I am more interested in what the sporting component of the YMCA mission can teach us about the early YMCA program to change China by changing the bodies of its young men. Christian

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[130] Fujian sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Fujian shengzhi: Tiyu zhi* [Fujian provincial gazetteer: Chronicle of physical culture] (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1993), pp. 36, 147.

This process was not entirely smooth, however. When Cora Coole, superintendent of Christian schools in Gutian, Fujian, made a presentation to classically-trained Chinese scholars on the benefits of physical education and recreation, the teachers told her that "If this foreign Superintendent wants to see human beings run around the yard in shorts they would take up a collection and hire some chair coolies to run around for her amusement, but students - NO!" Arthur Braddan Coole, *A Troubleshooter For God in China* (Mission, KS: Inter-Collegiate Press, Inc., 1976), pp. 28-29. The classical-scholar-who-is-opposed-to-sports is an old and common trope, but should be understood as more than just resistance to this particular form of physical culture. I read examples like this as resistance to the homogenizing forces of the world system of nation-states, part of which these classical scholars correctly understood modern sport to be.

[131] *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 37.9 (September 1906), p. 509.

manhood was the prescription delivered by these medics of personal and national health. Not a single one of these missionaries imagined that China would ever be ridiculed as the "sick man of Asia" after they were finished training, building and perfecting the new Chinese man.[132]

The great efforts put into physical training, and its capabilities "for the uplift of mankind and the furtherance of the Kingdom of God"[133] were not always reflected in "Y" ledger books. For example, during the years 1905, 1907, 1909 and 1910, funding for the Physical Department made up just 1.36%, 1.18%, 2.18% and 2.29%, respectively, of the Tianjin YMCA total budget.[134] However, the great role of sport in the early YMCA program cannot be underestimated. In 1911, of the thirteen nations lucky enough to host YMCA missions, only three (China, Brazil and Mexico) had staff working specifically as "Physical Directors"[135] - which says much about how YMCA officials hoped to make their presence felt in China. Late Qing-era sources on YMCA physical culture are based almost totally in Tianjin and, after 1908, Shanghai, and demonstrate clearly these missionaries' aim of building a Chinese nation and society along normalized Anglo-American lines. In almost

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[132] Gael Graham has written on the implications of this missionary emphasis on "Christian manhood" and its implications on missionary education (and physical education in particular) for Chinese girls in the late Qing and the Republican period. Gael Graham, "Exercising Control: Sports and Physical Education in American Protestant Mission Schools in China, 1880-1930," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 20.1 (Autumn 1994), pp. 23-48.

[133] M. J. Exner, "Physical Training for the Chinese," *Tientsin Young Men* 8.11 (1 May 1909), p. 2.

[134] "Treasurer's Report of the Young Men's Christian Association of Tientsin, China," *Tientsin Young Men* 5.7 (5 April 1906), p. 8; *Twelfth Annual Report of the Tientsin Young Men's Christian Association* (Tianjin, 1908), p. 10; *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Tientsin Young Men's Christian Association* (Tianjin, 1910), p. 6; *Annual Report of the Tientsin Young Men's Christian Association* (Tianjin, 1911), p. 5.

[135] *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1910 to September 30, 1911* (New York: International Committee YMCA, 1911).

every way, the YMCA sporting programs were conceived and designed to bring China and its young men into the world of healthy, sporting, hard-working and modern nationhood.

For these goals to be met, the Chinese male body had to be brought into the realm of Western reason and discipline. M. J. Exner, Physical Director of the Shanghai Y, explained that the goal of sports was "to give to the young man a strong body, a good stomach, a vigorous brain, a steady nerve, physical courage and right physical habits, an efficient life being the end sought."[136] A Chinese convert was more to the point when he wrote in 1903 that

> A prominent foreigner declares that we squander as much energy as most other nations utilize. Speaking of this, one had well said: "If one observes a crowd, it is curious and disagreeable to see how few there are who are not constantly making grimaces and working their faces and jaws in some manner... it is misdirected nervous energy, which ought to be aiding the movements of the legs or getting stored up somewhere in the central reservoirs for future use."[137]

If the model and ideals embodied by the YMCA were understood to be applicable to the men of any culture, this was only as far as those men could shake off the shackles of premodernity and begin understanding and disciplining the condition and motions of their own bodies.

But this improvement was not something that young Chinese men could just do on their own; they had to be supervised by properly experienced authorities on the subject of the body and sport. As sports began to catch on even more in the earliest years of the Republic, J. H. Crocker, National YMCA Physical Director, wrote of the "danger" posed by inexperienced native physical education instructors: "Chinese students who have

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[136] Exner, "Physical Training for the Chinese," p. 2.

[137] "The Time for Recreation," *Tientsin Young Men* 2.21 (27 June 1903), p. 2.

attended some foreign college for one or two years, and taken an interest in athletics, are offering their services as physical directors - and being accepted. This kind of supervision is bound to bring trouble."[138] It was also important how, and not only by whom, these lessons of physical fitness were taught. The model by which the healthy Christian self could be built was a proven one, and the missionaries would tolerate no short-sighted deviance from it. In 1909, one observer wrote,

> there is noticeable a tendency in China to change the old list of track and field sports as recognised in nearly all Western lands and of introducing 'freak' events, such as pie races and potato races. These changes are to be regretted ... For the recognised list has been worked out by long experience, and includes, in well balanced proportions for the different parts of the body, events requiring skill, agility and endurance. A pie race requires rather capacity and appetite! Moreover, the recognised events can be judged, and comparisons be made with records accomplished at other times and places. No one can compare the records of pie races a thousand years ago or a thousand miles away, with pie races today! It will be time enough when we in China have equalled the records of all other countries in these matters to introduce improvements then.[139]

Theirs was simply a normalizing program, by its very nature one which would not sanction the least variation from the tried and true motions, routines and rhythms. The YMCA instructors were not necessarily bigots unable to accept local forms or flavor. In 1916, YMCA inspectors praised a local athletic club for including "Chinese exercise" programs

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[138] *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1913 to September 30, 1914* (New York: International Committee YMCA, 1914), p. 74.

[139] Hugh A. Moran, "Right Ideals in Athletics," *China's Young Men* 4.2 (May 1909), pp. 41-42.

It was to avoid abuses like these that the Shanghai YMCA in 1908 began its Leaders' Class and Training Class for Physical Directors, programs which would provide "wise and intelligent direction" for "the purposes of training capable Christian Chinese for a life work in the Christian physical directorship." *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1908 to September 30, 1909* (New York: International Committee YMCA, 1909), p. 434; *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1909 to September 30, 1910* (New York: International Committee YMCA, 1910), p. 171.

every morning as a way to attract older Chinese men into the gym.[140] But when it came to the unity and sanctity of Western sport, local autonomy and input were simply not negotiable items.

This goal of bringing Chinese men and their nation into the Western and modern fold can be seen in the terms used to motivate those young men participating in the YMCA athletic programs. As early as 1907, the Tianjin YMCA used a slogan, said by C. H. Robertson to "grip in a remarkable way the heart and imagination of Chinese officials, educators, and students," that consisted of three simple but weighty questions:

1. When will China be able to send a winning athlete to the Olympic contests?
2. When will China be able to send a winning team to the Olympic contests?
3. When will China be able to invite all the world to come to Peking for an International Olympic contest, alternating with those at Athens?[141]

Robertson, an amazing man who combined athletic and scientific prowess, missionizing zeal and fascination with Chinese language and education,[142] also made several presentations in

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[140] *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1915 to September 30, 1916* (New York: International Committee YMCA, 1916), p. 43.

[141] *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1909 to September 30, 1910*, p. 192; *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1907 to September 30, 1908* (New York: International Committee YMCA, 1908), p. 163.

David Treadup, protagonist of John Hersey's novel *The Call*, mentions in his report to the International YMCA Committee in New York his use of these very same questions to motivate his students in the "Peikai Middle School" in Tianjin. Indeed, Robertson's strong physique, love of sports, scientific curiosity, and showmanship as demonstrated in his series of scientific lectures in China - in short, what led a colleague to remember him as "Big Robbie: inventor, scientist, revivalist, athlete, Barnum!" - seem to have been the basis for Treadup's character. John Hersey, *The Call* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), p. 190; Garrett, *Social Reformers in Urban China*, p. 99.

Zhang Boling, founder of the Nankai Middle School, great *tiyu* enthusiast and a close friend of Robertson, also wrote in 1907-08 in the YMCA publication *Tientsin Young Men* on his dream of a Chinese Olympic team. Chih-Kang Wu, *The Influence of the YMCA on the Development of Physical Education in China* (University of Michigan Ph.D. Dissertation, 1956), p. 106.

[142] Captain of the Purdue University track and football teams, and Indiana State hammer and high jump champion, Robertson made scientific education his personal mission while in China. C. H. Robertson, "The Gyroscope in China: An Interesting Y.M.C.A. Lecture That Always Fills the House,"

1908 showing slides from that year's London Olympics on his new "projectoscope."[143] This heady Olympic talk is a fine indication of just how thoroughly YMCA leaders wanted to integrate China into the club of strong and healthy nations. The Olympics were not for weaklings, and as the Chinese learned a quarter of a century later when they did begin sending representatives to the Olympic Games, participation in this holy international realm was a very meaningful statement about the state of one's nation. These missionaries wanted the best for the Chinese nation (and achievements that would reflect favorably on their work as well), and slogans like that above explain clearly on what terms this success was to be achieved.

The YMCA's early work in spreading physical culture in China's cities was quite successful. Official statistics from the Tianjin Association show participation (calculated in person-days) of 33,020 in 1907, 35,668 in 1909, and 44,096 in 1910. These numbers surely have to be taken with a mine of salt. For example, in 1909, the twelve tennis enthusiasts who played on Y courts were each counted 144 times. The fifty regular participants in morning calisthenics were each counted 168 times. The 1909 total also included the roughly 7000 spectators who attended the Seventh Annual Tianjin Athletic Contest. But the 18,540 reported under "Regular Work, Athletic Field," even if consisting only of diehards who came out to the Y three times a week, would still represent a group of over 100 new-minded athletes.[144] Besides these regular classes, the Tianjin YMCA sponsored,

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Scientific American CX.4 (24 January 1914), pp. 84-85, 90-91; Garrett, *Social Reformers in Urban China*, pp. 98-102, 114-116.

[143] "The Sixth Annual Athletic Contest," *Tientsin Young Men* 7.28 (24 October 1908), pp. 3-4.

[144] *Twelfth Annual Report of the Tientsin Young Men's Christian Association* (Tianjin, 1908), p. 9; *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Tientsin Young Men's Christian Association* (Tianjin, 1910), p. 5; *Annual Report of the Tientsin Young Men's Christian Association* (Tianjin, 1911), p. 2.

beginning in 1903, annual athletic meets featuring schools from Tianjin and Hebei, and (beginning in 1909) a Tientsin Interscholastic Basket-ball Association and Tientsin Interscholastic Foot-ball League.[145] By the time of the Revolution of 1911, YMCA physical educators felt quite confident of the implications of their work upon the collective psyche of China's youth and the future of the nation.

However, the YMCA's great headway in spreading the fruits of physical fitness does not represent unanimous acceptance or participation by the Chinese populace they took as their pupils. An embarrassing and potentially damaging moment came early in the Tianjin YMCA sporting enterprise, when a frustrated soccer coach wrote in *Tientsin Young Men*,

> We are sorry that two of our strongest football players, Mr. Yang I and Mr. J. S. Chuan, have resigned from the [Association] team. Both have received letters from their parents forbidding them to play football. We appreciate the feeling of the parents thus displayed but how are they going to keep their sons off bicycles, iceponds, horseback riding all of which are accompanied with more or less of danger. Better let the boys play these games and get used to hard knocks.[146]

If the bodies of China's men were to overcome their nation's legacies of weakness, this regressive and over-cautious family meddling would simply have to stop; one can easily imagine this coach cursing the fates that gave him such mamas' boys for star players. But in his sarcastic response to these concerned families, the missionary clearly overstepped his bounds. Just a week later, *Tientsin Young Men* was forced to print a humbling (if stubborn) retraction:

> We should just like to say by way of further explanation that we mean no

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[145] The TIBA included five school teams, and the TIFL nine. *Tianjin tongzhi: Tiyu zhi*, pp. 303-305; *Tientsin Young Men* 8.1 (20 February 1909), pp. 3-4; *Tientsin Young Men* 8.27 (30 October 1909), pp. 3-4.

[146] *Tientsin Young Men* 2.43 (19 December 1903), p. 4.

> disparagement to [I's and Chuan's] parents who have the perfect right to do what they did and their sons should obey them. The point of our remark was that football was not exceptional in its liability to injury from other sports in which young men like to engage and that it is difficult for parents to shut their boys off from all forms of other sports and at the same time expect them to be sturdy, ambitious, successful men in the world of affairs.[147]

The YMCA's status was still such that it could not afford to make enemies with this kind of critique of what were perhaps influential Tianjin families. Not all of China, or even all of Tianjin, was ready for this doctrine that equated taking "hard knocks" in sometimes violent sport with one's future scholastic or financial success. Nor is it a great stretch to see these families' reluctance to see their sons take these beatings as resistance to the larger "knocks" given China by the imperialist powers which the YMCA represented. Above we had a missionary disturbed by the use of "freak" events like pie races instead of the "proven" Christian sports regimen, another example of the many forms in which resistance against the YMCA came. It is for these reasons that I have not fashioned my description of YMCA efforts as a simple narrative of progress, sporting, spiritual or otherwise. The Y's goal to make China in its own image was obviously never a realistic goal. However, in terms of modern Chinese physical culture, it is unwise to underestimate the influence of the YMCA. It did not take long at all for the forms they worked so hard to spread in urban centers like Tianjin and Shanghai to spread to much farther reaches of China, and to transform the calisthenics-based programs taught in schools in these other areas.

The Late Qing Transformation of *Ticao*

Over the course of just one decade, the physical training regimen known as *ticao*

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[147] *Tientsin Young Men* 2.44 (26 December 1903), p. 4.

was transformed from a somewhat narrow and isolated element of military training, to an oddity taught by Japanese expatriates in the schools of turn-of-the-century reformers, into an integral part of the Qing dynasty educational curriculum. Its martial base allowed *ticao* to blend easily with the self-strengthening reforms undertaken by the Qing, and the glowing reviews given *ticao* by experts on the strong and modern nations of the world only added to the discipline's fine pedigree.

It is also important to understand that the calisthenics and gymnastics of the *ticao* regimen were popular with young Chinese people as well.[148] The goal of the *ticao* calisthenics and gymnastics was to inculcate physical readiness and constant mental awareness, qualities necessary for the population of a nation in such great danger of "extinction." The strict mental and bodily discipline, the promise of a thorough physical and mental training, and the sight of a large group moving as one under the command of a single leader, likely seemed quite attractive to Chinese youth ready to do what they could to save their nation from destruction at the hands of the imperialists. But this martial quality was not everything to China's youth or to its educators. The future they wanted for China could not be only this cold, hard Darwinian reality. Spencer's society, with its emphases on morality and wisdom besides physical strength, and his notion of the *qun* group brought out so strongly in Yan Fu's readings of Spencer, was the more attractive model by far.[149] These forces,

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[148] For example, when students at the Shantung Christian University began a boycott of classes in November 1906, one of the nine demands was the appointment of a teacher in athletics and military drill. Charles Hodge Corbett, *Shantung Christian University (Cheeloo)* (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1955), pp. 75-76.

[149] For example, educator Jiang Menglin later remembered the influence of Spencer on education and thought in the last decade of the Qing, and associated it with the success of his own self-imposed workout regimen in achieving "good health and [an] always ... cheerful mood." Chiang Monlin, *Tides from the West: A Chinese Autobiography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), p. 61.

and the sporting influences wafting out of Tianjin and Shanghai, worked to transform *ticao* into a unique physical culture fruit that fell far from the original Prussian martial tree. In this section, I discuss the new face of *ticao* in the very last years of the Qing, as seen in the new trends toward specialized *ticao* academies and school athletic meets, and the new physical education press.

The New *Ticao* Training Academy

The Qing's 1904 recognition of *ticao* as a key element of Chinese education for the new era affected *ticao* in many ways. One of the most important developments associated with the 1904 educational edict was the new demand for qualified *ticao* coaches. Where it was common for Japanese expatriates to serve as drill instructors in military academies and other progressive schools before 1904,[150] there were certainly not enough qualified Japanese in China (or even in Japan) to take the posts opening up all over China. Specialized *ticao* academies began springing up all over China. By 1906, when the Sichuan Province Minister of Education memorialized the Qing, asking that a *Ticao* Institute (*Ticao zhuanxiuke*) be established in every province,[151] at least seven of these institutions were already in operation in five different provinces. Twenty-one of these specialized *ticao* training schools established in ten provinces before the Revolution of 1911 are listed in Table 1-2.

The function of these *ticao* training schools[152] was to make the calisthenics and

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[150] This was even true in Guizhou. Aita Inosuke taught *ticao* at the Guizhou Military Academy from 1902 to 1904. Wang Qihua, "Guizhou Qingmo Minguo shiqi jindai tiyu jilüe (yi)," p. 50.

[151] Sun Zhongda, "Xingxue yilai Sichuan tiyu shizi peiyang" [Training of physical educators in Sichuan since the New Education System], *Sichuan tiyu shiliao* 4 (December 1983), p. 1.

[152] Not all areas, of course, were able to employ specialized *ticao* graduates. For example, five known

gymnastics of *ticao* into an educational form. If this movement towards "military citizenship" and a strong populace aimed to bring the martial *wu* back into Chinese society and everyday life, it had to be a disciplined *wu* that could be trained rationally and according to specific models and patterns. Little is known about the curricula of most of these schools, but a 1907 entry in *Shibao* shows that the Chinese *Ticao* School's one-and-a-half-year program included training in military drill, gymnastics, calisthenics, games, judo, fencing, education theory, ethics, physical education theory, physiology, medical theory, military theory, surveying, drawing and music.[153] The leaders of China's new physical education community clearly knew what kind of future instructors they wanted to train. China needed well-rounded and patriotic-minded young men and women willing and able to train young Chinese bodies in skills useful in everyday life and in wartime, and to pass on new forms of knowledge about the individual body and the world around it. This physical education was about more than just mindless body-drilling. Late Qing educators now understood these drills and exercises as a type of education which would allow China's young generation to understand their individual role in the greater society. The graduates of these training schools surely brought different values and philosophies to their work than the old soldiers and Japanese expatriates who preceded them in the academies of the early

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ticao instructors in late-Qing Gansu province were graduates of military and police academies in Shaanxi, Hubei, Hunan and Tianjin. Qiao Keqin, "Shilun jindai tiyu zai Gansu xuexiao de xingqi" [A discussion of the rise of physical education in Gansu schools], *Gansu tiyu shiliao* 7 (September 1986), p. 1; Jin Hong, "'Jindai tiyu' zhi yinlai Gansu ji chubu fazhan kaolun" [An investigative thesis on the introduction and early development of "modern physical culture" in Gansu], *Gansu tiyu shiliao* 6 (June 1986), p. 20.

[153] The school's faculty was specific about what kind of students they wanted: "morally upright and healthy of body, competent in standard Chinese language (*guowen*), age 16-30." Zhang Tianbai, "Guanyu Zhongguo ticao xuexiao yi xie qingkuang de shizheng" [An historical investigation into the general operations of the Chinese *Ticao* School], *Tiyu wenshi* 49 (May 1991), p. 62.

reform days. These physical education institutes were thus the first Chinese attempts at creating out of the foreign *ticao* regimens, forms useful to China's particular conditions and understandable to the youth of the Qing empire in crisis.

New Forms for the New Age

Ticao in the last years of the Qing, thanks in part to the new physical education training academies, Japanese advances in the science of physical education, and the influence of YMCA sporting programs in China, was much more than the military drill imported from Japan and Europe in the late nineteenth century. In just years, *ticao* instructors had worked to fashion a new mode of physical instruction that was more in keeping with international trends, national affairs, and the needs of China's youth now training in these regimens all over the empire.

Ticao instructors now aimed for much more than just the mindless mechanism drilled into soldiers' bodies through military exercise. Now there were new physiological needs to be addressed. One author in *The Chinese Educational Review* introduced a German "two-minute *ticao*" regimen that was all the rage in Japanese elementary schools. This brief and convenient series of stretching exercises would improve students' posture and straighten crooked backs, improve the development of the chest, back and abdomen, stimulate the heart, lungs and the digestive system, and also work to improve children's learning ability.[154] Another author cited the findings of the Fukuoka County Education Association Research Department, in describing how physical education work should be split between barbell and calisthenic work, flag

[154] Wang Wozang, "Erfen jian ticao" [Two-minute calisthenics], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 1.7 (25th day, 6th lunar month (10 August), 1909), pp. 53-56.

signalling, military drill and gymnastics, and musical, marching and competitive games, organized in different proportions according to age and physical capacity.[155] There were social needs that now had to be met as well. Another *Chinese Educational Review* author wrote on the physiological and social uses of calisthenic work utilizing dumbbells, wooden sticks, rings and beanbags. While work with rings would improve the resistance of children's tendons and muscles while cultivating in them "law-abiding and cooperative habits," activities using beanbags tended to improve hand-eye coordination, sharpen the nervous system, while "cultivating sympathetic and cooperative habits" and "increasing the capabilities of attention, imagination and observation."[156] Others cited sayings from the West, such as "Real education takes place on the athletic field," "The athletic field is a classroom without a roof," and "All the educational achievements of a school can be observed on the athletic field," in emphasizing the social importance of physical education.[157]

Another change was that physical educators now had to be careful to use gender-specific forms of training. The military drill programs so popular at the very turn of the century, and included in the Qing educational edicts of 1904 and 1906 did not discriminate by sex. I have argued that male reformers' zest at including women in these exercise regimens was based more on their concern for the nation than for the

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[155] Cai Wensen, "Xiaoxuexiao yundonghui gailiang an" [Plan to improve elementary school athletic meets], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 2.8 (10th day, 8th lunar month (13 September), 1910), p. 103.

[156] "Lun yaling qiugan muhuan dounang ji gunbang zhi techang" [On the particular characteristics of barbell, stick, rings, beanbag and baton exercise], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 2.12 (10th day, 12th lunar month (10 January), 1911), pp. 153-156.

[157] "Lixiang zhi yundongchang" [The ideal athletic field], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 3.2 (10th day, 2nd lunar month (10 March), 1911), p. 13.

health of these individual women. But the exercises themselves were not designed as specifically male or female; they would bring out strength and the martial spirit in all who partook of them. However, the educators whiffing of the winds from the West and Japan called a halt to this alarming negligence, and demanded that physical education be designed to fit the distinct physiological and psychological natures of boys and girls. Girls liked imitating their mother, playing with dolls, and games that were "dainty and cute." Boys on the other hand liked playing with knives, drums and air guns, and games that were "active and explosive."[158] Here, what Tani Barlow refers to as "the imperialists' sex binary"[159] was being used by these educators to posit boys as the true makers and shapers of the new China, as opposed to the domestic role that they now hoped to "prove" was appropriate for women. One article on *ticao* curriculum design reminded teachers about "the natural differences between the two sexes," which were as follows:

> What boys' spirits have more of than girls' is vigor, courage and strength. But the qualities such as sweetness, beauty and emotional range are not as developed [in boys] as in girls. Girls lack daring, tolerance and courage. Their bodies are always very different from boys' as well. From the skeleton, tendons and flesh, to the inner organs and all the body's systems - [in girls] they are all soft and weak. Their capability to resist is weak.... [Girls] are not equal in vigorous activities.[160]

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[158] "Youxi zhi weisheng shang jiazhi" [The value of games with regard to hygiene], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 2.7 (10th day, 7th lunar month (14 August), 1910), p. 46.

[159] Tani E. Barlow, "Theorizing Woman: *Funü*, *Guojia*, *Jiating* (Chinese Woman, Chinese State, Chinese Family)," in Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow, eds., *Body, Subject & Power in China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 253.

[160] "Xuanze ticao youxi jiaocai zhi fangzhen" [Directions to consider when designing a curriculum of calisthenics and games], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 2.10 (10th day, 10th lunar month (11 November), 1910), p. 123.

Or, as Cai Wensen's translation of Itô Yonejirô put it, "Girls' nature is conservative. Boys' nature is forging, enterprising, active. Girls are rooted in emotion. This is their main apparatus. Boys are rooted in will, and are active."[161] Physical education now had to be a scientific method of separating out male and the female qualities and needs, and training and emphasizing them in students of the appropriate gender. Only then could China achieve a society that met these requirements of the modern age.

It was also now important to present *ticao* as a public spectacle. Physical culture of the premodern age often consisted of performances given for imperial audiences, demonstrations of rare and pleasing physical skills performed as a type of tribute to the empire and its head. However, the physical culture of the very late Qing was a fine demonstration of the China where the "public" and its opinions now mattered. The large-scale athletic meet (*yundonghui*, < Japanese "*undôkai*") became quite a common part of the Chinese educational and social landscape from about 1905 on. The Tianjin YMCA held annual city meets from 1903 on. But it was likely the mid-decade return of motivated physical educators from study in Japan that led to the rash of *yundonghui* celebrations that began to sweep through China.

The first Chinese-run athletic meet was a massive affair put on by the Chengdu Military Academy in November 1905. Forty-one academies and 3281 student-athletes participated in this meet that organizers held to address "the world trend that only competition can ensure survival," and hoped would "invigorate [our] martial and courageous spirit."[162] The meet's 36 events were split fairly evenly between various

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[161] Itô Yonejirô, translated by Cai Wensen, "Xiaoxuexiao nannü ertong xinshen zhi chabie" [The psychological and physical differences between elementary boy and girl students], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 2.11 (10th day, 11th lunar month (11 December), 1910), p. 152.

[162] Li Houcheng, "Sichuan di yi ci yundonghui" [Sichuan's first athletic meet], *Sichuan tiyu shiliao* 14

footraces, calisthenics and military drill, as the athletes of all ages showed this paying Chengdu crowd the mettle that would allow China to survive in these threatening times.

This mixture of military drill, standard calisthenics, and track and field events is another feature that marked meets of the late Qing. The experiences of students returned from Japan, the specialized instruction of the new *ticao* training academies, and perhaps news of missionary-run track and sports meets led to this new and liberating blend of physical activities performed at these meets. Although some modern armies held meets to demonstrate the sharp and crisp movements and cadences of their military *ticao*,[163] schools hoping to show off their modern, scientific and progressive curricula could hardly rely on this same old militaristic drill. Games that brought out the competitive nature in participating youth, mixed with the proper proportion of the traditional military *ticao*, worked to express the important mix of vitality and discipline, of individuality and unity, of the scientific *wen* and the martial *wu* that China needed at this point in its history. The fact that this brand of athletic meet spread to Guilin in 1907 and Chishui County, Guizhou in 1909[164] ought to testify to the popularity and power of the message delivered by the new public-spirited *yundonghui*.

Finally, this public nature of the new physical culture opened up spaces for

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(August 1985), pp. 32-33.

[163] For example, in 1908, armies in Hejian, Hebei and Taihu, Anhui held such meets. Li Ning, "Wan Qing jundui bianlian," p. 8.

[164] The Guilin meet included 990 students from 39 schools participating in 20 different races and jumping events. Rao Kai, "Guangxi zui zao de yi ci shengji yundonghui" [Guangxi's earliest provincial-level meet], *Guangxi tiyu shiliao* 9 (April 1985), pp. 15-16. The Chishui meet included 200-plus students from four schools. Xie Zunxiu and Tan Zhiyong, "Chishui lishi shang de di yi ci yundonghui" [The first athletic meet in Chishui history], *Guizhou tiyu* 84 (June 1982), p. 35.

explicit political discussion and action unimaginable in the more repressive military drill. The crowds that these athletic meets drew, and the spontaneous collective energy they inspired, combined to create atmospheres buzzing with public and political concern. The "mountains and oceans of people" present at a meet held in Suzhou in the fall of 1909 left their seats in a progressive frenzy when students from the Higher Academy and the Public Middle Academy circulated a petition for a National Assembly after the completion of the 400-yard dash.[165] A meet held at Changzhou's Wuyang City Garrison Elementary Academy attracted a crowd of some 5000 fans, including the city's most important merchants and officials. These spectators were treated, after the older students' calisthenics and gymnastics displays, to games like "Petitioning for the Opening of a National Assembly," played by the younger students.[166] Similarly, a meet held in mid-1911 at the Middle/Elementary Girls' School in Shanghai included, amidst the calisthenics and dance routines, events listed as "Recover Sovereignty" and "Seeking Donations for the Jiangbei Flood," after the second of which "the spectators untied their purse strings to help."[167] The idea of a "public" intimately involved in the political affairs of the nation went perfectly with these athletic meets, which invited crowd participation in the form of cheering and rooting for particular athletes or sides.[168] The spectacle that was this new physical culture, so much more than the

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[165] "Yundonghui lei zhi" [Records of several athletic meets], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 2.11 (10th day, 11th lunar month (11 December), 1910), p. 93.

[166] "Yundonghui lei zhi," p. 94.

[167] "Ji Shanghai ge xiao yundonghui" [Records of meets at several Shanghai schools], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 3.5 (10th day, 5th lunar month (6 June), 1911), p. 41.

[168] Mao Anjun (Andrew Morris), "1909-1919 nian *Jiaoyu zazhi* tiyu wenzhang fenxi de chubu" [A Preliminary Analysis of Physical Education-Related Articles in *The Chinese Educational Review*, 1909-1919], *Tiyu xuebao (Bulletin of Physical Education)* 21 (June 1996), pp. 49-53.

military drill which revolved only around the commands of a single leader,[169] created a realm that made it possible to envision a China where the crowd, if an upper-class paying crowd, could finally take an active role in steering the movements and business of the nation.

Physical Education World and the New *Ticao* Press

Another perspective on the new role of *ticao* in late Qing society can be seen in the pages of *Physical Education World* (*Tiyujie*), the first Chinese physical culture periodical. In 1909, *Tiyujie* was established and edited by Xu Yibing, an ex-*Tongmenghui* member who returned to China to found the Chinese *Ticao* School in Shanghai. Xu's opening essay left no doubt as to the importance of physical culture in these crucial times:

> The people of our nation are weary and spiritless, our bodies emaciated by disease. Towards death we continue on, and if we bother to find out why, we see that it is nothing else but the harm from our abandonment of *tiyu*.... Look at our nation's educators, who just shrug their shoulders and resign themselves to bearing this burden. Heads as heavy as a big jug, faces as gray as ash, if they have to do a bit of hard work, they get all haughty and have heart palpitations, all dizzy and confused! Alas! These deficient, weak, exhausted bodies - what in the world would happen if they were pushed into the unforgiving competition of men in this evolutionary world of strong countries and strong

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[169] Military drill was put to explicit political use in the late Qing, but usually in the context of revolutionary corps like the Datong Academy and associated organizations in Shaoxing, the Changsha "Baseball Association" (an organization founded to teach revolutionaries the use of hand grenades), or the largely anti-Qing Shanghai Merchant Volunteers' military drill groups. Xu Yan'geng, "Shaoxing nanqu tiyuhui jianjie" [A brief introduction to the Shaoxing South City Physical Education Association], *Tiyu wenshi* 10 (December 1984), p. 44; Lin Jingping, "Qiu Jin yu jindai Zhongguo nüzi tiyu," pp. 159-160; Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds., *Zhongguo jindai tiyushi*, pp. 97-100; Mary Backus Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries: Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang, 1902-1911* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 178, 205.

physiques? This is the danger; this is why I am scared.[170]

The stage was further set with the journal's next piece, a short essay titled "The History of Physical Culture," the first *tiyu* history piece written in China. The author (also believed to be Xu) located the very genesis of *tiyu* in the ancient but ever-present realm of worldly competition, in an important recognition of the needs of late-Qing China in the face of the new world of Darwin. He also made another and more inspirational point - that *tiyu* could only have been invented by Chinese, who after all were the first to develop gunpowder, the compass, paper and movable-type printing, crucial elements of modern civilization all.[171] Most of this essay in fact was devoted to introducing the long history of European physical culture, and their notions of the body and nation that now circulated in China. However, his identification of Confucian practice in archery and chariot driving and Hua Tuo's therapeutic exercise regimens as early forms of "*tiyu*" made it clear that China belonged, and played a chief role, in this world history. The methods of classifying culture that made the West so powerful over the last centuries would now be used to understand Chinese forms of the last two millennia, as China moved to simultaneously reclaim and reform this culture of the strong and well-rounded body and society.

The worldly and confident acceptance of universal categories displayed in these two opening essays was continued throughout the first issue of *Tiyujie*, regrettably the only issue of the journal's 1909-1910 run still in existence today. The journal presented

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[170] Qiwu (Xu Yibing), "Jinggao jiaoyujie" [Addressing the education community], *Tiyujie* 1 (1st day, 3rd lunar month (20 April), 1909), pp. 1-2.

[171] Peixian, "Tiyu shi" [The history of physical culture], *Tiyujie* 1 (1st day, 3rd lunar month (20 April), 1909), p. 3.

a mature, well-rounded physical education community serious about their craft and their responsibilities to a modern China. *Tiyujie* introduced three calisthenics routines, including a "Tsuboi's corrective calisthenics" and a march called "Early Spring" for middle school girls.[172] Contributors answered questions about *ticao* for girls, about the differences between normal school and middle school *ticao*, about how to design one's own games for *ticao* class, and about indoor exercises for elementary school classes.[173] Another author reviewed four *ticao* textbooks, all translated from Japanese works, and published by the East Asia, New Knowledge and Commercial Press houses.[174] The journal even published synopses of six research theses by students at the Chinese *Ticao* School, on subjects like "Should *Ticao* Be Taught Every Day For 30 Minutes Or For One Hour?" and "On the Introduction of Different Types and Levels of Military Drill Into the Eight-Year Elementary Curriculum, And Whether It Should Be Taught Separately Or Mixed Together With Instruction of Games and Gymnastics."[175] *Tiyujie*

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[172] Yeku, "Pingjing shi gaizheng lianxu tushou ticao di yi bu" [Tsuboi's corrective calisthenics routine, Part one], *Tiyujie* 1 (1st day, 3rd lunar month (20 April), 1909), pp. 9-12; Yihen, "Zaochun (zhongxue nüsheng yong)" [Early spring (for middle school girls)], *Tiyujie* 1 (1st day, 3rd lunar month (20 April), 1909), pp. 12-15.

[173] "Wen da" [Questions and answers], *Tiyujie* 1 (1st day, 3rd lunar month (20 April), 1909), pp. 12-15.

[174] Yasun, "Dushu biji yi" [Diary of books read, Part one], *Tiyujie* 1 (1st day, 3rd lunar month (20 April), 1909), pp. 16-17. The journal also published a list of 17 other physical education textbooks published by the Benefit All, Civilized and Chinese Presses. "Tiyu zhuyao shumu" [Bibliography of important physical education titles], *Tiyujie* 1 (1st day, 3rd lunar month (20 April), 1909), back inside cover. The Commercial Press had also published four other physical education textbooks by 1909. "Book Reviews," *The Educational Review (Jiaoyu yuebao)* 2.8 (August 1909), pp. 25-26. Before this, four other *ticao* books were published in Chengdu in 1903-04. Tan Hua, "Jindai tiyu yundong zai Sichuan de chuqi chuanbo" [The early spread of modern physical culture in Sichuan], in *Tiyushi wenji* [Collection of writings on the history of physical culture] (Chengdu: Chengdu tiyu xueyuan tiyushi yanjiushi, 1983), p. 205.

[175] "Zhongguo ticao xuexiao lilun kaoti" [Chinese *Ticao* School research thesis topics], *Tiyujie* 1 (1st day, 3rd lunar month (20 April), 1909), p. 19.

proved that physical education was now the province of literate and committed specialists, who finally saw their students as the impressionable young individuals they were, and for the physical and mental potential they each possessed, rather than as just faceless grunts that were the subjects of the earlier renderings of *ticao* in China. Physical culture was turning a new page in China, guided more by the sophisticated social concerns of Spencer and Yan Fu than the bald military ideals of Yuan Shikai or Cai E.

Tiyujie was unswerving in its mission to change the face of physical education in China, and to rooting out those transgressors who continued to give the field a bad name in the larger education community. One author expressed his shock at hearing on a bus a rumor that a noted Shanghai *ticao* instructor had taken a concubine. He lamented the many obstacles that "civilized" modern society had brought to the realm of *tiyu*, and challenged his fellow physical educators to rise above these material and moral hurdles, for "of all the disciplines, *ticao* is the hardest in which to be a completely qualified teacher."[176] Huang Junjin, a member of a Shanghai *Ticao* Research Society, gave a sharp critique of the abuses of some instructors who thought they were qualified to teach "after a few years in the barracks," and whose courses "went under the name *ticao*, but were nothing more than just reckless movement and mindless activity."[177] He reminded his colleagues in the physical education community (*ticaojie*) of their responsibilities to spread their learning and knowledge (*xuewen*) to all the people of

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[176] Keke. "Changyu suotan" [Comments on some various trifling matters], *Tiyujie* 1 (1st day, 3rd lunar month (20 April), 1909), pp. 22-23.

[177] Huang Junjin, "Tiyujia jinri zhi zeren" [The responsibilities of physical educators today], *Tiyujie* 1 (1st day, 3rd lunar month (20 April), 1909), pp. 25-26.

China, categorizing these duties into three types: (1) doing research and keeping up with "the development of science all over the world," (2) keeping *ticao* classes open to visitors and to concerned parents, and (3) always explaining clearly the physiological uses of each exercise and game, in order to enable students to understand the development of their own bodies.[178]

Finally, Huang's piece was followed by a "Sporting short story" (*yundong xiaoshuo*) titled "The *Ticao* Instructor." This truly short story (just 271 characters in length) told the tale of a rotten and "failed, worthless" ex-soldier, given to drinking, fighting and smoking opium, who deserted his army and went to live with his younger sister. His sister, favorite concubine of a local gentryman, was able to help him find a job teaching *ticao* at a nearby elementary school. He understood nothing of standard gymnastics and calisthenics instruction, taught only military drill (of which he only knew the commands for "forward" and "march"), and terrorized his young students by furiously beating any youngster unable to keep up with the class. However, he did end up achieving minor fame in the region, as his class was noted for their "postman-like" ability to walk long distances and their abnormally large thighs![179]

The ridicule and condemnation cast at these substandard and degenerate *ticao* instructors is an important indication of how the *Tiyujie* camp, and likely a larger developing physical education community, sought to create a new image and role for physical culture in the last years of the Qing. If their mission, as handed to them by Tan Sitong and Liang Qichao, was to reinvigorate the youth of China with motion and

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[178] Huang Junjin, "Tiyujia jinri zhi zeren," pp. 25-26.

[179] Meizai, "Ticao jiaoyuan" [The *ticao* instructor], *Tiyujie* 1 (1st day, 3rd lunar month (20 April), 1909), p. 27.

the martial spirit, they also followed Yan Fu and (Yan's) Spencer in working to connect moral and intellectual potential to this physical endeavor. Martial spirit and military citizenship alone could not save China in this age of progress, which was just as dependent on individual will and initiative as it was on physical strength. The new breed of physical educators was reared on the discipline of military drill, but later introduced, whether in Japan, in missionary schools, or in China's own *ticao* academies, to the social and scientific uses of "soft" exercise and games for children. They were committed to the transformation of physical education into a discipline which would receive the respect it deserved, for using a rational and balanced curriculum to prepare China's youth for their national future.

Rah, Dragon, Sis, Boom, Ah: The First National Games, 1910

The first decade of the new century ended with a bang as events brought modern physical culture into national focus for the first time. Above I have discussed the many developments in Chinese modern physical culture - the new *ticao* training facilities and public *ticao* meets - which all, even if aiming for a strong Chinese nation, still took as a working domain only their own immediate urban regions. Thus, perhaps in these uncertain times, it took the wide-eyed social gospel singers of the YMCA to see China as a viable unit, to dare to organize an athletic meet which would bring together skilled and motivated men from all over (the eastern urban half of) China to push each other to be the best they could be. Perhaps only the charges of the YMCA, sure of themselves and their nation-based perspective (that is, which envisioned regions only in terms of the universalizing form of the "nation-state"), dared to believe that a national future was truly viable for China, or dared to cooperate with the bureaucrats of

the fading Qing dynasty in running this national athletic meet which held such hope for a new national form for China.

In 1909, M. J. Exner wrote excitedly that

> We have a movement on foot to run some national athletic meets in connection with the National Industrial Exposition to be opened in Nanking next May, and the matter is practically assured. The management has expressed itself as very much in favor of the same if they can avoid too great expense in connection with it.... It will be a great opportunity to advance physical training, it will make the Association prominent and it will be wholesome to Christianity to be allied with the promotion of so practical a philanthropic movement.[180]

Exner's negotiations with Zhejiang-Jiangsu Governor-General Duan-fang, his successor Zhang Renjun, and industrialist Zhang Jian paid off.[181] China's first national meet (called the *Quanguo xuexiao qufendui di yi ci tiyu tongmenghui*, or "The First National Athletic Alliance of Regional Student Teams") was soon scheduled for inclusion in the Nanyang Industrial Exposition to be held in Nanjing in October 1910.[182] This exposition, this great celebration of and monument to the construction of a capitalist economy, a capitalist labor discipline, and a modern ethos of production and consumption in China, seemed the perfect moment for such a breakthrough in Chinese national strength, modernity, and integration.

The meet would be made up of three different components - intercollegiate, middle

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[180] *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1908 to September 30, 1909*, p. 439.

[181] Although the meet was mostly managed by YMCA personnel, YMCA and Exposition organizers did combine to form a 16-man national committee, "equally divided between Chinese and foreign members," to make all final decisions. Also, five regional subcommittees were established, each with "a good, live Young Men's Christian Association officer as chairman" to do publicity work and attract participants. H. A. Moran, "The Nanking Meet: The First National Athletic Sports in China," Personal report, 24 December 1910; *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1909 to September 30, 1910*, p. 173.

[182] Hao Gengsheng, *Hao Gengsheng huiyi lu* [Memoirs of Hao Gengsheng] (Taibei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1969), p. 21; Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo tiyu fazhan shi*, p. 77.

school, and sectional at-large competitions, and would feature athletes from five regions: North China (Huabei), South China (Huanan), Wuhan, Shanghai, and Nanjing/Suzhou (Wuning). Each area held a selection meet to determine who would have the honor of representing their home region in Nanjing. The North China Qualifying Meet was held in Tianjin, with 20 athletes selected to the team by the Northern Athletic Committee (which included YMCA General Secretary Roscoe Hersey and Zhang Boling).[183] Days later, 200 students from the five Tianjin schools represented on the North China team gathered at the YMCA for a rousing sendoff. One of the missionaries in attendance wrote,

> After the speeches the Tungchou and Putung boys each sang their school songs ... The Putung School cheer; -
> "Rah, Rah, Rah,
> Dragon, Dragon, Dragon,
> Sis, Sis, Sis,
> Boom, Boom, Boom,
> Ah, Ah, Ah,
> Putung, Putung, Putung."
> was revised to meet the need of a North China cheer. The word "Putung" at the end was changed to "North China", and after a brief practice the students of the five institutions united in giving such a cheer as old Tientsin had never heard before.[184]

This report is a perfect demonstration of the important trend, in almost any *tiyu*-related source of the times, to play up the notions of regional or even national unity (against the harsh realities of local, provincial or regional rivalry and strife). There is little question that the energetic missionaries of the YMCA sought to remake their young Qing "Dragon" subjects in their own image, as spirited college or prep school men - the men who, as in so many other nations, would be trusted with national and commercial affairs in the exciting

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[183] Sixteen of the 20 North China athletes were from Tianjin schools. "The Autumn and Spring Athletic Program," *Tientsin Young Men* 9.20 (8 October 1910), p. 3.

[184] "Farewell to the North China Team," *Tientsin Young Men* 9.21 (15 October 1910), pp. 3-4.

new twentieth century. Indeed, it is no coincidence that the *North China Herald* commented that "The first National Athletic Meeting in China bids fair to leave as significant a mark on the country as the meeting of the National Assembly in Peking." And Hugh Moran agreed with this judgment, commenting that "it is a significant fact that, while the Senators were for the first time matching their wits in Peking, the school boys were first measuring their wind in the Southern Capital. Had either event taken place without the other, it would have shown to those who see deeply into the affairs of the nation, a serious defect in her well-rounded development."[185] Norbert Elias has written about the "not accidental" affinity between sports and parliamentary government, seeing an important intersection between the sporting and parliamentary faiths in victory by rational rule rather than by violence.[186] That these foreign observers in 1910 China saw these connections as so commonsensical is surely testament to the magnitude of the impact these Westerners hoped to make on China.

While the YMCA made these plans and dreamed these dreams about their influence on the Chinese nation, Shanghai's *Shenbao* got in on this exciting and profitable action as well. The week before the exposition, *Shenbao* posted daily information about the coming games, welcoming the 140 participating athletes from all around China,[187] listing daily event schedules, and announcing the good news that admission to all the athletic events would be included in the price of the Industrial Exposition ticket.[188]

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[185] H. A. Moran, "The Nanking Meet: The First National Athletic Sports in China."

[186] Norbert Elias, "Introduction," in Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, *Quest For Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), pp. 28-34.

[187] North China sent 20 athletes, South China 28, Wuhan 21, Nanjing-Suzhou 31, and Shanghai 40.

[188] *Shenbao*, 15 October 1910, p. 1.4; "Quanguo da yundonghui zhi xiansheng" [Announcement of the National Games], *Shenbao*, 16 October 1910, p. 2.3; *Shenbao*. 19 October 1910, p. 1.3.

There are only scattered records left of the first All-China meet itself; *Shenbao*'s updates end after the meet's first day. It seems clear that in 1910, a *tiyu* meet was seen as an important event to announce beforehand, but not necessarily to describe afterwards (despite a total attendance of some 40,000 people). The importance was not in who won or by how much, but in that the meet was happening, and was apparent to all as a very visible sign of national and masculine progress. Almost all records of these first national games come from accounts written by excited YMCA personnel proud of the spirit and initiative shown by their athletes in Nanjing.

These YMCA reports are devoted almost solely to descriptions of this character and "clean, strong selfreliant manhood" that made a Christian China seem like such a realistic goal for Y personnel. The YMCA magazine *Association Men* reported "monster gatherings" at the meet's basketball and soccer games, and a first-day crowd of "16,000, mostly college boys."[189] M. J. Exner was also impressed by the presence of Nanjing, Shanghai and Suzhou college students, who had been given one week's holiday to attend the meet, and their "enthusiasm expressed in college cheers and songs ... just such as we should expect to see on a similar occasion in America." He commented on the "breaking down of sectional feeling," and the "manhood[,] [t]he spirit of true sportsmanship, of fairness, of honesty and honor" which the Games demonstrated, and their progress toward breaking down the "popular conception of a Chinese scholar ... that of a man with a great head, emaciated body and hollow chest, sitting and contemplating; solving the problems of life by thinking, dissociated from doing."[190] Fong F. Sec, a Chinese convert and future chairman of the YMCA National

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[189] "China is Getting Athletic," *Association Men* 36 (March 1911), p. 243.

[190] *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1909 to*

Committee, also showed his appreciation in these Orientalist terms: "Those sturdy athletes, wearing spikes and running gear, as they strained every nerve and grit their teeth in order to win honors for their college or section, formed a strong contrast to the gentlemen with long finger-nails, large goggles, and round shoulders - the typical Chinese scholar of the old school."[191] Several observers also commented on another "pleasing feature" of the Games which played up even more the manliness of these sturdy athletes - "the presence of the hundreds of ladies at the games."[192] The heroic sporting and national achievements of these men could only truly be so when performed before an audience including female spectators supposedly swooning over these strong men of the new China.

To many, the most powerful symbol of the obstacles blocking the development of a strong and masculine China was the queue, the humiliating "pigtail" which Manchu rule required all male subjects to wear. The menace posed by the wearing of the queue to modern athletic participation was not only symbolic; M. J. Exner explained, "Wherever athletes go the queue falls into disfavor because of the hindrance it presents. In the gymnasium especially, many vicious jerks of the head are occasioned on account of the queues being wrapped around the bars or catching on parts of the apparatus or being stepped on by a fellow gymnast." Remarkably, however, eight athletes on the North China team felt so liberated by their upcoming participation in this national meet that they cut off their queues completely on their way to the capital of the fallen Ming

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September 30, 1910, pp. 174-177.

[191] Fong F. Sec, "The First National Athletic Meet," *China's Young Men* 6.1 (January 1911), p. 30.

[192] Fong F. Sec, "The First National Athletic Meet," p. 32.

Dynasty, Nanjing![193]

And then there was Sun Baoxin of Tianjin, a standout student (fourth in his Putong Academy class) and, as the holder of six North China athletic records, one of the finest athletes in all of China.[194] But "on account of opposition from his family," Sun could not convince himself to join his dangerously open-minded teammates in liberating his head and mind of this symbol of Manchu rule. This hesitation would cost Sun days later. On the first day of the meet, after finishing a close second place in the shotput competition, Sun faced tough challengers from Shanghai and Nanjing in the high jump competition. When it came his turn, tragedy struck. Sun's strenuous jump was enough to clear the bar, but his long swinging queue knocked the bar to the ground. Encouraged by a meet official who barked at the disappointed Sun, "Cut it off at once!" Sun took the drastic step that he had once feared. Now with victory and national fame on the line, Sun "hacked his queue off that night, with the declaration that the next day he would jump higher than any one ever jumped before in China. He

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[193] *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1909 to September 30, 1910*, p. 176; *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1908 to September 30, 1909*, p. 437.

The queue is also significant in Chinese recollections of the meet. Xu Shaowu, who traveled with his parents from Huangmei in eastern Hubei to the Nanjing meet, described a soccer game between Soochow and Jinling Universities, with the players' queues swinging to and fro. Xu Shaowu, "Wo de huiyi" [My memoirs], in Zhongguo tiyu wenshi ziliao bianshen weiyuanhui, eds. *Tiyu shiliao, di shi ji* [Materials on the history of physical culture, Volume 10] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1984), p. 79.

Speaking of soccer, the game was still new enough that people were not quite sure exactly what to call it. In one *Shenbao* article on the meet, it was referred to twice as *cuqiu* ("kick-ball", this *cu* coming from *cuju*, an ancient Chinese game resembling soccer), and once as *tiqiu* (also "kick-ball"). It is clear that there is identification here of the new Western-style soccer as being at least somewhat related to the ancient *cuju*. "Quanguo da yundonghui zhi xiansheng," p. 2.3.

[194] Sun held North China records in the 100 yard dash (10 4/5 seconds), 12-pound shotput (34' 10"), 16-pound shotput (18' ½"), discus (74' 8"), high jump (5' 5"), and broad jump (18' 9½"). *Tientsin Young Men* 9.15 (2 July 1910), p. 4; "North China Interscholastic Athletic Records," *Tientsin Young Men* 9.15 (2 July 1910), p. 4; "The Autumn and Spring Athletic Program," p. 2.

made good on his boast, setting the excellent mark for future competitors of 5 ft. 5¾ in."[195] Buoyed by this newfound manhood and desire, Sun went on to win seven medals for North China and for the Tianjin YMCA,[196] and to make his name as a true pioneer of Chinese masculinity and modernity. After all, there could be few finer symbols of the drive, the initiative, and the personal and national tensions of the new sports physical culture than Sun's incredible experiences in Nanjing.

Conclusion

The modern forms and notions of physical fitness, strength, and physical culture, by the last decades of the nineteenth century, rendered virtually all of the diverse forms of Chinese physical culture obsolete, and relegated them to history. With the exception of the genres known as "martial arts" kept alive by proud nationalist activists, and those few games which were dubbed "traditional" sports and allowed to remain as quaint Oriental living relics, polite society and the national realm were now the domain of these modern forms. Many of the older games and rituals lived on in minority cultures or remote pockets and valleys where reception of the new broadcasts of nationalist culture was shaky at best. This dissertation, however, is not a study of these forms, and for related reasons - they left no historical records, just as they were textually silent in imperial days.[197]

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[195] H. A. Moran, "The Nanking Meet: The First National Athletic Sports in China;" *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1909 to September 30, 1910*, p. 176; Wang Zhenya, *Jiu Zhongguo tiyu jianwen* [Glimpses of physical culture in the old China] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1987), p. 136.

[196] Two rounds of the competition used the region (North China, etc.) as the team unit, and one round divided competitors by their schools. Liang Tian, *Zhongguo tianjing fazhan jianshi*, pp. 12-14.

[197] Recent anthropological research in China has uncovered many of these forms, but most discussions are in too ahistorical of a fashion to be useful to this type of study.

These traditional physical forms, for all that they meant to Chinese culture for so many millennia, did little to prepare China for the modern types and notions of physical culture introduced to China in the late Qing. There were certainly many superficial similarities between *cuju* and soccer, *chuiwan* and golf, and *guanjiao* and Western wrestling, for example, that allowed twentieth century Chinese to look back with pride on China's "invention" of these internationally popular sports. However, this warm and fuzzy historical use was the extent of these premodern cultures' contribution to the new world of a unified discourse of *tiyu*, which postulated specific and direct relationships between the physical, mental, and moral health of the individual person and the status and condition of the nation-state which governed him/her. Many of the activities I described in the first section of this chapter were rife with symbolism of the imperium and its place in a greater Chinese cosmology. In each of their own different ways, they were immediate and corporeal ways of reproducing all the social, economic and cultural relationships that mattered in these societies - much like today's sports. But the *tiyu* and *ticao* borne of the imperialist mind and project represented ideologies that had no precedent in Chinese thought or culture. Not only were these ideas not in the same ballpark, as it has been said, but they were a different sport altogether.

From the military drill brought to China from Germany and Sweden via Japan, to late Qing intellectuals' Spencerian and Darwinian writings and their formulations of the "martial spirit" and "military citizenship," to the YMCA's role in spreading the Anglo-American sports of track and field and team sports, to the indigenous transformation of *ticao* into a more rational, scientific and public-oriented form, the great changes in the Chinese physical culture world are indicative of the changes

affecting the entire nation at the end of the Qing dynasty. As in most other components of the Chinese nation and society, the Revolution of 1911 brought few immediate changes to the physical culture world. The realms of Chinese *tiyu* - the sports of the West, the military drill, new Chinese modes of *ticao*, and the indigenous martial arts - all developed independently enough of the Qing state to avoid being directly associated with the fallen Manchus. Material and social developments in the first decade of the Republic, not the crash of revolutionary tides or even merely anti-Manchu sour grapes, would be the bases for the transformations of Chinese physical culture in the Republican age.

CHAPTER 2

'Now the Fun of Exercise Can Be Realized': From Calisthenics and Gymnastics *Ticao* to Sports *Tiyu* in 1910s China

The philosophical, educational, political, cultural, literary and scientific explorations that so marked 1910s China were also accompanied by a fascination with physical education and Chinese bodies. Among the many new concepts that quickly became common sense in the Republican era was the idea of a strong national body that would be strengthened and solidified by a fit, competitive, disciplined citizenry that could work and play together as a team. The connection between physical exertion and a strong nation, especially as trumpeted by Western and Japanese patriots, already seemed rather obvious to many concerned Chinese of the 1910s. Exactly how to make this crucial connection, however, was still open to debate. Discussions of physical culture and the nation usually centered around two main types of exercise - the *ticao* of German and Swedish gymnastics and calisthenics, and the Anglo-American team sports of ball games and track and field - although a third educational brand of "*ticao* and games" had evolved from these two dominant forms. By the May Fourth movement of 1919, competitive team sports had emerged as the strengthening and unifying *tiyu* of choice, with *ticao* lingering on as a seldom-used disciplinary supplement. Noticeably absent from these mainstream debates were the traditional Chinese martial arts (*wushu*); the fact that this absence is "noticeable" to us today says much about our own notions of Chinese nationalisms, national essences and their masculine overtones. But *wushu* simply was not noticed at all by many of these modern-minded Republican patriots, whose aversion to Chinese feudal and unscientific forms led them to construct *tiyu* forms based on Western definitions of bodies and nations.

At the end of the 1910s, the forms of physical exercise and recreation in China marked by the term "*tiyu*" bore great resemblance to forms that would be recognized both then and now by Westerners as "sports" or "athletics." Remarkably, since these early debates, this definition of *tiyu* has never been seriously challenged, and remains almost completely intact to this day. If we recognize the importance that has been placed on physical culture and physical fitness in 20th century China, then this poses two very important questions: What was the power and attraction of this new Western *tiyu*, and how did it become so wrapped up in the Chinese nation?

I do not share these assumptions, so common to sport sociology, that Anglo-American "sports" are very natural forms of societal organization, or that there is a basic human need to participate in rituals of competition and teamwork. However, interrogating the supposed universality of these games forces one to face the question of why so many peoples all over the world have taken to the Western athletic forms as universal. The Anglo-American sports are a particular form of physical activity, developed at a specific time in a specific place as part of a specific worldview. How have these values managed to endure as the Chinese *tiyu*?

The prevalence of a fairly uniform standard of physical activities and competitions around the world is very closely tied to the fairly uniform standard of the modern nation-state that transcends any official ruling ideology of the 20th century. Athletics and the nation should not strike us as an odd pairing; it seems almost impossible to imagine modern athletics without its national foundation and functions. China is no exception to this model. Chinese *tiyu* was built along with, and in, the new Chinese nation, and was influenced from outside in similar ways. In Republican China, it was in the nation's name that physical culture could develop in the ways it did. Likewise, the competitions, struggles and lessons

of China's athletic grounds in the 1910s influenced how many Chinese people saw their future as a nation. The world systems of athletics and of the nation-state worked in parallel and complementary ways, posited the athletic arena as a representation of the nation, and presented Chinese with the foreign details that (by May Fourth) were then translated into pieces of the Chinese nation.

Breeding Masters and Obeyers? Military *Ticao* in the Republican Age

In Chapter 1, I described how the military drill evolved in China into other less martial forms of *ticao* calisthenics. The influence of scientific ideas of education, particularly with regard to children's psychology, spurred many Chinese educators to design more "natural" or "healthy" *ticao* routines that departed from the unforgiving authoritarianism of the military *bingcao*. However, the good martial spirits that flowed from the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the founding of a Han-centric Republic allowed for a revival of the military *ticao* that lasted for years before this mode was finally crushed by the weight of the New Culture movement.

The notions of "military citizenship" that had so buoyed the revolutionary movement in the last years of the Qing justified for many the continuation of military drill programs in the new Republic. As an educator named Lufei Kui wrote in the heady aftermath of the Revolution, "Elementary education emphasizes study of the Classics, and neglects the national written language (*guowen*) and *ticao*. This goes against the principles of evolution, and the way of military citizenship education corrects all of these problems." He prescribed a system that included instruction in games and "soft" *ticao* (which featured lighter and more demonstrative movements) for the first four years of elementary education, followed by military drill in the next four years of elementary school, and in middle and

normal school instruction.[1] The Republican Department of Education, guided by similar pride and militarist impulses, in November 1912 issued standard curricula for elementary, middle and normal school education, with physical education guidelines that looked much like Lufei's suggestions above. A student attending schools which adhered to these guidelines would enjoy at least three hours of physical training per week all the way from lower elementary school on through normal school, with instruction progressing from games and singing to soft calisthenics, with boys advancing on to military drill training.[2] An official Department of Education announcement days later clarified the standards, reminding middle and normal school teachers to emphasize military drill over regular *ticao* gymnastics and calisthenics, in order to cultivate a "law-abiding and cooperative spirit" in China's young men.[3] Finally, days after this, another official announcement, Department Instructional Announcement (*xunling*) #12, went in part:

> The Department announces our objective of using national military citizenship education to further virtue, with all school and all students recognizing the importance of physical education, nurturing a strong and robust air of determination and fortitude.... To be idle and weak is a shame, to be brave and vigorous is glorious. As students' bodies get stronger by the day, so will their wisdom and virtue increase in turn. But now, if we should be befallen by disaster from without, unless we have great numbers of citizens possessing the martial spirit, it will certainly not be enough to fight for survival and to strengthen our nation.[4]

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[1] Lufei Kui, "Minguo putong xuezhi yi" [Opinions on the public school system for the Republic], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 3.10 (10th day, 1st lunar month (27 February), 1912), pp. 4-12.

[2] Wang Zengming, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo tiyu fagui* [Modern Chinese physical culture laws and regulations] (Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui Hebei fenhui, 1988), pp. 202-203, 310-314, 403-406.

[3] This same announcement also reminded teachers that military drill was not to be included in instruction in girls' schools. Hao Gengsheng, "Tiyu" [Physical education], in Wu Junsheng, ed., *Zhonghua minguo jiaoyu zhi* (Taibei: Zhonghua wenhua chuban shiye weiyuanhui, 1955), Volume 2, p. 2.

[4] "Dashi ji" [Chronicle], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 4.11 (10th day, 2nd lunar

This powerful institutional support of military drill in the national curriculum allowed this genre to enjoy a second wind after the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty which had instituted it as educational policy just years before.

Before long, however, the base militarist origins of the *bingcao* caught up with it, as Republican educators began seriously to question this mode of instruction. Xu Yibing, founder of the Chinese *Ticao* School and of China's first specialized *tiyu* journal, *Physical Education World*, found the spotlight again in 1914 with a new publication, *Journal of Physical Education*. The lead article in that publication's maiden issue was titled, "The Differences Between Physical Education and Military Force." In it, Xu wrote,

> Since the founding of the Republic, the government has trumpeted military citizenship education as the guiding philosophy of the nation's educational system. It is the same approach as the [Qing] Dynasty. Now all would agree that physical education is the backbone on which the nation was founded. But year after year, if we try to ask how to implement a proper (*zhengdang*) *tiyu*, ... the so called military *tiyu*-ists stick with the exercise they are paid so well to teach, practicing their beating and pillaging skills - it's really just another kind of barbarism.[5]

Besides questioning the content of military drill instruction, Xu in another forum that same year expressed doubts about the very assumptions that guided Republican *tiyu* policy:

> The Department of Education has issued its instructional announcement on the martial spirit. The average educator is also very fond of explicating his opinions on military citizenship education. But all this talk about martial spirit, all this talk about military citizenship education, is all empty and undefined, a turbid mess floating around but never put into use.[6]

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month (17 March), 1913).

[5] Yibing, "Tiyu yu wuli bian" [The differences between physical education and military force], *Tiyu zazhi* 1 (June 1914), p. 2.

[6] The underlining here represents characters printed four times the normal size in the original

A self-consciously scientific-minded educator, Xu imagined and worked tirelessly to promote systems of physical education which would allow China's P.E. coaches to "throw off the learning environment of the old *shufang* schools."[7] His ideal *tiyu* courses would teach norms of order and hygiene using games and softer calisthenics regimens which would allow "the fun of exercise to be realized," which were well-researched by physical education specialists, and which were designed with the specific physiological and psychological needs of the students in mind.[8] Xu was no simple sports buff, objecting to military drill in the fashion of American missionaries like Charles McCloy, who understood Anglo-American sports as consisting of natural and healthy motions, while seeing German and Swedish exercises as movements which conditioned the body's "'master and obeyer' type of reaction" and bred dependent and passive peoples.[9] Trained at Tokyo's Ômori Physical Education School in the mid-1900s, Xu was a firm believer in the use of scientifically sound calisthenic exercises in building a strong body and healthy, disciplined mind and outlook. However, by their calculations, *bingcao*'s militarist and imperial connotations disqualified it from this important realm of educating the bodies of China's future citizens. For Xu and other modern educators like him, the military *ticao* was a barbaric relic of past abuses and ignorance, simply unfit for use in a Republican era.

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document. Xu Yibing, "Lun xuexiao tiyu" [On school physical education], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 6.10 (15 December 1914), p. 189.

[7] Xu Yibing, "Lun xuexiao tiyu," p. 191.

[8] Xu Yibing, "Lun xuexiao tiyu," pp. 190-192; Xu Yibing, "Ticao youxi ke danji jiaoshoufa zhi yanjiu" [Research into class level-specific calisthenics and games instruction], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 6.10 (15 December 1914), pp. 219-221.

[9] Charles Harold McCloy, translated by Xie Shouheng and Zhang Yuanyang, "De Rui Ying sanguo zhi tiyu" [Physical education in Germany, Sweden and England], in Nanjing gaodeng shifan xuexiao tiyu yanjiuhui, ed., *Tiyu yanjiuhui huikan* (Nanjing, 1918), pp. 1-2; C. H. McCloy, "Some Fundamental Considerations in Physical Education," *Physical Training* 17.1 (November 1919), p. 6.

Even as newer modes of physical education and recreation caught on in China (see below), military drill continued on as part of the Chinese *tiyu* enterprise for several years into the Republican period. Spectators at the Jiangsu Provincial Athletic Meet of 1914, where police and army units performed military drill routines, called out en masse for a North-South Police-Army-School Joint Meet that would unite the people of the fractured nation as well as the different factions of the increasingly divided *tiyu* community.[10] But even supporters of the military models of physical education found themselves having to mold their arts to more fashionable models of *tiyu*. The National Educational Conference held in Tianjin in 1915 called for the institution of military citizenship education in China's schools. The resolution's authors felt that military drill deserved three hours of instruction a week, instead of the one hour it was usually given after two hours of games and regular calisthenic work were completed. But their version of the martial spirit would be developed not only by fencing, judo and boxing, but also by baseball and swimming, activities which were part of the Anglo-American models of fair and natural play.[11]

One sign that the military drill was slipping was a 1915 article published in *The Chinese Educational Review*, titled "A Training-ist Education." Jia Fengzhen, a staunch supporter of military drill, reminded readers of the importance of military citizenship education in the new Republic. But he immediately admitted that this philosophy threatened to make Chinese end up like the cruel and suspicious foreign imperialists. A better option would be what he called a practical "training-ist" (*duanlian zhuyi*) education. In this model,

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[10] Hou Hongjian, "Canguan Susheng lianhe yundonghui ganyan" [Impressions after viewing the Jiangsu Provincial Athletic Meet], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 6.10 (15 December 1914), p. 181.

[11] Jia Fengzhen, "Shixing junguomin jiaoyu zhi fangfa" [Methods of instituting military citizenship education], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 7.7 (15 July 1915), pp. 139-140.

activities like hiking, fencing, swimming, cold showers and tennis would provide for a "total development of the mind and the individual nature," while still training the body with movements useful in resisting the foreign imperialists.[12] And *bingcao* enthusiasts had be disappointed with the events of the Third Jiangsu Provincial Games of 1916. Although some teams, like the students representing the Eighth Middle School, put on superior drill performances, the general *bingcao* execution and discipline just was not what it used to be. A panel of displeased judges agreed that there were six major weaknesses in almost all of the drill exhibitions, some, like crooked line of forward march, dirty gun barrels and the tendency to turn one's back on the "enemy" when returning to position, auguring "great danger."[13]

Military drill continued to occupy this very vague position in the Chinese *tiyu* realm. Some were grateful to "military citizenship education" and the role this martial philosophy played in overthrowing the Manchu ruling house. Others, struck by the progressive winds of the New Culture movement, chose to reject this battered old remnant of the Qing educational system. The latter group, which numbered more and more educators and observers through the 1910s, did not represent a united faction. Some, like Xu Yibing, threw in their lot with a more indigenous curriculum of calisthenics and games. Others took a wider international view, seeing more hope for China in the competitive team sports introduced by the YMCA that held such currency on the world stage. This divided opposition, along with the ongoing crises and imperialist threats that characterized the

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[12] Jia Fengzhen, "Duanlian zhuyi zhi jiaoyu" [A training-ist education], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 7.6 (15 June 1915), pp. 116-126.

[13] Hou Hongjian, "Duiyu Jiangsu di san jie sheng lianhe yundonghui ganlun" [My feelings on the Third Jiangsu Provincial Games], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 8.11 (15 November 1916), p. 184.

1910s, allowed military drill to survive longer than it might have otherwise. But the end of this chapter will illustrate how the limping *bingcao* was felled for good by the legacies of World War I and the May Fourth movement.

Competitive Sports in the Early Republic

> Perhaps in nothing do the Chinese differ from their Western friends in the matter of amusements more than in regard to sports. The Chinese would never think of assembling in thousands just to see a game played. We are not modernized enough to care to spend half a day watching others play.... Western sports have been introduced into some mission and other schools in China, but I much doubt if they will ever be really popular among my people. They are too violent, and from the oriental standpoint, lacking in dignity.[14]
>
> - Wu Tingfang, 1914

The Anglo-American model of competitive athletics, though introduced to China some decades after the military drill, also, thanks mostly to the efforts of the YMCA, was able to flourish in many Chinese cities by the end of the Qing. Christianity, a can-do spirit, and physical wellness were all part of this missionary *tiyu* package that established itself as *ticao*'s competitor for the loyalties of the physically active Chinese.

Sports as taught by the YMCA, as described in Chapter 1, sought to build China, from the man up, into a nation understandable to Western eyes and minds. Men would be conditioned morally, mentally and of course physically by competitive sports, as women, trained by caring missionaries in the domestic womanly arts, watched on in admiration and appreciation. An understanding of the hard knocks, team strategy, individual discipline, fair play, and victory-defeat dichotomy (which would be reproduced in the afterlife as well ...)

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[14] Wu Tingfang, *America Through the Spectacles of an Oriental Diplomat* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1914; Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1968 reprint), pp. 257-258.

that went into being a successful athlete could only improve one's chances of salvation in the eyes of God.

But sports held other opportunities for salvation - these on the national level. The Chinese non-nation, condemned to purgatory by the rational and strong nations of the West and Japan over the last centuries, in sports could finally see the light. The 1910 national athletic meet held in Nanjing gave the first glimpses of what sports held in store for the nation. Athletes from different corners of China, practiced and skilled in similar universal arts, came together to be judged, timed, measured and rated of their own accord, and cheered on by appreciative and "modernized" crowds with the foresight to understand the great importance of these events. It was not just any venue that could provide these types of truly national experiences for modern-minded young Chinese.

The early career of sports in China was perhaps aided on by the exclusivity of the new spectacle. Privileged university youth of the 1900s-10s could pad their elitism with the new Western/modern ideology of sport and its new knowledge of the body and its movements. Alumni later remembered fondly that "[f]or a time people were able to 'spot' a St. John's student by the way he walked and by the way in which he carried himself when walking."[15] But when this elitist bubble soon burst, and access to Western *tiyu* soon became much less exclusive, it was meanings like the national that allowed the sports movement to keep going strong.

The Second National Games, 1914

The magic and fun that graced China's ancient Southern Capital in 1910 was

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[15] *St. John's University 1879-1929* (Shanghai: St. John's University Alumni Association, 1929, Taipei reprint 1972), p. 59.

brought to Beijing four years later, with China's second national athletic meet, held in May 1914. As befit the new Republic based in the Northern Capital, there were changes to be made from the format of the first national meet sponsored by the decrepit and now-defunct Manchu dynasty. First was the name of the meet itself - this gathering was now styled the "First National United Athletic Meet" (*Di yi ci quanguo lianhe yundong dahui*), signaling the beginning of a new era in the Republican sporting world.[16]

Organized by the Peking Athletic Association, an organization with close ties to the Beijing YMCA, these Games had a new host site as well: Beijing's Tiantan Park, an abrupt change from the Nanyang Industrial Expo of 1910. The museumified "Chineseness" associated with what one observer called "the historical grounds of the world-famous Temple of Heaven"[17] hardly would have recalled the atmosphere of progress and industry that athlete and spectator alike breathed in Nanjing four years before. Perhaps with this fact in mind, the Games' sponsors provided the trappings that could bring a modern national spirit to the capital. The Games' second day featured not only music by an official Presidential Palace marching band and a volleyball exhibition by American athletes, but also a thrilling air show put on by the Nanyuan Aviation School, whose planes showered Games leaflets and colored confetti over the 15,000-strong crowd gathered at the Tiantan grounds.[18] The choice of Tiantan as home to the Games fascinates me. Were participants

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[16] "Quanguo lianhe yundong dahui" [The National United Athletic Meet], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 6.3 (15 June 1914), p. 35.

However, by 1924, this 1914 meet was being recognized as the "Second National Games," as the 1924 national meet in Wuchang was called the Third National Games (*Di san ci quanguo yundong dahui*).

[17] "Physical Training," *China's Young Men* 9.6 (June 1914), p. 166.

[18] "Li jie quanguo yundonghui lüeshi" [A brief history of previous National Games], in *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui jinian shouce* [Seventh National Games Commemorative Program] (Shanghai: Shenbaoguan,

in a national athletic meet held in the Temple of Heaven supposed to sense a connection with the storied Chinese past as they competed in events not long removed from their Western origin? Or were the meet and its modern appendages something very different, a deliberately formed "striking" contrast between progress and tradition, much like later pictures of token rickshaw men standing next to shiny new automobiles? Either way, the choice of Tiantan shows the new confidence the athletic community had in the new *tiyu*, that in one way or another it was qualified to stand on its own in the long shadows of the Temple of Heaven.

Still other adjustments were made to the original national meet format to republicanize these 1914 Games. In line with an evolving sense of the importance of teamwork and team spirit, the team sports baseball and volleyball were added at these second Games to the track, tennis, soccer, and basketball of 1910. The first meet had hosted competitions on three different levels, sectional (open to all), intercollegiate, and middle school (age 15-20). In the new Republican age, these divisions, which reflected on the athletes' schooling (and ultimately their socio-economic status) in a very un-nationlike fashion, seemed very unnecessary. Furthermore, the presence of three distinct divisions of competition in 1910 meant that there could not be *one* winning team. There were no "shared titles" when it came to national survival, however; these practice struggles had to be to the (athletic) death. The 1914 merger of the three levels into one allowed the Northern team to consolidate the crown they had to share with the Shanghai section and the St. John's varsity in 1910.

Finally, the regional divisions were also completely redrawn here, as the athletes

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1948).

present were split into the four very generically named regions of East, West, South, and North. The groupings of 1910 split the nation into three specific (and central) metropolitan regions (Shanghai, Nanjing/Suzhou, Wuhan), and two vague, amorphous stretches of South China and North China. These new lines of 1914 represent a tremendous change, as they, on one hand, performed a "leveling" on the nation.[19] There are no more readily identifiable central or more privileged regions in this exclusively compass-defined China. All we see are the four directions, objective, scientific, and describing no regional favoritism in this new nation of equal citizens.

Many celebrated this second (or "First") national meet as yet another step in Chinese society's march "in the direction of progress and rejuvenation." One YMCA observer, fascinated with the bodies of the 96 athletes who made their way to Beijing for this meet, commented on the significance of their scantily-clad public performances:

> Nothing would have degraded a student more in the eyes of his fellow students and friends than the participation in a game of football or a contest on the athletic field. To doff the long flowing gown and don in its place the short shirt without sleeves and the short pants without leggings and run about in the full view of spectators would have given as much a sense of pain and mortification to the actor and as great a shock to the spectators as would be the case if a guest were to appear in his nightgown in the drawing room for a dinner party. Such would have been the attitude of the students a generation ago, and for hundreds of generations back. Today we see just the reverse of the case. The students now come from all over the country and go into athletics with zeal and enthusiasm. The victorious athlete becomes the adored hero of his college and the happy recipient of admiration and praise from all his friends.[20]

The new Chinese student, as strong mentally as physically, and freed from the "effeminate

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[19] Professor Takashi Fujitani brought to my attention these concepts of a new type of national geography.

[20] "Physical Training," pp. 166-167.

influence"[21] of imperial society, was thus the crowning achievement of the YMCA in China. Concerned less with the elitist basis of the national meet, which drew only from the college-student cream of society, than with the fact that these respectable men were actually running around in their underwear like Western amateur gentlemen did, nation-minded observers like the YMCA could take much pride in the (universally-defined) progress China was making in its early Republican years. And as exciting as these nationally-defined meets were, an even bigger plum lay just around the corner.

The First Far Eastern Championship Games, 1913

This great wealth of national meaning that competitive sport held for China was not all; in fact, there was another whole world out there. International competition was another sacred realm that modern sport could bring to Chinese eager for a chance to show the stuff of which their new nation was made. In 1913 Manila, they were welcomed by Philippine Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes to this new stage. Dressed for the colonial spring in a white suit and white shoes, Forbes stood atop a small platform dressed with red, white and blue bunting, and seating several Western men and women in wicker chairs. Forbes proclaimed, white hat in hand, to the athletes gathered before him:[22]

> In the name of the Government of the United States and the Government and people of the Philippine Islands, I stand before you, the athletes of the new Republic of China and of our sister nation, the Empire of Japan, and of the Philippine Islands, and extend to you all a hearty welcome. I hope that all your contests will be carried on in the spirit of fair play, which in after years may govern your conduct in

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[21] "Physical Training," p. 167.

[22] Francis E. Wilber Photo Album, Volume 2, YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota, St. Paul.

business and other vocations of grown-ups.[23]

With this condescending allusion to the universalizing ideologies of free trade and fair play, so began the First Far Eastern Championship Games, and the international athletic debut of the Republic of China. These Far Eastern Games, originally called the "Far Eastern Olympic Games," were the brainchild of Elwood S. Brown, a YMCA Physical Director stationed in Manila. An annual Carnival held every February in Manila had featured informal athletic events (including athletes from Japan, Hong Kong, and Singapore) for several years. In 1909, when YMCA officials became concerned about the adverse moral effects of athletes being paid to participate in these events, the Carnival games were promptly put under the jurisdiction of the Philippine Amateur Athletic Federation.[24] Brown took the next step, in 1911-1912 traveling to China and Japan to secure the participation of YMCAs and government organs in these nations,[25] and forming what was first called the Far Eastern Olympic Association.[26] In 1912, he reported back to

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[23] Opening speech by Forbes, President of the First Far Eastern Championship Games, quoted in Chih-Kang Wu, *The Influence of the YMCA on the Development of Physical Education in China* (University of Michigan Ph.D. Dissertation, 1956), pp. 132-33.

[24] Gunsun Hoh (Hao Gengsheng), *Physical Education in China* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1926), pp. 96-97; Wu, *Influence of the YMCA*, pp. 130-33; Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo jin bai nian tiyu shi* [The history of Chinese physical culture over the last century] (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1967), pp. 92-93.

[25] Malay and Siam were also invited to join the first Far Eastern Games, but never did. *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1911 to September 30, 1912* (New York: International Committee YMCA, 1912), pp. 630-631.

[26] The FEOA's overture drew a quick response from many in the IOC, who too saw the Olympic movement as an integral part of the world nation-state system. American IOC representatives William Sloane, A. V. Ormous and F. J. Wendell sent a congratulatory wreath to the Association in 1912 on the occasion of the upcoming First Far Eastern Games. The gift was accompanied by discouraging news from the IOC, however; the Association's use of the term "Olympic" was not approved by the IOC, who were much more generous with their ideals than with their registered trademarks. Ruan Weicun, *Yuandong yundonghui lishi yu chengji* [History and records of the Far Eastern Championship Games] (Shanghai: Qinfen shuju, 1933), p. 6; Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo jin bai nian tiyu shi*, p. 93.

YMCA Headquarters on his efforts, "It seems well worth while to arouse the Oriental millions to a realization of their athletic possibilities, both from the standpoint of individual competition and of general athletic development, and to place them on a basis of athletic equality with the rest of the world."[27]

It is obviously impossible to avoid the imperialist stamp that was imprinted on the Manila meet. These Games were put on by Western men[28] for the edification, masculinization, and Westernization of their weak Oriental pupils. They hoped that for the athletes themselves, the Games could be a place to learn and live Governor-General Forbes's fair play and capitalist spirit. One observer in Manila gushed,

> The Far Eastern Olympiad is quite the most significant event that has touched Oriental peoples in united action. They have never met before for united action on any other basis than athletics. The Olympiad is democracy in itself. It is an indication of the tremendous progress the Far East is making in keeping step with the movements of modern times. The Far Eastern Olympiad is the outward manifestation of the spirit of the younger generation. The 'effete, effulgent East' of the poets is passing away and the rise of the common man and the solidarity of nations is coming apace.[29]

The Games would also spread the fruits of Western morality, masculinity, and the nation-

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[27] *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1911 to September 30, 1912*, p. 630.

[28] For instance, China's three official administrative representatives to the First Far Eastern Games were Alfred Swan and Francis Wilber of the Shanghai and Guangzhou YMCAs, and Dr. Arthur Shoemaker of Qinghua University.

It was common for YMCA physical directors to show films of the Far Eastern Games back in China to inspire even greater efforts and patriotism from their charges. Some months after the Manila Games, Wilber even wrote that "Interest in athletics is keen at present. My own connection with the so-called Olympic meet at Manila has given me a sort of athletic prestige in Canton that should make it comparatively easy for me to attract numbers of students to outdoor sports." *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1912 to September 30, 1913* (New York: International Committee YMCA, 1913), pp. 298, 473.

[29] "The New Olympian," *Philippines Free Press* 7.5 (1 February 1913), p. 1.

state system to those places still mired in more backward forms of government. (In the Philippines, if the goal was not to foster a national spirit among the colonial subjects, the Games could at least treat and accustom them to the values and experiences of American trusteeship.) Even the newest qualifications for nationhood did not escape the Far Eastern organizers, who listed as the very first "Purpose" in the Association Constitution, "to supplement the work of the International Olympic Committee."[30] But the bringers of culture would only tolerate masculine and national forms that were designed on their own terms. When dealing with these mysterious, irrational and undisciplined Orientals, it was important that the West bring safe and recognizable notions of modern man and the nation (embodied here in the international Olympic movement) to them, avoiding the risk that they might come up with their own and unknown forms. Governor-General Forbes' speech at the Games award ceremony at Malacañang Palace only underscored even further this theme of an Asia run along Western visions of amateur purity, universal progress and modern commerce:

> Victory on the athletic field reveals the germ of success in the victor and points to greater triumphs later on in life. But do not let the pursuit of the dollar enter into and corrupt your sports. I hope that this meet just closed will be the forerunner of others in which the peoples of these neighboring countries may mingle. It is advisable that the peoples on this side of the Pacific become better acquainted with each other and develop closer business relations, so that the vast watery desert of the Pacific may in time become alive with the ships of these countries plying in the international commerce.[31]

The foreign role in these early Games brings us to a complex historical problem. From a contemporary nationalist perspective, the imperialist framework described above

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[30] Hoh, *Physical Education*, p. 97.

[31] "P. I. Victors in First Orient Olympics," *The Manila Times*, 10 February 1913, p. 9.

can do little to ignite a strong Chinese *tiyu* spirit. However, it is also a mistake and an insult for us to somehow conclude that these Far Eastern athletes were merely deluded dupes selling out their national identity to YMCA chauvinists. How could one discount the great pride these athletes must have felt representing their nation (actually personifying the nation, not just defending it like in the *ticao*) under their national flag, before tens of thousands of people in an international setting like Manila?[32] The preliminary competitions held to determine who would represent China in the Games, the traveling done to reach the competition site, could not but have impressed the athletes with the immensity of what they were involved in.

Thirty-six Chinese athletes[33] made the trip to Manila to match up in track and field, swimming, soccer, basketball and volleyball competitions with 103 Filipino and 13 Japanese athletes.[34] The Chinese team, taking second place in each event they entered (helped by the fact that Japan was represented only by 2 runners and a baseball team), managed to capture second place overall, and their performance won many admirers among Western observers fascinated by the "spectacle" of real live Chinese athletic bodies. One reporter wrote, "Altogether, [the Chinese athletes] are lads who present a pleasing spectacle on the athletic field. The majority are well above medium height, possess clear, healthy complexions, and

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[32] Attendance was 155,058 over seven days at the first Games in Manila. "Huge Throngs Visit Fiesta: Nearly 160,000 in 7 Days Pay for Admission," *The Manila Times*, 8 February 1913, p. 1.

[33] The team was made up of a northern section (nine athletes from Qinghua and Beijing Universities in Beijing), central section (nine from Nanjing's Jinling University, Shanghai's Nanyang and St. John's Universities and the Shanghai YMCA), and southern section (18 athletes from Guangzhou's Nanwu School, the Guangzhou YMCA, Hong Kong University and Hong Kong's Nanhua Sports Association). "Dongya yundonghui di yi ci dahui ji" [Record of the First Far Eastern Championship Games], *Zhenxiang huabao (The True Record (Illustrated Magazine))* 17 (1 March 1913), p. 1.

[34] The Chinese team had no entries in the baseball, tennis and cycling events.

have 'athlete' stamped all over them. Their features are even and regular, and their appearance is such as to leave the impression of strength combined with alertness and energy."[35]

Chinese understandings of this, their first international competition, did not always fit perfectly into the categories that had originally been built into this relatively recent form of organization. On one hand, Chinese observers could rejoice, using Western-inspired terms of progress and international friendship, in the great step that these Games represented for their nation. Shanghai's *The True Record* commented,

> These Far Eastern Championship Games give rise to the hope that someday [China] will join the International [Olympic] Games (*huanqiu da yundonghui*). Because the athletic events included in the International Games are the same [as in the Far Eastern Games]... These Far Eastern Games should be sufficient to arouse the athletic spirit in the people of our nation, and to join in friendship and polite relations with the youth of other nations.[36]

Other times, very literal Chinese interpretations of the Games and their significance caught Western organizers off guard. The best example of this is a "ticklish question,"

> arising out of the protest of the Chinese soccer football team, which played a match yesterday with the eleven representing the Philippines. The visitors point out that, whereas they are pure-blooded Chinese, the eleven sent against them are not pure-blooded Filipinos, but are mestizos, and add, with a great deal of justice, that it would have been possible for them to have brought down a team of Eurasians, if they had not been convinced that pure Chinese, Japanese, or Filipinos only would be allowed to compete.[37]

The Chinese had let the embarrassing genie out of the bottle with this soccer protest. The

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[35] "China's Record in Olympiad Is Good," *The Manila Times*, 5 February 1913, p. 9.

[36] "Dongya yundonghui di yi ci dahui ji," p. 2.

[37] "Chinese Object to Local Team: Soccer Protest Brings Up Difficult Decision," *The Manila Times*, 5 February 1913, p. 8.

national (read racial) struggles that international competitive sport has always represented were brought directly to the surface by the Chinese who, despite their athletic appearance, had never been coached to leave this ugly little truth alone. Once the Chinese had brought up this complicated race/nation contradiction, there was little that Western observers could do but praise their reasoning. The lead *Manila Times* editorial of the next day read, "There is much justice in [the Chinese] contention ... they fully understood that they were to meet none but pure-blooded orientals. The authorities are confronted with the necessity, therefore, of making a ruling which shall settle the status of the man of mixed blood, the Eurasian, or, in local terminology mestizo."[38]

There is no record of how the Far Eastern Athletic Association ruled on this question of "race eligibility" which "tickled" all Western notions of polite decorum. The Chinese team did not even wait for such a ruling, however, electing to make arrangements on their own terms. Team management reported to Games authorities that the Chinese "would be willing to let the championship game stand if the mestizo players questioned would declare themselves Filipinos."[39] In the end, then, all the Chinese asked for was symmetry, Chinese vs. Filipinos, fair and square. A simple exercise in rectifying names was all it took to defang this potentially dangerous contradiction between the race and the nation, as the Chinese players were perfectly willing to admit defeat to a truly national (and racially) Filipino team.

Interpretations such as these should be enough to demonstrate the extent to which these "foreign" sports were quickly becoming an important aspect of a modern Chinese

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[38] "The Olympic Protests," *The Manila Times*, 6 February 1913, p. 4.

[39] "Open Meet Is Next On Card: Week-End Will See Final Decision Made," *The Manila Times*, 7 February 1913, p. 5.

worldview. No one could pretend that these Games were not a "foreign-run" affair, from the YMCA organizers, to the sporting events themselves, to the "Yankee Doodle" and "Aloha Oe" calisthenics routines performed by Manila children during the Games' Opening Ceremonies.[40] But in a world dominated by political and economic systems designed by these same foreigners, few could find fault with productive training rituals like these Games, especially Games that provided a site for Chinese actors to articulate their ideas about these modern forms. No matter who put on or refereed the Far Eastern Games, the act of leaving the Chinese realm for the foreign, or of competing with representatives of other nations in one's own homeland, could confirm that there was now a China that belonged in the world. And no matter who had taught them the connections between nation and physical exertion, their sweat and strain in these international settings could never have seemed more valuable to their beloved China.

The Second Far Eastern Championship Games, 1915

The coming of the Second Far Eastern Games to Shanghai in 1915[41] was another glorious stride on this road to real nationhood. In his opening address, Foreign Ministry representative Yang Cheng, representing President Yuan Shikai, proclaimed:

> This is an age of young men - young men, to take the responsibility which will soon be yours as leaders of the nation, must have strong bodies. To get strong bodies you must be active and energetic, and

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[40] "Governor General Opens Olympiad," *The Manila Times*, 1 February 1913, p. 5.

[41] The Second Far Eastern Games were originally scheduled for October 1914 in Shanghai, with the Malaya States and Siam both pledging to send soccer teams and other individual competitors. J. H. Crocker, letter to D. W. Lyon, 7 May 1914, YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota, St. Paul; *Another Year's Progress 1913: Annual Report, Young Men's Christian Associations of China* (Shanghai: The National Committee, 1914), pp. 14-15; J. H. Crocker, "The Far Eastern Olympiad," *China's Young Men* 10.2 (15 October 1914), p. 45. The outbreak of world war forced the postponement of the Games, and owing to political conditions, neither of these Southeast Asian nations sent athletes to Shanghai in 1915.

> there is nothing that will help, both in the development of the body and in the development of character, like competitive athletics ... [The Games] offer the opportunity for you to measure your strength against foemen worthy of you. The champion athletes of three nations are here assembled. May your time and energies be spent in healthful competition, striving for mastery without feelings of enmity against your brother man. You are representing the best men of your nations, and it is reasonable to suppose that in time you will become the representatives of your nations and will take your places in the world's conferences to solve the great problems of mankind.... I wish you success in the development of the highest type of manhood.[42]

This manhood would be the medium in which China proved its ultimate worth as a nation. Among these young Chinese men, crew cuts and muscle-revealing tank top jerseys and shorts replaced the queues and robes that had kept alive the dreaded image of a feminine China in a world of men and their nations. It took real men to play out these microcosms of the international struggles that all good Social Darwinians knew to be imminent, and it took the new sports *tiyu* to put the focus on this type of struggle.

Preparation for the Games was grounds for much excitement in Shanghai. Daily updates in *Shenbao* and *The North-China Daily News* began several days before the actual competitions began, and the Shanghai Tramway and Nanjing-Shanghai railroad adopted special schedules to accommodate fans attending the meet. Shanghai's Commercial Press donated a 30-inch high silver cup to serve as a perpetual trophy for the Far Eastern soccer championships,[43] and President Yuan Shikai presented a large trophy built in the shape of

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[42] "The Far Eastern Olympic Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 17 May 1915, p. 8; "Yuandong yundonghui di yi ri bisai jishi" [A record of the Far Eastern Championship Games' first day], *Shenbao*, 16 May 1915, p. 10. Both of these reports erred slightly on Yang's identity. *The North-China Daily News* reported that Yang was "Foreign Minister," while *Shenbao* called him "Yang Xiaochuan," misprinting his alias Shaochuan.

[43] "Yuandong yundonghui jishi" [Items on the Far Eastern Championship Games], *Shenbao*, 13 May 1915, p. 10; "Far Eastern Olympic Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 14 May 1915, p. 8.

the ancient edifices of Beijing's Temple of Heaven to be awarded to the decathlon champion. Western organizers were also thrilled by what they saw as the "deep interest which the approaching Games have awakened," and the new "picture," drawn in their ambitious minds, "of a Young China nurtured in a love of sports for sports' sake."[44]

There were even more immediate reasons why stakes were so high by the opening of these Second Far Eastern Games - only six days had passed since the Beiyang government's decision to accede to Japan's predatory 21 Demands.[45] Predictably, the meet quickly took on a more nationalist tone. Perhaps hoping to prove that he was not a complete sellout after all, Yuan personally put up 500 *yuan* to bring the standout Honolulu Chinese Base Ball Team to represent the motherland in the Games.[46] At first, Yuan's slight of hand looked worthwhile. The Honolulu Chinese, preparing for the Far Eastern Games, won eight games in a row against the Shanghai-based U.S. Navy team and the practiced Shanghai Americans.[47] However, typically of Yuan's other efforts to unite the nation, this move proved to be an utter failure. It was a clear violation of the Association Constitution ruling on territorial representation, and the Honolulu Chinese were also disqualified after it was found that many of the players were professionals.[48] However, the presence of the

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[44] "The Far Eastern Championship Games," *China's Young Men* 10.9 (15 May 1915), p. 367.

[45] The 21 Demands crisis endangered the Games themselves; after a prolonged domestic debate on whether a Japanese delegation would be sent to Shanghai, the Japanese athletes only arrived two days after the Games had begun. Ruan Weicun, *Yuandong yundonghui lishi yu chengji*, p. 50. Fortunately for them, there were no competitions held the second day, Sunday the 16th, in this YMCA-run meet.

[46] *Annual Reports of the Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1913 to September 30, 1914* (New York: International Committee YMCA, 1914), p. 73.

[47] J. Wong-Quincey (Wang Wenxian), "The Far Eastern Championship Games," *China's Young Men* 10.10 (15 June 1915), p. 429; "Yuandong yundonghui di san ri bisai jishi" [A record of the Far Eastern Championship Games' third day], *Shenbao*, 18 May 1915, p. 10.

[48] Hoh, *Physical Education*, p. 97; Wong-Quincey, "The Far Eastern Championship Games," p. 426.

team clearly provided an inspiring taste of pan-Chinese nationalism for athletes and fans alike. As one observer wrote of the Honolulu Chinese, "They are the best exponents of the game ever seen in the Far East, and we feel certain that they worked with hearty goodwill for the honour of China... If some of them are professionals, it cannot alter the fact that they are all Chinese."[49]

The weeklong meet proved to be an important opportunity for the people of Shanghai and nearby environs to show their nationalistic and hearty goodwill as well. The great crowds massing at the newly built stadium adjacent to the Hongkou Target Shooting Grounds totaled an estimated 100,000 over seven days.[50] These enthusiastic fans were grateful for any chance to exult in a national victory, rare in the humiliating years of Beiyang government rule. They had much to cheer about during this special week in Shanghai when regional and political differences could be put aside for the sake of the nation, and all Chinese could be proud of being simply Chinese. J. H. Crocker, YMCA National Physical Director, wrote, "For the first time men from the north, south, east and west stood together and cheered for China, and it mattered not whether an athlete was from north, south, east or west, so long as he had the [national flag] five-barred ribbon on they cheered him."[51] Dr. Elwood Brown of the Philippine delegation, originator of the Far Eastern Games, compared

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[49] Wong-Quincey, "The Far Eastern Championship Games," p. 429.

[50] J. H. Crocker, "100,000 People at the Far Eastern Championship Games," *Association Men* 40 (August 1915), pp. 565.

The Games also included Open Championship soccer, baseball, and track and field contests which featured expatriate contestants, mostly American, British and Japanese. Chinese spectators, choosing wisely which events they would attend (at 1 *yuan* per ticket), ignored these mostly-foreign Open matches. Most of the 2000 spectators in attendance for the Open Championships held on 21 May were Japanese. "Yuandong yundonghui di liu ri bisai jishi" [A record of the Far Eastern Championship Games' sixth day], *Shenbao*, 22 May 1915, p. 10.

[51] Crocker, "100,000 People at the Far Eastern Championship Games," p. 565.

the enthusiasm in Shanghai to that even of the biggest American college football games, reporting,

> I have never seen such enthusiastic rooting and cheering in my life at any athletic event... [when the Chinese soccer team scored a goal to tie the Philippine team] instantly that whole Chinese crowd rushed from all four sides out into the field, thousands of hats sailed into the air, the Chinese players were lifted up... It was fully ten minutes before the officials could clear the grounds and allow the contest to go on.[52]

And when this soccer contest ended with the Chinese eleven (an all-Hong Kong team) on top, many in the Shanghai crowd poured on to the field to carry their victorious "countrymen" off the field atop their shoulders.[53]

It was a liberating experience for these Chinese spectators finally to be able to see their young men come out on top in battles with foreign forces. The Chinese volleyball team, a Cinderella squad made up of Guangzhou and Hong Kong players and coached by Francis E. Wilbur of the Guangzhou YMCA, faced the powerful Filipino team in the finals. Wilbur, in a letter to his parents, described these Games as "about the most exciting + busy week I've had in Chiny." He went on in detail about the volleyball match, when his players

> ran up 10 straight points before the inimy could stop them. That just took the liver out of those brown-skinned proteges of Uncle Sambo, + after that there was nothing to it.... And say, it would have done your heart good to have heard those Chinese rooting in the bleachers. They did as noisy + effective work as any gang of American school boys I ever saw.[54]

The eight-mile "marathon" race also provided an inspiring moment for Chinese spectators in

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[52] Quoted in Jonathan Kolatch, *Sports, Politics and Ideology in China* (New York: Jonathan David Publishers, 1972), p. 57.

[53] Francis E. Wilber, letter to "Dearest Folkses," 21 May 1915, YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota, St. Paul.

[54] Wilber, letter to "Dearest Folkses."

Hongkou Park. J. Wong-Quincey provided this thrilling narrative:

> Taku of Japan came in an easy first ... Takatsu, another Japanese, was about half a lap behind the first when he entered the track on the return from Kiangwan. Nearly a lap behind Takatsu came the Chinese representative Pai [Bai Baokun, of St. John's University]. It was evident to all that Takatsu was nearly exhausted. There were two more laps to run, and Pai made the desperate resolve to overtake Takatsu and secure the second place. It *was* a desperate resolve seeing that he had to gain nearly one lap with only two laps to run. As soon as his intention was known to the spectators he became the cynosure of ten thousand pairs of eyes. He somehow managed to forget that he had already run nearly eight miles, and indulging in a spirited dash which fascinated the beholders he gained upon the Japanese and at the last quarter lap passed him. Never was a second place more strenuously earned; and the frenzied applause which greeted the finish threatened to unroof the substantial grandstand.[55]

This exuberance at Chinese triumphs (even if Bai won the silver medal, he had defeated a Japanese opponent for it) was not even the only brand of audience participation at the Games. If sporting struggles were only meant to be mere preparation for the real international thing, this distinction escaped the attention of many Chinese fans simply carried away in a fever of nationalist manhood. Fights between Chinese and Filipino players marred their second soccer contest, and when Chinese spectators joined in the violence against the visitors, the game had to be postponed.[56]

These amazing crowds, the first of their kind in China, were as much a focal point of these Games as the sports themselves. One Chinese observer wrote proudly, and with keen analysis, of the significance of these crowds:

> This huge gathering of Chinese of all classes had nothing of the stolid and unemotional passiveness which is so often characteristic of old China. It was essentially an enthusiastic, gesticulating and vocal crowd

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[55] Wong-Quincey, "The Far Eastern Championship Games," p. 427.

[56] "Far Eastern Olympic Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 19 May 1915, p. 8.

> who could shout and roar, clap and stamp and generally work itself up to bursting point. All these things it did and kept on doing at every manifestation of Chinese success or prowess. This wild enthusiasm meant that the Chinese spectators were keenly interested in the Games, but it meant infinitely more. Its true significance lay in the fact that the Games furnished a convenient occasion for a wild expression of pent-up patriotism, of a bruised and wounded nationalism which had not time to recover from the shock and humiliation arising from the Sino-Japanese crisis.[57]

The sight, sound and feeling of thousands and thousands of Chinese gathered together, no longer a scattered sheet of sand but for this week a rock-solid Wall of China, was just as worth celebrating as the triumphs of Chinese student-athletes.[58] Only in this type of group, gathered together (ostensibly) for a common purpose of rooting on the homeland, could China stand up and be heard. Participating in international sporting meets was a wonderful opportunity to take a step out into the world of competition. But hosting such a meet, and having the world come to China, provided a whole new realm of possibilities for those who dreamed of a China that could "indulge in a spirited dash" and overtake their enemies.

Other events at these Games accentuated these notions of mass solidarity. The

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[57] Wong-Quincey, "The Far Eastern Championship Games," p. 430.

[58] For example, 27 of 34 of China's track and field athletes were college students. "The Far Eastern Olympic Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 17 May 1915, p. 8.

China's universities played an important role in the 1910s physical culture world, not only by training national-class athletes, but also by making the masculine body into a canvas on which national imaginations could be drawn. A 1931 Qinghua University publication reflected back fondly on an earlier practice known in the students' English as "Hit to Freshies" (or in Chinese as the "physical tests for new students"). In an aggressive microcosm of the conflicts and contradictions of China's ongoing nationizing and unifying processes, incoming Qinghua students were habitually subject to rituals of physical hazing, including involuntary performances on the side horse, one-handed pushups, rope-climbing, and the dreaded "corpse toss" by upperclassmen swinging and then releasing each of their four limbs. Direct disciplining of the body was an important language in which students of the era expressed this very difficult and contradictory process of making from many, one, of striving to fashion a single "Qinghua man" of the boys that came to the University from all over China. *Guoli Qinghua daxue ershi zhounian jinian kan (In Commemoration of Tsing Hua 20th Anniversary)* (Beiping: Guoli Qinghua daxue, 1931; Washington, D.C.: Center for Chinese Research Materials, Association of Research Libraries reprint, 1970), "Recollections" section.

Opening Ceremonies, beginning with a slow march around the playing field by athletes grouped by nation, and speeches like Yang Cheng's above set the tone for serious competition between these men as real representatives (no longer mere citizens) of modern nations. A mass "soft calisthenics" program performed by 700 boys from the Nanyang Public School and the YMCA, which could provide a "mass" element on the field that most team sports could not, was part of the opening ceremonies, and was featured in newspaper advertisements for the meet.[59] A highlight of the Games' fourth day was a Boy Scout competition featuring some 500 Scouts from Shanghai (including the Baden-Powell Scout Troop of British boys) and Guangdong. The program included events like building bridges, marching, archery, pitching tents, model airplanes, and even a flag routine promoting use of the *baihua* vernacular, and "concluded with a rally, followed by a charge to the accompaniment of weird and deafening war cries."[60] Demonstrations like these accentuated the youthful strength and modern creativity of the young men of China on full display at these Games, and provided useful reminders of what could be accomplished by Chinese who banded together with a single goal.

A final example of this new spirit of mass expression came at the end of the Games. After Chinese volleyball and swimming triumphs on the meet's fourth day clinched the overall Games championship for the host nation, the call was made for mass lantern processions (*tidenghui*) to be held in Shanghai and all over China to celebrate this momentous victory. An appeal was made for Chinese of all occupations to gather at the

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[59] "Yuandong yundonghui di yi ri bisai jishi," p. 10; Advertisement, *The North-China Daily News*, 13 May 1915, p. 1.

[60] "Yuandong yundonghui di si ri bisai jishi" [A record of the Far Eastern Championship Games' fourth day], *Shenbao*, 20 May 1915, p. 10; "The Far Eastern Olympic Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 20 May 1915, p. 8; Wong-Quincey, "The Far Eastern Championship Games," p. 428.

Chinese Park on North Suzhou Road and other starting points at 6:30 pm on 26 May, four days after the Games' conclusion. The main Shanghai procession, to be organized by bureaucrats, merchants and students, would be led by Wang Zhengting (Games Chairman and Vice Speaker of the Chinese National Assembly). Winding around the French Concession, the procession would conclude at the Zhang Gardens, a popular site during the Qing for the voicing of anti-Russian and anti-Manchu protest, as well as for public gatherings of all sorts.[61] This spectacular event, utilizing this traditional Chinese mode of celebration, would take on whole new national and modern meanings as members of different strata of society took to the streets to celebrate a truly national victory over the Filipinos and the hated Japanese. Authorities sensed danger, however, even in these gatherings conceived to celebrate a rare international victory for China. The powerful Songhu Police Prefecture, after commenting that recent Sino-Japanese developments had not resulted in any loss of sovereignty whatsoever, flexed its muscles and reminded citizens of the statutes in place against "gathering under false pretenses and causing disturbances." Procession organizers had no choice but to cancel what was to have been a joyous activity because of "misunderstandings" on the part of authorities.[62]

These Second Far Eastern Championship Games, held in Shanghai in 1915, demonstrated to hundreds of thousands of spectators and newspaper readers the power and the promise of international athletic competition. It was these Games which could bring to

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[61] "Zhongguo yundongjia yousheng qingzhu yu zhi" [Record of preparations for the celebration of the Chinese athletes' victory], *Shenbao*, 22 May 1915, p. 10; Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth-Century China: The View From Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), p. 39.

[62] Shi Likang, "Yuandong yundonghui zai Shanghai jiqi yingxiang" [The Shanghai Far Eastern Championship Games and their overall influence], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 20 (September 1988), pp. 3-4.

life dreams of a new Chinese man dressed in revealing athletic gear, and with someplace very important to go. Only these Games could bring healthy men of rival Asian nations to Chinese shores for fair competition under international rules. And only these Games could present the spectacle of thousands of Chinese coming together, finally (ostensibly) stripped of all regional and class consciousness, to cheer on their own young men. As important as previous "national"-level competitions in Nanjing and Beijing and the First Far Eastern Games in Manila had been, it was these international Games in Shanghai that taught Chinese the future that competitive sport could build for their nation. YMCA sponsorship or not, it seems impossible that one could walk away from these Games without an appreciation of what these youth of China, aided by recognized and standardized international forms, were doing to move powerfully and fearlessly into a future that was the strong and masculine nation-state.

Ticao and Games in the Chinese School System, 1912-1919

Although the military drill popularized in China in the late Qing did not end up surviving the 1920s in its explicit form, this fascist-friendly drilling impulse surely lived on in other forms of Chinese physical culture, such as the "mass *tiyu*" of the 1930s. The competitive sports introduced in the last years of the Qing, obviously, have survived, and form an important element of contemporary Chinese nationalism and engagement with the outside world. The late Qing and early Republic fostered another form of *tiyu*, however, which proved to have a less illustrious career than military drill or sports *tiyu*. The "*ticao* and games" mode of *tiyu*, introduced here in Chapter 1, was a modern educational form characterized much more by indigenous impulse and flavor than the foreign models described above. An independent form which had evolved

from the military *ticao* endorsed by the Qing state, these "soft" calisthenics routines and games were designed to fit younger students' psychology and explicitly teach children larger lessons about their future roles in society. Although its influence waned by the 1920s, this "*ticao* and games" mode provided its own connections to science, modernity and national strength for educators and students searching for rational, efficient and healthy roads to individual fitness, hygiene and the national future.

Where the military drill implemented visions of anonymous masses toiling as one, educators who advocated this more enlightened mode of physical education took the individual child as the main subject of these exercises. In a 1913 article entitled "On Physical Education for Children," one author claimed that "children are the most precious thing in the world ... without children there is no humankind." Rejecting the normal military-themed *ticao* curriculum that "exhausts the brain and crookens the body," this author called for more "useful" forms of physical education that would concentrate on individual bodies and hygiene at the time when children were "blossoming gloriously like spring flowers, progressing day and night."[63] Drawing on the work of foreign educators "Ge-lu-si" and "Jia-er," another author stressed the need for games to have strong physiological and psychological uses, so that "the two, the body and the mind (*shenxin*), can develop evenly."[64] And in 1918, as the New Culture movement was in full force, another educator reminded physical education instructors that *ticao* instruction should not be too team-centered, for fear that "students might

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[63] Zhuang Yu, "Ertong tiyu lun" [On physical education for children], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 5.2 (10 May 1913), pp. 23-31.

[64] Xunwu, "Youxi zhi leibie" [Different categories of games], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 4.9 (10th day, 12th lunar month (16 January), 1913), p. 35.

think that the group is the only important thing, and forget about the individual." He pointed out that "respect for the individual" was they key to aiding students' physical development, and added that a good teacher would have to pay attention to each student's level of "self-awareness" (*zijue*) in learning the exercises.[65] The individual-friendly *ticao* curricula envisioned by these educators was thus a long ways from the group mechanics of the old military drill. Here we see scientific-minded physical educators of the 1910s attempting to work with this new unit of analysis known as the "individual," guided by new knowledge which revealed the body and mind to be separate, if related, entities.

Educators pushing these softer games and calisthenics also saw their work as having great influence on the family life of their young students, as these Republican-era intellectuals sought ways to rearrange and reform the household environment that had such great consequences on children and on society as a whole. One author wrote on the need for "family games," played inside or outside the family courtyard, that would bring into children's home life the lessons of morality and physical exertion that teachers could only demonstrate for two or three hours a week.[66] Another educator cited Western family norms to point out the unhealthy aspects of Chinese families that were so destructive of individual physical fitness. From Chinese customs of bundling up babies, to constant snacking, to parental threats and intimidation, to the bad habits

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[65] Taixuan, "Ticao jiaoshou gexin zhi yanjiu" [Research into the reform of physical education instruction], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 10.1 (20 January 1918), pp. 72-74.

Also on the topic of this understanding into individual children's psychology and attitudes, a 32-chapter work by Shu Xincheng entitled "Research on Children," drawing on "Child-Study" works by Kirkpatrick and Drummond, was serialized in the Changsha periodical *Tiyu Weekly* starting in January 1920.

[66] Xunwu, "Youxi zhi leibie," p. 37.

of filth and disorder that Chinese children learned at home, not a one of these characteristics was without its harm to children's physiques. Quoting the Western saying that a healthy spirit can only come from a healthy body, this educator demanded that Chinese families learn from the Western counterparts in raising children to be self-reliant, self-confident, self-disciplined and hygiene-conscious.[67] All the efforts of diligent P.E. instructors like these would be wasted if the healthy habits they cultivated at school were canceled out by chaotic and unhygienic home life; the family also had to do its part to ensure that their children would be ready to face and build the new Chinese society.

Physical educators of the 1910s also designed their calisthenics and games to bring to children at an early age lessons about republican society and its basis, work. If sports *tiyu* was imagined as being wholly associated with commerce, fair trade and free capitalism, this "*ticao* and games" educational model also proved to be very useful in understanding how a modern society and its workforce was to be organized. One educator, writing on "The Value of Physical Education," discussed the uses of *tiyu* in promoting cell reproduction and the replacing of old cells with new. He then applied this physiological model to the societal body, describing how healthy physiques allowed individuals in society to work together, cooperating and pooling their energies, "no differently than the countless numbers of cells that are working together in our bodies."[68] Only a scientific understanding of the workings of the individual corporeal

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[67] Jia Fengzhen, "Guomin tiyu buzhen zhi gu" [The causes of our citizens' poor physical fitness], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 10.12 (20 December 1918), pp. 157-159.

[68] Zhu Yuanshan, "Tiyu zhi jiazhi" [The value of physical education], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 7.11 (15 November 1915), pp. 203, 207.

body thus could provide the foundation for a healthy and rational social organism.

Within this modern Republican society, of course, there would have to be divisions of labor, and many physical educators used their discipline to prepare their young students for these realities. One student in Nanjing Higher Normal's Physical Education Department was moved to write, "There are two most suitable types of exercise for mankind: one being games, the second being games that instill professional confidence. Putting professions into games allows for the enjoyment of work, while introducing play into a profession ... allows the work not to become drudgery."[69] He described four goals of programs based on these career-education games: introducing to children the "noble" concept of a profession, teaching the spirit of hard work, teaching children to enjoy and take interest in work, and teaching children to work for the benefit of the group (*liqun*). Games, depending on the specific subject matter, and if taught correctly, could give children the tools they needed to become biologists, merchants, farmers, artisans, military officers, mining engineers and botanists, all professions important to the functioning of society as a whole.[70] A student from Fengtian, in an English-language essay submitted to *The Students' Magazine*, wrote of a routine performed at his school's annual track meet that was rooted in these same notions of playing out the roles of different segments of society: "At last, in the afternoon we had an after-piece which was made by ourselves with various figures, such as monks, statues, farmers, merchants and a ragged beggar. Besides these, old

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[69] Xie Shouheng, "Youxichang yu zhiye jiaoyu zhi guanxi" [The relationships between the playing field and professional education], in Nanjing gaodeng shifan xuexiao tiyu yanjiuhui, ed., *Tiyu yanjiuhui huikan*, p. 1.

[70] Xie Shouheng, "Youxichang yu zhiye jiaoyu zhi guanxi," pp. 1-2.

ladies, girl students and children."[71] Acting out the parts of merchants, ragged beggars, old ladies and even girls in games and bouncy *ticao* routines even by this early date had clearly become an important way of teaching China's youth about the hierarchies and organizing structures of Republican society.

On this same theme of work and society, physical education was also a realm in which women could make a statement about their contributions to China's society and economy. At the Second Jiangsu Provincial Women's Normal School Meet, held in Suzhou in May 1915, a Women's Professional Group put on a spectacular calisthenics routine, made up of the motions of 34 types of women's work, grouped into five categories: household work (washing rice, drawing water, sweeping, cooking, washing clothes, needlework, gardening), agricultural work (planting, picking mulberry leaves, feeding silkworms, spinning cotton, selling vegetables, selling firewood, selling eggs, selling poultry, tending sheep, fishing and hunting), industrial work (embroidery, silk-weaving, pulling cotton, bamboo work, rope-making, making straw sandals), commercial work (retail sales, accounting, selling books, selling newspapers, selling cloth, selling flowers), and educational and public work (teaching, childcare, nursing, studying, selling government savings bonds). One observer wrote, "With this kind of authentic presentation, imitating [the motions of these jobs] down to the last detail, there was not a single moment when the audience was not applauding loud as thunder."[72] The everyday execution of these tasks by millions of women all over

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[71] Chin Yü Sung (Jin Yusong), "The Sixth Semi-Annual Field and Track Meet of our School." *Xuesheng zazhi (The Students' Magazine)* 3.11 (20 November 1916), p. 6.

[72] Hou Hongjian, "Canguan Jiangsu shengli di er nüzi shifan yundonghui ji" [A record of observations from the Second Jiangsu Provincial Women's Normal School Meet], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 7.9 (15 September 1915), p. 69.

Jiangsu (and all over China) may have been taken for granted by greater society. However, these authentic imitations in the name of *tiyu* were enough to garner this expression of gratitude and appreciation in a China where physical education was understood to have such a great influence on society and its methods of organization.

This "*ticao* and games" mode, besides teaching valuable lessons about the individual, the family, and greater society, was also a powerful way of expressing sentiments about the Chinese nation as well. Much as the world of social interaction and cooperation could be imagined in terms of the human body's cellular structure, the workings of the new nation were also characterized in physiological terms that brought notions of *tiyu* and the modern nation-state closer together than ever. The first issue of Changsha's *Tiyu Weekly* featured a piece written on a recent "Human Body Peace Conference." The "Central Government (the brain)" first sent telegrams (*dianbao*, literally "electric messages," a pun understandable only to those with a modern understanding of the operation of the human nervous system) to all parts of the body. Soon after, "representatives" from the body's different organs and systems met in the chest cavity, a central and spacious location for a meeting to "discuss healthy ways of working to protect the survival of all."[73] In this piece, serialized over the first four issues of *Tiyu Weekly*, Mr. Heart was elected as Chair of this Conference which consisted mostly of representatives from different organs giving parliamentary-style reports on their recent work. This type of creative approach to discussions of science and the body makes it clear that physiological theories were crucial to many imaginations of the modern nation, and also how national visions influenced how many

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[73] Lulu, "Renti zhi heping huiyi" [A human body peace conference], *Tiyu zhoubao* 1 (9 December 1918), p. 6.

intellectuals understood their very bodies.

Games for children could also be designed to bring out, through the pleasurable motions and sensations of play and physical exertion, awareness of the Chinese nation's past, present and future. A series of "competitive games" introduced in 1914 by the Shanghai *Journal of Physical Education* included games called "Well-field" and "Telegraph." Both designed by students at Shanghai's Chinese Women's *Ticao* School, these games would use the thrill of competition to teach students both about China's ancient glories and superior forms of social organization, and about an "unbelievable" product of scientific development which, although "never conceived of by any person of our nation," was of great use to the unification of the new China.[74] Other games were put together to teach students about other aspects of the new nation of which they would someday be the masters. One game designed for use in the fifth and sixth years of elementary education was called "The Republic of the Five Races." Here, students holding a red, yellow, blue, white or black flag (to represent one of the great "Five Races" - Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Muslim and Tibetan - that formed a single Chinese people) competed in a five-team relay race. Each of the five teams, arranged in a circle around the instructor, would send one student at a time to run up to and run around the teacher, and then dash back to the team to hand the race-ing racing flag to the next runner. The game, engineered to teach participants that one "must undergo hardship to gain victory" and that "those who quit halfway will always lose due to their cowardice,"[75] would also allow students to live out this central

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[74] "Youji ziliao" [Materials on games], *Tiyu zazhi* 1 (June 1914), pp. 4-8.

[75] Yuan Shichen, "Jingzheng youji" [Competitive games], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational*

contradiction between notions of a united nation made up of five distinct and competing races.

Wang Huaiqi, a physical educator from Jiangsu who went on to write 59 books on physical education, in 1916-1917 published rules of two P.E. activities which etched a consciousness of China's national and international struggles in his students' minds. One was his "May Ninth Calisthenics," which commemorated 9 May 1915, that "disgraceful, shameful day ... etched deep in the minds" of all Chinese, when the Yuan Shikai government agreed to Japan's 21 Demands.[76] In this flag calisthenics routine, 38 students, each holding the Chinese national flag in their right hand and the army flag in their left, moved through 59 motions to their teacher's timed flute calls. These 59 steps took the students through 13 different swirling circular formations and linear marching alignments. The grand finale left the students, armed raised, in a formation that spelled out the Chinese characters *wu jiu*, or May Ninth, capping in spectacular style their long efforts to create a serious yet enthusiastic memorial to the shame suffered by their nation.[77]

Wang's second nationally-themed activity brought into his school's P.E. curriculum the epic struggles undertaken against Yuan Shikai and his aborted attempt to take the throne as Emperor of a *Hongxian* (Great Constitution) Dynasty in 1916. In the game "Songpo-ball" (named for the revolutionary hero Cai E, styled Songpo), students could use the motions of their very body to strike blows against the feudal arch-enemy

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Review) 6.11 (15 December 1914), pp. 46-47.

[76] Wang Huaiqi, "Zui xin qicao (wu yue jiu ri)" [A new flag calisthenics routine (May Ninth)], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 8.9 (15 September 1916), p. 33.

[77] Wang Huaiqi, "Zui xin qicao (wu yue jiu ri)," pp. 33-38.

Yuan. In a game much like German handball, players moved a ball from the Uprising Circle at midfield, attempting to throw the ball at and knock down the stakes in their opponents' *Hongxian* Dynasty Circle,[78] thus allowing each team to relive through this strenuous ballgame Cai's struggle to save the Republic from Yuan's mercenary forces.

These games, whether addressing elements of China's glorious past, its troubled yet thriving present, or its future greatness, provided wonderful opportunities for China's physical educators and their students to play out the myths and experiences that made up their beloved Chinese nation. In this way, then, these games and *ticao* routines were able to provide even more immediate connections to the nation than military drill or sports *tiyu*. Military drill presented an abstracted model of unity and a keen shared awareness. In sports, athletes and spectators could participate in disciplined modes of competition that spelled out the modern systems of the nation-state and of modern commerce. These games and calisthenics of the physical education realm went sports one better by actually teaching students through direct experience the story of their nation. Where sports were limited to a few standardized and internationally recognized forms, the domain of "games and *ticao*" was unlimited, allowing for great creativity in designing explicitly national activities that posed students as participating subjects in processes of imagining, building, preserving and defending the Chinese nation-state.

Other qualities of the educational *ticao* and games movement carried national significances just as weighty as these nation-centered performances. This realm of *tiyu* was unique in that it was understood as being just as, if not more, open to girls as to boys. Republican-era military drill was explicitly a male domain, training for China's

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[78] Wang Huaiqi, "Gaodeng youji: Songpo qiu" [An advanced game: Songpo-ball], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 9.4 (20 April 1917), pp. 1-3.

men-to-be for their future work in defending the nation. Sports, as described above and in Chapter 1, were also strictly defined as male activity, as experts of the time understood the intense movements of sports to be just as unsuitable for women as the commercial and capitalist implications of this competitive field. Games and "soft *ticao*," however, were the standard mode of physical education for girls and young women, as well as younger boys, in the early Republic and beyond. This healthy mixing of boys and girls, and this realm of expression for progressive-minded women and girls allowed this family of physical activities to make claims to national and modern heights that even the successful sports *tiyu* could never reach.

This boy-girl "mixing" should be qualified first. In 1911, a Chinese educator had advocated coeducational *tiyu* in order "to build a cooperative spirit between boys and girls," pointing out that this kind of sporting interaction was more healthy then men "singing and drinking wine with beauties in heavy makeup."[79] Republican-era school *tiyu*, however, was as a rule segregated by sex, and was meant to be sex-specific. Perhaps threatened by the notion that lazy P.E. instructors taught the same games and calisthenics to boys as to girls, a number of experts made a point of defining the male-female "difference" as one of the crucial distinctions to be made when designing physical activities specific to children's "individual natures" and skill levels.[80] If separate, the male and female forms were still viewed as equal, as many school athletic meets featured girls' and women's performances of games and *ticao* routines. A meet held on 10 October 1912 in Guangzhou's eastern

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[79] "Zui heyi zhi suiyi yundongfa" [The most suitable, appropriate type of exercise], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 3.3 (10th day, 3rd lunar month (8 April), 1911), p. 4.

[80] Hou Hongjian, "Canguan Susheng lianhe yundonghui ganyan," p. 182; Taixuan, "Ticao ke fushi jiaoshou zhi shiji" [On the realities of calisthenics instruction that includes more than one class of students], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 7.8 (15 August 1915), pp. 134, 141-144.

suburbs to commemorate the first anniversary of the Wuchang Uprising featured, alongside masculine military drill routines, a number of events for young women students, including [in their English] the "Girls Picking up Books Race," "Girls taking Umbrella Race," "Girl Three Legged Race," and "Girls Washing Clothes Race."[81]

Those observing meets including young women's *ticao* and games often came away more impressed with the women's performances than the men's. One educator in attendance at the Second Jiangsu Provincial Meet wrote, "there are those who say that girls' school physical education is more successful than boys' school *tiyu*. When girls' feet are not bound, their bodies grow full and strong, and their faces are a healthy dark shade. But schoolboys' complexions are always pale and white. This is true, if only because girls mature sooner ..."[82] And the presence of soothing, optimistic, cooperative women's games like "Mencius's Mother Moves Three Times," "The Republic of the Five Races," and "Fields of Human Compassion" allowed those in attendance at the Changshou (Jiangsu) Athletic Meet of 1915 to take pride in the productive and positive nature of their gathering. One educator wrote,

> There was none of what is called "*tiyu*" [sports] here.... But the content of these meets [the Changshou Meet and the Second Jiangsu Provincial Women's Normal School Meet] was what should be called *yundong*, more than those simple skills-for-sale athletic meets, where School A competes with School B, or Student B competes with Student C, that just lead to turmoil and disturbances, and that can never be an

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[81] "Nanfang zhi Guoqingri (Celebration of the Anniversary of the Revolution in the South)," *Zhenxiang huabao (The True Record (Illustrated Magazine))* 1.10 (9 November 1912).

[82] The 16 women's events at this meet included the Women's Sericulture Institute's "Willows in the Wind" game, a *Wushu*-calisthenics routine by the Jingzhi Women's School, and a beanbag *ticao* routine by the First Women's Normal School. Huanlong, "Canguan Jiangsu shengli xuexiao lianhe yundonghui jishi" [Record of observations on the Jiangsu Provincial School Athletic Meet], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 6.10 (15 December 1914), p. 32.

educational form of exercise.[83]

This "games and *ticao*" mode was thus viewed by many as saving physical culture from many of the competitive excesses of the blooming sports world.[84]

Other meets were held specifically for women's schools. One of the largest was the Second Jiangsu Provincial Women's Normal School Meet, held in Suzhou in May 1915. An elementary school teacher who attended the meet recorded the scene that drew over one thousand spectators from 19 schools from Wuxian and nearby counties: "In front of the gate, sedan chairs were crowded thick as fog, and everywhere were skirts and shoes as people made their way into the stadium." Traditional *duilian* banners pasted on the athletic grounds main gate proclaimed, "The nation is peaceful as these rains wash away our humiliation in East Asia" and "Women teachers stride forward, witness the spirit of a military march, enough to wipe away the smoke in our eyes."[85] Forty-two separate calisthenics and games demonstrations, including the long program put on by the Women's Professional Group described above, thrilled the audience, and "Not a single [spectator] failed to marvel that women's physical

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[83] Jiang Ang, "Canguan Jiangsu Di er nü shifan ji Changshou lianhe yundonghui ji" [Record of observations on the Second Jiangsu Provincial Women's Normal School Meet and the Changshou Athletic Meet], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 7.7 (15 July 1915), p. 47.

[84] Other educators also questioned competitive sport for the potential moral harm it could bring to participants, for the original ties of these forms to the English nobility which exploited the remainder of their society, and for the behaviors of athletes at meets (being too competitive, competing under false names, gambling, and taunting other athletes). Huanlong, "Canguan Jiangsu shengli xuexiao lianhe yundonghui jishi," p. 31; Taixuan, "Jiaoyuxue yu shehuixue (xu)" [Pedagogy and sociology (continued)], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 9.12 (20 December 1917), p. 48; Shenlong, "Canguan Jiangsu shengli xuexiao di si ci lianhe yundonghui ji" [Record of observations on the Fourth Jiangsu Provincial Athletic Meet], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 10.6 (20 June 1918), p. 21.

[85] Jiang Ang, "Canguan Jiangsu Di er nü shifan ji Changshou lianhe yundonghui ji," p. 45.

education is not inferior to men's *tiyu* after all."[86]

However, this otherwise positive setting could be interrupted by members of society who were unsure exactly what to make of these tremendous displays of the female "wonderful, active, disciplined, and courageous spirit." The crowd at this Jiangsu Women's Meet was originally quite orderly as they took in these demonstrations.

> But after twenty events, the men's seating area had become a chaotic, disorderly mess. And after thirty events, there were disturbances in the VIP seats and government officials' sections. All kinds of debates and opinions were heard. Some said [the meet] was proof that women could serve in the military. Others said that this was just converting the Chinese (*Xia*) into barbarian ways, and was a type of education that would lead the nation to ruin for sure. And these are things that the upper classes of society said....[87]

This "*ticao* and games" mode created a vibrant space for women's and girls' participation and expression in the physical culture world. Many of urban society's movers and shakers were unclear exactly how to understand this new site of female participation in China's new public and modern culture, and as the author above implies, others in society may have been even more confused by it. However, these types of calisthenics routines, forms that had evolved from military drill, were able, thanks in part to their inclusion of and "suitability" to women and girls, to occupy a unique and important position in China's physical culture of the 1910s.

"*Ticao* and games," to use the general term referring to the body of physical activities designed by physical educators for use in boys', girls' and women's P.E.

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[86] Hou Hongjian, "Canguan Jiangsu shengli di er nüzi shifan yundonghui ji," p. 70.

[87] Hou Hongjian, "Canguan Jiangsu shengli di er nüzi shifan yundonghui ji," pp. 69-70.

classes, was another form of physical culture which came of age during the first decade of the Republic. By its very nature, its restriction to the educational system, these forms neither enjoyed the spectacular career of competitive sports, which became an important avenue of Chinese engagement with the world, nor suffered the ignominious fate (described below) of the military drill, banished in the wake of the May Fourth movement and the First World War. "Soft" calisthenics and games were an important part of Chinese school physical education throughout the Republican era, although my study seldom returns to this realm in subsequent chapters. Even as educational curricula were altered by the introduction of competitive sports, militarized *tiyu* and then martial arts, teachers committed to the healthy and wholesome physical education of their boy, girl and young women students continued to devote great efforts to designing and publishing pleasurable and productive games and calisthenics routines. The ability of these games and calisthenics to summon and create notions of the individual, his/her place in Chinese society, structures of work and labor discipline, imaginations of the Chinese national past, present and future, and boy-girl equality and complementarity was the key to the success of this "*ticao* and games" mode in the 1910s and beyond.

Killing *Bingcao*

> Based on the strength of the Great Powers' militaries, everyone said that only a martial education would be enough to save the nation from extinction. So in school *ticao* classes, the only goal is a martial spirit, and military-style calisthenics are required material. But with this trend came a multitude of corrupt practices, with your average unintelligent, immoral soldier coming right out of the barracks and in one swoop becoming a teacher, ineffective and not worth anything. These are people that do not even know what a professor is or where a school is, excessive drinkers and mad gamblers, who love to fight like wolves and

> whom nothing would be below. Not a year goes by that the schools' reputation is not soiled, that society's faith is not lost, that students and their fathers and brothers do not hate *ticao* class even more, to the point now where it is seen as poison.[88]

The first section of this chapter outlined the fate of military drill in the opening years of the Republican *tiyu* age. Where the martial *bingcao* was scorned by modern educators for its decided lack of educational value and its connections to the feudal Qing, popular notions of the "martial spirit" revived by the Revolution of 1911 allowed military drill to live on in the nation's physical education curricula. In fact, up through 1918, military drill demonstrations went on alongside sporting competitions and healthy "soft *ticao*" exhibitions given at interscholastic athletic meets in the otherwise progressive province of Jiangsu.[89] However, the new pressures brought by the New Culture movement's turn towards the progressive and against the feudal and imperial, and the worldwide post-World War rejection of explicitly militarist forms made it impossible for military *ticao* tc survive.

The triumph of competitive sports as a national and international form for the

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[88] Xu Yibing, "Ershi nian lai ticao tan" [A discussion of *ticao* of the last twenty years], *Tiyu zhoubao tekan* [Special publication of *Tiyu Weekly*] (Changsha: *Tiyu zhoubao* she, 1920), quoted in Hsu I-hsiung (Xu Yixiong), "Xu Yibing tiyu sixiang chutan" [A preliminary investigation into Xu Yibing's philosophy of physical education], *Taiwan tiyu (Taiwan Sports)* 39 (October 1988), p.19.

[89] Zhang Shiliu, "Canguan Jiangsu shengli ge xuexiao di er ci lianhe yundonghui ji" [A record of my attendance at the Second Jiangsu Provincial Interscholastic Games], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 7.12 (15 December 1915), p. 87; Hou Hongjian, "Duiyu Jiangsu di san jie sheng lianhe yundonghui ganlun," pp. 183-184; Shenlong, "Canguan Jiangsu shengli xuexiao di si ci lianhe yundonghui ji," pp. 19-20.

Zhejiang Provincial Meets held in 1916 and 1918, however, did not feature military drill demonstrations, instead limiting the scope of their meets to competitive sports and the "soft" and "standard" forms of calisthenics. *Zhejiang zhongdeng xuexiao di yi ci lianhe yundonghui huichang jiyao* [Record of important facts from the site of the First Zhejiang Provincial Middle School Athletic Meet] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1916), pp. 4-5; *Zhejiang zhongdeng xuexiao di er ci lianhe yundonghui baogao* [Second Zhejiang Provincial Middle School Athletic Meet Report] (Hangzhou, 1918), pp. 29-33.

modern age left little breathing room at all for the military drill. Nationalist observers had no problem supporting the sports that had been brought to China by Westerners so recently. The sporting ideology, of bringing people together who would compete in the short term, but shared the long-term goals of a healthy and fit populace and a united China, was one that, once taking hold among Chinese people, no longer depended on the presence of glad-handing missionaries to push this form of *tiyu* any farther.

What military drill could offer no longer seemed important to young Chinese looking to the physical realm to build a strong China and Chinese people. *Bingcao* aimed for physical readiness in the case of battle with a national enemy, and a constant mental awareness of the nation and its interests. But its discipline, barked orders, and strict cadence could not have made much sense in a world where all was now fluid, progressing, evolving. National survival obviously required a strong military. More than this, however, China also needed a new type of community, one where the bitter struggle to survive in the world could be bred by friendly struggles within.[90] *Ticao* involved a collective focus (on the person of the drill leader), an important step in solving what many saw as the lack of a collective spirit in China. But it could not arrange the friendly micro-struggles between schools, cities, provinces, and soon nations, that sports *tiyu* could. Only sports could focus the gaze of its participants on the transcendent concept of victory. The teamwork and the distances that sports teams covered to compete with each other provided a sense of a community all striving for this singular goal. The timing, measuring, and official rules allowed for structured ways to evaluate improvement and progress, so crucial to survival in

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[90] For examples of this spirit of Social Darwinism, see writings of Ou Jujia cited in Prasenjit Duara, "Provincial Narrations of the Nation: Centralism and Federalism in Republican China," in Harumi Befu, ed., *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia: Representation and Identity* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993), p. 12.

the modern world. And the crowds that attended the games provided the athletes' senses of performance, drama, and tension that would have seemed so appropriate as the very future of their nation was being decided in the great international struggles of the world.

The one-dimensional *bingcao* may have claimed the allegiance of some patriots, as a militarist ideal always does. But after all, it could only *cao* (drill or control) the body. It offered nothing like the *yu* (nourishment, education, uplift) that came with this new ideology of physical culture, in either the competitive sports or the healthy "*ticao* and games" programs. *Bingcao* was direct, top-down, and easy to understand: strong people, strong nation. However, the young minds and bodies who hoped to build their new China could no longer tolerate this obsolete, brute force method of nation-building. A new *tiyu* community, consisting of physical educators and students, now existed to take on and finally dismantle these *bingcao* relics of imperial and feudal days gone by.

The June 1917 issue of *Association Progress*, the normally placid mouthpiece of the YMCA in China, included a pointed piece by Yun Daiying, then a student at Zhonghua University in Wuchang. Yun, a future Communist educator, agitator and organizer, here attacked the military *ticao* currently taught at his university. He admitted that "every student of our nation is a weak sissy (*wenruo*), totally unable to handle any weighty task," but also saw great problems in the way P.E. classes were designed, with their "overexertion that can injure [students'] internal organs or limbs and torso, bringing no benefit and only harm." Yun suggested that in the current system of martial education, students "didn't learn any more than if we were just listening to some army commander's barked orders." He demanded that Chinese educators: "Transform the fragmented *tiyu* into a systematic *tiyu*. Transform the lopsided *tiyu* into a comprehensive *tiyu*. Transform the jerky, inconsistent *tiyu* into a progressive *tiyu*.

Transform the listless and dry *tiyu* into an interesting *tiyu*."[91]

Yun's frustration and concern expressed in this piece was one of the clearest representations of the battles being fought in 1917 over just how, by whom, and even why, Chinese people would be taught to use and exert their bodies.[92] Riding the winds of the New Culture movement, many Chinese of the late teens hoped to redefine the terms on which physical education and recreation would be handled. In this time of learning from the Enlightened West's science and democracy, the modern games and competitions described above were all the rage. In 1917, Yun could refer to military *ticao* drill as a type of *tiyu*, or physical education. But the new physical culture that Yun saw as so "progressive" and "interesting" soon became known as the *tiyu*, a term

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[91] Yun Daiying, "Xuexiao tiyu zhi yanjiu" [Research on school physical education], *Qingnian jinbu (Association Progress)* 4 (June 1917), pp. 2-3. This *bingcao* vs. sports debate was not unique to China. In Germany, where the *Turnen* military calisthenics were founded in the 1810s, nationalists were horrified by the introduction of modern sports in the late 19th century. Patriotic *Turner* warned against sports like soccer that were "as alien to German behavior as their name, for which there is no German word." Dutch educators also saw sports clubs as a destructive "cancer." Not as pressured as Chinese later were to seize on "progressive" Anglo-American modes of culture, Europeans of the late 19th century could afford to privilege martial calisthenics over the new sports. Allen Guttmann, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 46-47, 142-45.

[92] Another article on physical education, published in *New Youth* just two months before by a young Mao Zedong under the pen name "28-brushstroke student," would decades later be officially recognized as a *tiyu* Holy Writ, a primal inspiration for the physical movements of every Chinese person under the sun. However, despite the later glorification of this article, its value lies mostly in its representation of the standard liberal take on *tiyu* of the age; Mao's idea that "the way of physical education is what makes possible an education in morality and wisdom" would not have seemed out of place in the inspired pep talks of any foreign missionary or YMCA track coach. Ershiba huasheng (Mao Zedong), "Tiyu zhi yanjiu" [Research on physical education], *Xin qingnian (La Jeunesse)* 3.2 (1 April 1917), p. 2.

Even into the 1990s, this article is seen by some as setting down the "correct definition" of modern Chinese *tiyu*. As recently as 1994, a volume of essays on Chairman Mao's contributions to Chinese physical culture included 16 works analyzing and appraising this 1917 *New Youth* piece. Qiao Keqin and Guan Wenming, *Zhongguo tiyu sixiangshi* [The history of Chinese physical education philosophy] (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1993), p. 231; Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyu kexue xuehui tiyushi fenhui, eds., *Mao Zedong yu tiyu wenji* [Essays on Mao Zedong and physical culture] (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994).

that could be used in opposition to the *bingcao*, a form now attacked for its connections to both the now-bankrupt Prussian martial ideal and the antiquated Chinese martial arts.

If China's New Culture endangered the blustery *bingcao*, the outcome of the First World War delivered a death blow to the traditions of military drill so heavily identified with their German origins.[93] In 1919, a Changsha author exposed the horrible consequences of the sado-machinistic military *tiyu* training curriculum. The goals of physical culture should have been to achieve "satisfaction in one's life," but

> the results of a military *tiyu* training (*jun guomin tiyu*) betrays perfectly and absolutely these goals of 'satisfaction in life.' Where one should be seeking life, he is taught to work towards death; where one should be enjoying life, he is taught to savor death. Everyone hopes to be able to protect the nation, but as a result [of military *tiyu* training] they do not have even the ability to protect themselves.... And any person who is not able to make some contribution for the good of society can be counted as one who is of absolutely no use.[94]

A contributor to the "Enlightenment" (*juewu*) section of *The Republican Daily News* in 1920, also critiqued the teaching of military drill in schools, writing that military titles,

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[93] As the Chinese *tiyu* community continued its transition from military drill to a more sporting *tiyu*, China also was involved in an international event marking a similar transition in the Allied nations. In January 1919, Chinese Military Mission Tang Tsai-li accepted an invitation to send a team to the Inter-Allied Games, an Olympic-style meet held in Paris later that year between soldiers of the Allied nations. In the end, China was not one of the 17 nations taking part in the Games, but government officials did donate three prizes to be awarded to meet champions.

One of the chief Games organizers was Elwood S. Brown, of the Philippines YMCA and the Far Eastern Athletic Association. While trying to convince parties involved of the viability of such a meet, he drew on his FEAA experience to explain the binding power of sports, even among the feudal peoples of Asia: "If a Chinese, a Japanese and a Filipino could be induced to sink their racial antipathies when they meet on the field of sport, men animated in advance by interest in and admiration for one another would be certain to find such a gathering pleasant and profitable." Joseph Mills Hanson, ed., *The Inter-Allied Games* (Paris: Games Committee, 1919), pp. 14, 54, 144-46, 438.

[94] Zhu Jianfan, "Jun guomin tiyu de jieguo" [The consequences of military *tiyu* training], *Tiyu zhoubao* 29 (7 July 1919), p. 2.

weapons and uniforms had no place in schools. "The European War is over; shouldn't we be acting together to oppose militarist nationalism?" He concluded that "our ideal *tiyu* must be based on [concepts of] universality and freedom, and a healthy and strong body and mind."[95] Similarly, *tiyu* forefather Xu Yibing (in the quotation beginning this section) rejected virtually the entire history of military *ticao* in China when he wrote in 1920 on the "corrupt practices" that had characterized military drill instruction ever since its institutionalization by the departed Manchu dynasty.

Changsha's *Tiyu Weekly* published an issue devoted almost solely to this question of military drill training and its future in the schools of China. Readers were invited to express their opinions on this important subject,[96] thus creating a public forum where physical educators could imagine themselves making contributions to the future of the nation. Zhang Baochen, a drill instructor at the Zhejiang Seventh Normal

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[95] Wang Shiying, "Xianzai tiyu shang de liangge bibing" [Two abuses in present-day physical education], *Minguo ribao (The Republican Daily News)*, 4 November 1920, p. 4.1. In this article, Wang also criticized the "athlete system" in schools, where pampered athletes become "indulgent and without any restraint."

[96] In September 1919, Huang's journal *Tiyu Weekly* posed to its readers the twelve most central questions regarding the direction of Chinese *tiyu*; this question about military drill ranked second in import. This list read,

(1) What of women's *tiyu*?
(2) Should schools eliminate military drill?
(3) Should elementary schools hire specialized *tiyu* teachers?
(4) Should schools eliminate the *ticao* presently in the curriculum?
(5) What is the *tiyu* value of substituting labor for *ticao*?
(6) What is the *tiyu* value of Boy Scout organization?
(7) What should be the next step in promoting *tiyu* in the community?
(8) Are 'competition' and 'evolution' actually in conflict?
(9) What is the *tiyu* value of *wushu*?
(10) If schools were to eliminate *ticao*, how should *tiyu* be designed?
(11) What of normal school *tiyu*?
(12) What are ways to economize on time and energy in [teaching] *tiyu*?

"Quanguo tiyujia taolun xialie ge wenti" [*Tiyu*-ists all over the nation discuss these following questions], *Tiyu zhoubao* 36 (15 September 1919), p. 1. The same piece was printed again in *Tiyu zhoubao* 37 (22 September 1919), p. 2.

School who likely feared for his livelihood, submitted an article in which he wrote mockingly,

> Recently your typical over-sensitive youth will take the German-Austrian defeat and the Allied victory to mean that the curtain is rising on a new era. They will say smugly and complacently that justice has triumphed over authoritarianism, and that militarism (*junguo zhuyi*) has been extinguished, that world wars will be no more, and that a utopian world is on the way. Thus, the military drill instructors in our nation's schools can be eliminated. This kind of superficial observation, these explanations which are so deceptive and untrue, never even take into account the status and condition of the nation ... A Western diplomat has stated that 'there is no honor in diplomacy' - will it not be of some use to believe him?[97]

But the majority opinion tilted heavily against those like Zhang who still saw strategic use for a militarist vision of the nation through discipline, and for those who hoped the bases for the Chinese nation could evolve into progressive models more in line with the strong West's. A Nanjing Higher Normal School *tiyu* coach opposed the military *ticao* training because the great emphasis on obedience killed students' initiative (*ziqixin*), a value so important to the national project, because it taught students the barbaric values of war, and also because it simply was not an economic way to train students' bodies.[98] *Tiyu Weekly* editor Huang Xing preached for a reasonable debate, writing in the same issue, "I will not favor the destruction of militarist nationalism (*jun guomin zhuyi*) and support the discarding of military *ticao* just because of Germany's defeat, and I will not emphasize China's perils and favor keeping military *ticao* just because of the Shandong question. I certainly will not

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[97] Zhang Baochen, "Xuexiao yingfou feizhi bingcao? (Yi)" [Should schools abolish military drill? (One)], *Tiyu zhoubao* 46 (24 November 1919), pp. 5-6.

[98] Jiang Xiaoxian, "Xuexiao yingfou feizhi bingcao? (Er)" [Should schools abolish military drill? (Two)], *Tiyu zhoubao* 46 (24 November 1919), p. 9.

follow along blindly, but I also will not obstruct the debate with cowardly hesitation."[99] This said, Huang proceeded to come down clearly on the side of the *tiyu* progressives, concluding that military drill instruction was only good for teaching students about war, and was of no use in helping Chinese to face other more pressing issues.[100] But even besides the contents of these two "progressive" pieces calling for the abolition of the old military drill in schools, the act of holding such a forum in print shows the commitment of this Changsha journal and its readers all over urban China to making *tiyu* a vital and viable part of the new progressive Chinese nation.

It is important to understand that the militaristic *bingcao* was not the only target of this new popular concern with the orientations and priorities of Chinese *tiyu*. For the May Fourth line was not by any means an unquestioning acceptance of the Anglo-American sports *tiyu*; many of the ideas and attitudes that came with this form of physical performance and conditioning fell under attack as well. Democratic (*pingmin zhuyi*) ideology was credited by many as having brought down the military *ticao*. Many recognized, however, that it had also contributed to the selfish and materialistic approaches of "trophyism" (*jinbiao zhuyi*) and the "athlete system" (*xuanshou zhi*, where schools paid non-students to compete on school teams).[101] Some went so far as to condemn the whole sports *tiyu* enterprise, condemning it as "the birth of vanity" in schools of the time, or

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[99] Huang Xing, "Xuexiao yingfou feizhi bingcao?" [Should schools abolish military drill?], *Tiyu zhoubao* 46 (24 November 1919), p. 3.

[100] Huang Xing, "Xuexiao yingfou feizhi bingcao?" p. 3.

[101] Zeng Ruicheng, "Xin wenhua yundong shiqi Zhongguo zhi tiyu sixiang (yijiuyijiu - yijiuerqi)" [Chinese physical culture philosophy during the New Culture Movement (1919-1927)], *Guomin tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 20.1 (March 1991), pp. 17-22.

ridiculing it as merely a simple game of "Envy-the-West."[102] Most critiques of the new *tiyu*, however, were simply about how it was not being implemented properly. Students felt that there was still a shortage of qualified P.E. teachers, and that those who were properly qualified put too much emphasis on winning, harshly criticizing or even beating students who fell short of their high demands.[103] Yun Daiying was critical of the excesses of competitive sports, writing that "*tiyu* should be for all students, regardless of how strong or weak their bodies are... It is not a school's duty to have athletes performing exceptionally in the big meets, and it is not a disgrace if they do not."[104] Schools were seen as spending inordinate amounts of money on the athletes, who were so spoiled by their special privileges that some became "plain hoodlums."[105]

However, where this new *tiyu* community was committed to correcting the excesses of the otherwise appropriate sports *tiyu*, it was just as committed to bringing to an end military drill's status as a viable domain of the Chinese *tiyu* landscape. Educators and students enlightened by the whirlwind developments in China and abroad could no longer imagine a place for *bingcao* in their physical culture, and moved almost unanimously to banish it from this new progressive realm. Their work

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[102] S. S. Kwan (Guan Songsheng), "Sports in China," *China Today* 2.1 (January 1959), p. 5; Liu Bannong quoted in Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China: The Beginnings of the Modern Era* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1983), p. 138.

[103] Hao Gengsheng, "Tiyu," p. 4.

[104] Yun Daiying, "Xuexiao tiyu zhi yanjiu," p. 1.

[105] Kwan, "Sports in China," p. 5.
However, their adoring publics could turn on these athletes as well; when they represented their schools poorly, some fellow students "took it personally" and cursed and ridiculed them in school publications. Mai Kele (Charles H. McCloy), "Wo duiyu zhe yi ci kai Yuandong yundonghui di xiwang (What I Expect From the Coming Far Eastern Olympic Games)," *Qingnian jinbu (Association Progress)* 42 (April 1921), p. 3.

was efficient and thorough. By the very early 1920s, the military drill was already nearly obsolete. What some called the "smelly double-track system" of equal concentration on military drill and more modern *tiyu* forms ended around 1922, when the "stale and hackneyed" military drills were abandoned, and *ticao* "coaches" (*jiaolian*) officially replaced by *tiyu* "teachers" (*jiaoyuan*).[106] And a sure sign of the passing of *bingcao* was the 1922 call by the Education Department's Physical Fitness and People's Recreation Conference for the use of new "modern" sports *tiyu* even in military and police training, sites that were bastions of the old martial drill.[107] These forms would be brought back, albeit in altered states, circumstances and contexts, as one element of a "militarized *tiyu*" advocated by Guomindang activists of the 1930s. The career of an independent *bingcao* discipline was over, however, as the Chinese *tiyu* community broke with the forms that had characterized Qing-era worldviews and programs, in favor of sports and "games and *ticao*" models that spoke in the progressive frequencies to which Chinese ears were now so well-tuned.

Into History

Besides this work in redrawing Chinese physical culture - adjusting some of its

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[106] The Education Department did choose to maintain military drill as elective courses in schools. Wu Yunrui, "Sanshiwu nian lai Zhongguo zhi tiyu" [Athletics in China over the last 35 years], in Zhuang Yu, ed., *Zuijin sanshiwu nian zhi Zhongguo jiaoyu* [Education in China over the last 35 years] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1931), pp. 231-34; Gu Shiquan, "Introduction to Ancient and Modern Chinese Physical Culture," in Howard G. Knuttgen, Ma Qiwei and Wu Zhongyuan, eds., *Sport in China* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Books, 1990), pp. 16-17.

[107] "Guli junjingjie xuexi tichang ji shishi jindai tiyu fangfa an" [Resolution encouraging the military and police community to learn to advocate and implement the use of modern physical education methods], in Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Quanguo tizong wenshi ziliao bianshen weiyuanhui, eds., *Tiyu shiliao di 16 ji: Zhongguo jindai tiyu yijuean xuanbian* (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1990), p. 31.

weak points and discarding for good some of its less desirable elements - the awakenings of the late 1910s left one final task for this early Republican *tiyu* community. These efforts were fine and necessary in terms of *tiyu* plans for the future. But another question on many lips asked about the longer historical view of physical culture. The powerful forms of the nation-state, including the dramatic and cathartic competitive sports *tiyu*, transfixed many educators, students and urban observers of the 1910s. Their power, the nature of the nation-building process, and new notions of national progress also led many to ask about their predecessors in imperial times, as new histories had to be written to make sense of China's dynastic pasts in Republican terms. *Tiyu* was no exception, as the New Culture and May Fourth movements made it time to finally make rational and national sense of *tiyu*, to figure out where exactly it fit in the whole scheme of Chinese history.

It was a delicate process as writers sought to give the *tiyu* its rightful niche in the world of things Chinese. Inherent in, and crucial to, this very effort of placing physical culture in China's historical progress was the fact of the modern *tiyu*'s ultimately foreign (and specifically Western) connections. Fanon has written of a mode of anti-colonialist "nationalist culture" where, in order to fight off the colonizing power, native intellectuals "relentlessly determine to renew contact once more with the oldest and most pre-colonial springs of life of their people."[108] However, it is not the case that Chinese nationalism necessarily required the denial of the existence of any points of commonality with the foreign. The very idea of making China a nation, and the modern nationalism it had to achieve, were based on a specific Western European Enlightenment example of strength and

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[108] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press Inc., 1968), p. 210.

power and a will for progress. Prasenjit Duara observes that while "nation-states glorify the ancient or eternal character of the nation, they also seek to emphasize the unprecedented nature of the nation-*state*, because it is only in this form that the people-nation has been able to *realize* itself as the self-conscious subject of History."[109]

It is this latter model, rather than Fanon's, which works better in explaining early Republican ideas of *tiyu* and history. The competitive and rational *tiyu* was by all means a form belonging to, and understandable only in the context of, the nation-state. By May Fourth, the modern physical culture had provided gratifying, energizing, and liberating experiences for many Chinese people for almost three decades. But its heyday could begin only when the momentous national and international meets of the 1910s brought this national context to the forefront. As the nation needed the masculine, muscular boost that was *tiyu*, so did *tiyu* need the nation and its (imported) structure. The sense that this *tiyu* was not totally a "Chinese" invention was, by definition, an integral part of this narrative, and a truth that only emphasized more forcefully Duara's point about the great break that these modern forms provided for a great "people-nation" like the Chinese.

Yet despite these ideas that *tiyu* could take China to the promised land of universal progress and international community, a Chinese nationalism did need to have some essential China somewhere in it. This China clearly could not be the modern Republican China, the history of which at this early point amounted only to several often messy and frustrating years. A more inspiring tradition and history, which China certainly had at its disposal, would be necessary to cite. Ernest Renan stated that knowledge of "common glories in the past" are just as crucial in forming a nation as "a common will in the

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[109] Italics are Duara's. Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 29.

present."[110] The recent centuries of Manchu rule could obviously be of no use, as there could be no Chinese nationalism at this time that did not recognize the barbarism and fundamental un-Chineseness of the Qing rulers. Those looking for *tiyu* in China's past would have to go much farther back than this, as they sought a new understanding of the achievements and the wonders of ancient China that could blend with modern appeals to the progress and international kinship. It would take much work to design a Chinese arrow of history that could transcend Xeno's Paradox and pierce the Great Wall between the imperial past and the Republican present and future.

In Chapter 1, I mentioned Xu Yibing's 1909 essay on "The History of Physical Culture," the first *tiyu* history piece written in China, which posed *tiyu* as yet another innovation to be credited to the great Chinese race.[111] The 1910s also saw further attempts at a history of China's "ancient *tiyu*." Xu Yibing, back with his new monthly *Journal of Physical Education*, in 1914 began a much more thorough investigation of China's *tiyu* past. The first two issues of this new journal contain a ten-page "Chapter One: Ancient *Tiyu*" of Xu's new "History of Physical Culture." These happen to be the only two *Journal* issues of which copies still exist in China, so we may never know the full scope of this effort by Xu. However, this first chapter is instructive. He conceded that in terms of developing disciplined, regulated competitive sports like the West's, which represented a "narrow" view of *tiyu*, China had little of which to brag: "Our nation does not have this [Western] type of *tiyu*, as our education and scholarship

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[110] Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" in Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 19.

[111] Peixian, "Tiyu shi" [The history of physical culture], *Tiyujie* 1 (1st day, 3rd lunar month (20 April), 1909), pp. 3-5.

through history have obviously never been as transparent or systematic as that of the West."[112] However, as he demonstrated with his detailed discussions of ancient hunting, archery, music and dance, mastery of swords and other weapons, and local modes of education during the Zhou Dynasty - all manifestations of Xu's "broad definition" of *tiyu* - China was heir to a rich tradition of physical culture.[113]

Another discussion of "ancient Chinese physical culture" was published in the Nanjing Higher Normal School Physical Education Research Society's own massive 266-page 1918 collection of essays. The author scolded his peers for their ignorance of their own nation's *tiyu* past: "Ignorant students, their minds drunk with the spirit of Europe, still say that China has no *tiyu* history of which to speak. Ah, how could they be so wrong?"[114] Not only did China's ancient archery competitions "possess the same significance, only in microcosm, of the West's Olympic Games," but the *cuju* kickball games seen in the *Shiji* and the *History of the Later Han* were just like modern soccer. Ancient Chinese sword and martial arts were likewise "qualified to be part of *tiyu*," as they taught discipline and skills of self-defense, just like the intense competitive sports of the modern West.[115]

These investigations into the physical culture of imperial China thus allowed for a history to be written which incorporated these premodern forms into a linear

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[112] Xu Yibin (Xu Yibing), "Tiyu shi" [History of physical culture], *Tiyu zazhi* 1 (June 1914), p. 1.

[113] Xu Yibin (Xu Yibing), "Tiyu shi," pp. 1-5; Xu Yibin (Xu Yibing), "Tiyu shi (xu di yi qi)" [History of physical culture (Continued from Issue #1)], *Tiyu zazhi* 2 (July 1914), p. 7-11.

[114] Zeng Qiu, "Zhongguo gushi tiyu tan" [A discussion of the physical culture of ancient China], in Nanjing gaodeng shifan xuexiao tiyu yanjiuhui, ed., *Tiyu yanjiuhui huikan*, p. 2.

[115] Zeng Qiu, "Zhongguo gushi tiyu tan," pp. 1-2.

progressive history which ended (for the time being) with the modern physical culture which appealed to so many in the 1910s. A schema was formulated in which the *tiyu* of the 20th century was the completely logical successor to these games, rituals and military training of imperial China.

Also important to this narrative of *tiyu* progress was the question of why this superior modern form was so late to bloom in China. "Why Chinese *tiyu* has not developed" was one of the first questions Guo Xifen posed in his 1919 book, *History of Chinese Physical Culture*, and his answer was quite simple. Guo placed the peak of "ancient *tiyu*" in the military training competitions and exercises developed during the Spring and Autumn period. After reaching these great heights, however, China unfortunately went into an extended *tiyu* slump of some 2500 years. Generations of weak Confucian scholars who "emphasized study and detested the martial," and for whom "drinking wine and being lazy was the highest achievement," could do nothing to end this skid. Thus, it was only in the first decade of the Republic that Chinese people could ever "awaken from their delusion."[116]

Guo, who was able to spread these notions as Professor of *Tiyu* History at Shanghai's East Asian Physical Education Training Institute, was not the first *tiyu* historian to propose this concept of a multi-millennium decline from the high point of Chinese *tiyu*. Xu Yibing in 1914 had referred to a loss of early Chinese martial skills and the later trends toward "literary weakness."[117] However, this mantra of "emphasizing the literary and

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[116] Guo Xifen, *Zhongguo tiyushi* [The history of Chinese physical culture] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1919; Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1993 reprint), pp. 4-5 and Zhu Liang, "Zhongguo tiyushi xu" [Preface to *The History of Chinese Physical Culture*] p. 1.

Guo, also known as Guo Shaoyu, later went on to form (with Zhou Zuoren) the Literary Research Society at Beijing University.

[117] Xu Yibin (Xu Yibing), "Tiyu shi," p. 1.

neglecting the martial" became the accepted explanation for the Chinese people's "failure" to develop the physical culture that Westerners and Japanese had to bring to them. Hao Gengsheng later referred to a decline of 3000 years, which placed what he imagined as the peak of Chinese *tiyu* in the late Shang dynasty![118] Another author later provided a shorter but more vivid estimate, when he referred to this unfortunate period as a "2000-year deposit of misguided sloth."[119] A reporter reflecting on the Far Eastern Championship Games of 1921 confirmed this judgment, explaining that Chinese *tiyu* was so weak over the centuries because "the people with free time, like officials, exam candidates, merchants, people with a family fortune but with nothing to do, were not even strong enough to bind a chicken."[120]

But if this theory of sloth and weakness was true - as it likely had to be for Chinese not to have invented such a momentous form as the modern *tiyu* - then what had happened in the world of Chinese physical culture all these millennia? Guo's 160-page book on Chinese *tiyu* surely had to be about something. As Guo went on to explain, it turned out that somehow in these thousands of dazed years lost to lethargy and confusion, there had developed many Chinese games and exercises. And these games were amazingly similar to the forms of *tiyu* spreading so rapidly in Guo's Republic; he identified one finite "quality" or "nature" that characterized the development of *tiyu* all over the world. For example, the old *cuju* "kick-ball" was "similar" to modern soccer, and the old "hit-ball" game of *chuiwan* was also "similar" to baseball. Guo not surprisingly concluded that "Chinese and Western [*tiyu*] are kindred, these are not two different principles." The only difference he pointed

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[118] Hoh, *Physical Education*, p. 34.

[119] Tang Leang-li, *Reconstruction in China* (Shanghai: China United Press, 1935), p. 94.

[120] Leng, "Yundonghui suo xian zhi guominxing" [The citizenship I have seen at the Games], *Shenbao*, 2 June 1921, "The Far Eastern Olympic Games Supplement #4" section, p. 1.

out between these two traditions was that "Western games emphasize rules, and simply do not have this [Chinese] sort of grace and elegance."[121] In 1919, Guo thus established a very comprehensive way of looking at Chinese *tiyu*, identifying it as an entity that on one hand (in keeping with the new progressive histories) had been suppressed by the backwardness of imperial rule, but that at heart always was following and developing along the universal line of *tiyu* to which the West had (re-) exposed China in recent years. Dr. David Z. T. Yui (Yu Rizhang) of the YMCA and Qinghua University seconded Guo's judgment, also denying any fundamental difference or "compet[ition] for supremacy" between the Chinese and Western forms of *tiyu*.[122]

This moment of comparison between the ancient and contemporary *tiyu* - the consciousness of what had come before and the interrogation into its implications for the national present and future - is extremely important. These comparisons reflect the inherent need to create a transition between the old and new, which by definition have to be very different in the young nation. Pierre Bourdieu writes convincingly of the impossibility of making comparisons across the break where older pre-capitalist games or rituals become "sports." He suggests understanding sport as correlative with a break "with activities which may appear to be the 'ancestors' of modern sports, a break which is itself linked to the constitution of a field of specific practice, endowed with its own specific rewards and its own rules, where a whole specific competence or culture is generated and invested."[123]

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[121] Guo Xifen, *Zhongguo tiyushi*, "Zhongguo tiyushi xulie" [Contents of *The History of Chinese Physical Culture*] pp. 3-4 and pp. 102, 113, 131. Guo's work also betrays some ambiguity in what these new games are called. At different points he refers to baseball as *yeqiu* (from the Japanese *yakyū*) and in longhand as *yewai bangqiu*, or (literally) "outdoor stickball."

[122] Hoh, *Physical Education*, pp. v-vi.

[123] Pierre Bourdieu, "Sport and Social Class," *Social Science Information* 17.6 (1978), pp. 821-22.

There is no question that, as Bourdieu writes, these activities are seen by old and new participants and their societies in fundamentally different ways. From the position of a historian today, it is easy to agree that the cosmological meanings of *cuju* kickball games were a world apart from the sporting values of modern soccer, or that the ritual meanings of Zhou Dynasty dance were far out of step with modern scientifically-designed calisthenics routines. However, these "erroneous" connections are exactly the ones in which many Chinese of the early Republic believed, as they authored new linear histories that showed the new Chinese *tiyu* having very much to do with the physical forms that preceded it.

These were what might be called linear histories with special Chinese characteristics, however. For they not only connected the ancient greatness of the ancient Shang and Zhou with the modern directions of the new Republic, but also with these universally-defined and universally-respected norms, no matter where their origin. The *tiyu* and the nation as written by May Fourth actors like Guo Xifen remembered aspects of the old China in a way that, feudal and decrepit as it was, shared (and even foreshadowed) aspects of a universal development with the dynamic and advanced West. The *tiyu* community that coalesced in the 1910s never shared the unquestioning faith in the West and universal condemnation of all things Chinese of many May Fourth writers, and thus saw the nation in a much broader way. There was no sense of nationalism as nativism, and here indeed there could not be. Modern *tiyu*'s inclusion in the story of the new Chinese nation dictated that this nation would have to be more flexible and syncretic, accounting for modern Chinese riffs on Western traditions, as well as indigenous Chinese forms recently legitimated by Western developments. Thus, these histories of the 1910s (capped by Guo's in 1919), which hailed Chinese ancient glories while equating them with irreproachable notions of progress, achieved by the peoples of the West and now emulated by China's Republican citizens.

Conclusion

As I will show in Chapter Seven, the imagining of this modern Chinese *tiyu*/nation I have described above was possible only with a modern attempt to erase the very ambiguous tradition of the Chinese *wushu* martial arts. *Wushu*, part and parcel of China's checkered imperial past, and (at this point) lacking any conceivable connection to the modern and progressive West, represented a perfectly negative and opposite example of the China that the modern New Culturists and May Fourthers hoped to build. The superstitious, decidedly unscientific, and absolutely divided martial arts practiced and taught by dispossessed rural elements had little to offer the architects of a China for the 20th century. Thus, these new linear *tiyu* histories sought to write the *wushu* out of existence, actively denying and forgetting it, as they remembered new modern styles of *tiyu* into Chinese history.

The China of the late 1910s was one that did not have to be so martial, or even so "Chinese." Things clearly not Chinese could become Chinese, and things clearly Chinese were scorned as "feudal" or even forgotten completely. Such is the very arbitrary nature of creating the nation. However, if arbitrary, the process might actually seem somewhat predictable with the hindsight we now possess. Put simply, how many other ways were there for nations-to-be to become so in the early 20th century? Students of Chinese history now (rightfully) try to avoid assigning strictly reactive explanations for the vagaries of modern Chinese history. But it is hard to deny that the nation was a means to ending the unequal treaties and fighting imperialism in China, of winning respect from the strong nations of the world, and so was created in their image. The power of these modern *tiyu* forms - whether in gathering together athletes from "all over" China to join in friendly but heated competition, in postulating visions of a new Chinese man willing and able to meet men of other nations in sporting battle, or in teaching schoolchildren the history and future

of the Chinese nation through imaginative games and calisthenics routines - simply trumped any inherent "Chinese" value that indigenous forms like martial arts could offer.

Levenson's description of the unorthodox late Qing use of the once-traditional *ti-yong* model might be of use here. Levenson points out the "fallacy" in this use of the formerly Confucian formula, namely that the "grating injection" of Western *yong* function, meant only to be used as a tool, "doomed the indigenous social order" based on the substantive Chinese *ti*.[124] Levenson reads this as a mockery of Confucian statecraft tragic in its implications for the modern fate of Confucian China. However, it seems that by the late 1910s, nation-minded students, educators, reformers and modernizers would have found this *yong*-induced Western injection a blessing rather than a curse. The New Culture and May Fourth sought to drive out the feudal and imperial demons haunting China's present and future. The popularity of modern forms of physical culture, and the authoring of linear histories of the Chinese *tiyu* and nation fit perfectly with this trend, as nationalists of all stripes worked desperately to save China from what they saw as sure destruction. It was these impulses and stimuli that allowed these knowledgeable elements of the 1910s to write the Chinese nation so skillfully as a mixture of consciousness of the old and knowledge of the new, transforming into agents of Chinese modernity inventions and ideologies of very un-Chinese traditions.

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[124] Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy, Volume One: The Problem of Intellectual Continuity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972 combined edition), p. 75.

CHAPTER 3

"Mind, Muscle and Money": A Physical Culture for the 1920s

> Physical education, as has been proved by the majority of civilized nations, is a definite means to afford the human race the knowledge of how to live a happy and active life.... Can China follow the same path on which America has built her national physical life? ... Or can China afford to live in this twentieth century without adopting any modern physical educational system?
>
> - Gunsun Hoh, *Physical Education in China* (1926)[1]

China's challenges of the 1920s would be to build on the soul-searching and anti-traditional critiques of the 1910s, and to create a society like those of the "civilized nations." It was understood to many that a modern physical culture would be an integral facet of this society which could provide "a happy and active life" for all of China's citizens. Perhaps the first physical culture-related work to tackle the new questions brought on by the recent intellectual tides of the May Fourth movement appeared in *Tiyu Weekly*, a Changsha journal founded and published by physical educator Huang Xing.[2] In a short piece entitled simply "What is *Tiyu*?" Huang laid claim to the two new types of space to be filled by the new physical culture, declaring that *tiyu* stood for both "(1) Physical education, research into its use vis-a-vis human physiology, and (2) Physical education, research into its use with regards to humankind and social life.... We can say, 'Physical education is the correct means of developing the individual's body, and is a requirement for adjusting to life in the human

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[1] Gunsun Hoh, *Physical Education in China* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1926), pp. 257-258.

[2] Huang is not to be confused with another famous Huang Xing from Changsha, the *Tongmenghui* revolutionary who died in Shanghai in 1916. Huang the physical educator also went by the *zi* name Shengbai, or "Vanquish-the-white."

community.'"[3] Chinese physical culture activists were now ready to develop the connections between their (disciplining) discipline and the needs of a burgeoning modern nation.

1920s *tiyu* would be marked by a more sophisticated approach to the relationship between the bodies of Chinese individuals and of the Chinese nation. Many of the older, more baldly martial and Darwinian forms of nationism, had been discredited by the late 1910s, but newer national formulae were available. Western discourses on individual rights and freedoms, and on the human need for community and social standards made it possible to imagine a nation defined by these complementary elements of human life. *Tiyu*, long conceived as an agent for somatically imprinting awareness of the nation on the minds of citizens, now would become a physically experienced medium between the two fundamental building blocks of the nation - the responsibilities of the individual subject-citizen both to keep healthy and fit in body and mind, and to be capable of working and uniting with others.

Besides these philosophies of what I will call a new liberal democratic *tiyu*, this chapter seeks to cover several other aspects of the Chinese physical culture of the 1920s. An "intercultural zone" allowed Chinese and Western men involved in *tiyu* in China to mix with and observe each other in a space free of weighty national narratives, until this zone passed with the introduction of more stridently nationalistic forms of *tiyu*

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[3] W. S., "Shenme jiaozuo tiyu?" [What is *tiyu*?], *Tiyu zhoubao* 25 (9 June 1919), p. 2.

The importance of the American model of physical culture in this early postwar era makes it unsurprising that 1920s Chinese notions of *tiyu* should resemble American physical culture and what one author has called its "social 'technology' designed to adapt people to the new human environment." Mark Dyreson, "The Emergence of Consumer Culture and the Transformation of Physical Culture: American Sport in the 1920s," *Journal of Sport History* 16.3 (Winter 1989), p. 262-263.

organization. Physical culture was presented as a necessary prerequisite to a Chinese modernity - a modernity which could be imagined as sharing in the modernity created in the sporting West, or as a modernity so scientific as to be above culture and therefore acceptable to nationalist narratives of physical culture. This modernity included standards for the accurate measuring of young citizens' physical performance, the explication of *tiyu* as a legitimate scientific discipline, and the spread of physical education training schools, organizations and publications throughout China. Finally, Chinese physical culture was closely tied to commercialism, and was an important element of imaginations of the capitalist labor discipline of modern China.

Contributing Some Essential Element: The Liberal Democratic Model

Taixuan, a regular contributor to Shanghai's *The Chinese Educational Review*, in his September 1919 article "Democracy and Training" indicated many of the directions that 1920s Chinese physical and conventional education would take. He described the abuses of the current physical training system that Chinese "could not but solve at once": "Obeying orders and sacrificing the individual will to accord to that of the group, being seen as admirable qualities." The author criticized the Spartan model of citizen training once so popular in Chinese intellectual circles, writing that "the goals of this model are to breed obedience to force and to one's commanders, the submersion of soldiers' individual will, and machinelike passive movements. But average citizens are being taught right along soldiers to fear the orders of the commanders."[4] Instead,

[4] Taixuan, "De-mo-ke-la-xi yu xunlian" [Democracy and training], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 11.9 (20 September 1919), p. 1. The author quotes extensively English author Butler's 1917 book on post-WWI education in Britain.

the author argued for a democratic training, one borne of "high morals and social evolution", one "utilizing children's play instinct to encourage the training of the will via children's physical and mental activities," and one that could "develop the free will and self-restraint." "But I am by no means advocating the dissolution of rules and authority," Taixuan continued. "In fact I feel deeply the need to emphasize heavily ceremonial forms, discipline and order. I am saying, however, that rules and discipline must be *rational and clearly understandable* in order for them to achieve currency in the schools."[5]

Such an approach meshed perfectly with missionary E. D. Vernik's prescriptions for teaching group athletics in China, published in the missionary-led Educational Association of China's own journal:

> Modern athletics or physical training ... places it's [sic] emphasis upon the development of the man who is subnormal in an effort to *make a normal man of him*. The aim of Modern Physical Training is not to make a star athlete of any man but *to take the body every man has and make it an efficient serviceable machine which is capable of standing the wear and tear of his ordinary life*.... it must be a program calculated and so arranged that it will foster the spirit of group loyalty, develop the ability to co-operate with other boys toward a common end, instil within the boy a sense of *mutual trust and dependability*. It must be a system in which *every boy can feel that he is an essential unit and is contributing some essential element* toward its success. It must be a program in which the boy is taught to assume practically the whole responsibility for its working....
>
> [In a 1919 program established in a Beijing mission school,] Every individual in each group is obliged to compete in every competition unless physically disabled. If he is absent or does not compete his team loses ... *he can always know that it may be just his one point that is needed to win the competition for his team*.[6]

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[5] Taixuan, "De-mo-ke-la-xi yu xunlian," pp. 2-3. Italics added.

[6] E. D. Vernik, "Group Athletics," *The Educational Review (Jiaoyu yuebao)* 12.4 (October 1920), pp. 336-338. Italics added.

These are the ideas, pushed by Chinese reformers and Western missionaries alike, of the potential for a democratic system of "soft" discipline. This new modern discipline, based on rationality, would be tolerant of the individual citizen's free will, but also would depend upon his/her self-restraint and ultimate commitment to order and an orderly nation, to shape a progressive China.

The Chinese reformer and Western missionary visions of the Chinese nation (as written in their programs for physical training and education) converge and fit together quite neatly despite the hubris and hostility between members of their two camps. If missionaries felt directly threatened by manifestations of Chinese nationalism, they still hoped to make contributions to Chinese nationism - the drive for a China that could stand as one nation under God (indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, as the Chinese reformer likely would have added). B. A. Garside of Shantung Christian University wrote on an experiment conducted at the Point Breeze Academy in Weixian County, Shandong, to "get the entire student bodies of the schools to participate in their sports and games with the most zest and interest.... it was planned to provide a track-meet in which every boy in school would participate in every type of event for which his age and size fitted him."[7] The meet was also set up as to breed the personal responsibility so important to the modern nation-state: "Before the race, each boy was asked to note as he finished who was ahead of him, and in general they gave us the correct order of their crossing the finish without trouble, although having several assistants to help with judging the finish always served to prevent disputes."[8]

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[7] B. A. Garside, "A Track-Meet for the Whole School," *The Educational Review (Jiaoyu yuebao)* 17.3 (July 1924), p. 289.

[8] Garside, "A Track-Meet," p. 292.

Both reformer and missionary understood this new system as a "modern" solution to older problematic programs in both cultures; Chinese modernists wanted a democratic alternative to the constraints imposed by the German-style military drill, while American missionaries hoped for a more egalitarian solution to the defects of a (US-style) star sports system that ignored the skill levels of the majority. But both visions meshed perfectly, as they configured young Chinese men as willing cogs, voluntary mini-machines in a greater new modern and masculine Chinese national machine, in turn lubricated by notions of the "normal man," "mutual trust," and "free will and self-restraint."

This is a new imagination of the social body of the modern nation-state, where it was no longer efficient to attempt to build national strength by brute force, by shackling the individual's body and subjecting the individual's will to a national body and will. Instead, in these postwar times, a new model would have to be established and followed, that of, as Takashi Fujitani has called it, "the positive deployment of power into the soul of the individual," or Michel Foucault's "individuation of the nation's subject-citizens."[9] Indeed, Beijing Higher Normal School Physical Education Department graduate Zhi Yongqing, in his 1924 book *Games and Sports*, criticized the dry and monotonous military drill which was never able to "capture the student's interest," a factor which figured in military drill's decline in the late 1910s. Zhi insisted that a modern physical education be created which accorded to physiological principles,

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[9] Takashi Fujitani, "Technologies of Power in Modern Japan: The Military, The 'Local,' The Body." p. 14. This is the English original of the article that appears as T. Fujitani, translated by Umemori Naoyuki, "Kindai Nihon ni okeru kenryoku no tekunorojii: guntai, 'chihō', shintai," *Shisō* 845 (November 1994). Being conscripted into the Meiji-era Japanese military and being a patriotic-minded athlete in 1920s China were certainly two very different experiences, but the common aspects of "individuation of the nation's subject-citizens" present in both are too similar to ignore.

and that "[took] the student as the subject (*zhuti*)."[10]

Fujitani reminds us that "no modern regime has ever articulated its enterprise of constructing the nation-state as a project of limitations and restrictions."[11] Both the Western missionary and Chinese reformer fluent in Western thought clearly would have agreed - what China needed was a nation of individual citizens who were not being forced, but now wanted, to work together and play together as a (national) team. But the survival of this team, as missionary Vernik explains above, would utterly depend on each individual's willing dedication to the whole and determination to fit in as normal, and on each individual's knowledge that "he is an essential unit and is contributing some essential element" to the whole and has "practically the whole responsibility" for its success. This was a world which required, again quoting Fujitani, "constant attention to the self."[12] Only by constantly monitoring one's own performance, dedication, and normalcy could a young Chinese ensure that his slip-ups would not cost the team (or the nation) its final victory. Being a useful Chinese citizen in the early 1920s meant learning this system of "free will and self-restraint," and physical culture was perhaps the finest classroom for its instruction.

Indeed, in 1921 Wu Yunrui looked to modern physical culture to teach the "fighting spirit" that Chinese citizens would have to master in order for the nation to survive.[13] Wu, hailing from Xiaoqi Village in Jiangyin County, Jiangsu, graduated from

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[10] Zhi Yongqing, *Youxi zhuanlun (Games and Sports)* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1924), *Daoyan* preface p. 3.

[11] Fujitani, "Technologies of Power in Modern Japan," pp. 22-23.

[12] Fujitani, "Technologies of Power in Modern Japan," p. 15.

[13] Wu Yunrui, "Woguo tiyu shang zhi zijue (China's Realization Along the Line of Physical Education)," *Qingnian jinbu (Association Progress)* 41 (March 1921), p. 55.

Jiangsu Normal School's Physical Education program in 1915. The next year, he entered the new two-year P.E. Program at Nanjing Higher Normal School, and was a standout member of the first graduating class of 1918. In spring 1919, Wu entered the Shanghai YMCA P.E. Training Program, and by that summer, was hired to teach human kinetics (*renti yundongxue*) and gymnastics at Nanjing Higher Normal. Months after writing this article on *tiyu* and the fighting spirit for the YMCA journal *Association Progress*, Wu would enter Southeastern University's P.E. Department and be on his way to becoming one of China's leading *tiyu* voices during the 1920s and 1930s.[14]

Wu took pages from Germany's defeat in the war to justify a new Chinese physical culture vision, but was one of the few who still had hope in the "double-track system" of dual emphasis on military exercise and team sport. He took the recent history of Germany, a nation whose people's "physiques might well be crowned world champions," as proof of the importance of the fighting spirit - but he explained, "[those who] have fighting skills but do not own the fighting spirit can only be called an unorganized mob (*wu he zhi zhong*)." The strong individual body thus was a double-edged sword. It had the potential not only to unite the nation in imagining and working for the China of the future, but also to drive the nascent nation downward into chaos and mob rule. Wu classified 14 necessary elements of a disciplined fighting spirit that could save China - cooperation, courage, initiative, perseverance, obedience, coordination, training, sacrifice, group loyalty, honesty, a firm will, self-restraint, a will for victory, and fortitude. He listed six types of exercise that could teach this spirit:

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[14] Zhong Ruiqiu, "Jindai zhuming tiyujia: Wu Yunrui zhuanlüe" [An outstanding modern *tiyu* expert: A biographical sketch of Wu Yunrui], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 4 (July 1983), p. 3.

> (1) Team sports: Soccer, baseball, basketball and volleyball can be relied upon to breed all 14 elements of this spirit.
> (2) Track and field: Courage, perseverance, honesty, initiative and a will for victory will all be cultivated.
> (3) Martial games (*wu de youxi*): Games like tug-o-war, jousting ... and capture-the-baton can cultivate virtues of cooperation, initiative, perseverance and coordination.
> (4) Gymnastics: This can breed fortitude.
> (5) Calisthenics: This can breed obedience and training.
> (6) Military drill: Serves same function as calisthenics.[15]

So even though Wu was one of the few *tiyu* voices still to envision military uses for the lessons learned in *tiyu*, it is telling that he saw so much more utility in the Anglo-American sports *tiyu* than in the drill and gymnastics curricula he had studied and taught for so long. Wu closed his article with a well-known story from European history:

> In the past, when Wellington defeated Napoleon, it was said by all to come back to brilliant military strategy. But then others said that this was in fact all due to the contributions of cricket (*kelikoutuo*). Cricket is a ballgame, like American baseball, seen by British to be a national art (*guoji*) that is even of use on the battlefield. We can see that each type of team sport is a factory for the manufacture of martial citizens. Unfortunate, then, that our nation's military men are so lacking in experience and knowledge, that they do not even know of Wellington's ideas; even those that do know would not be able to understand their true significance. These youth marching with their weapons, these soldiers' time wasted, for they are still unenlightened - alas![16]

Wu understood these sporting "factories" as technologies that could easily be transferred from the progressive West onto the landscape of his unenlightened China.

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[15] Wu Yunrui, "Woguo tiyu shang zhi zijue," pp. 55-56.

In 1923, Wu contributed an article on native Chinese competitive martial games (*wu de youxi*) to Southeastern University's *The Chinese Journal of Physical Education*. Wu explained rules and equipment needed for several games like "Chicken fights," "Stealing the cub from the tiger's lair," and "Avoiding drowning." Wu Yunrui, "Wu de youxi (xu)" [Martial games (continued)], *Tiyu jikan (The Chinese Journal of Physical Education)* 2.1 (April 1923), pp. 1-3.

[16] Wu, "Woguo tiyu shang zhi zijue," p. 57.

This kind of absolute dichotomy between the aggressive, creative and strong West which looked to the future, and the passive, ignorant and weak China which remained transfixed by the past, ruled the day in the early 1920s. Chen Duxiu's attacks on the feudal Confucianism which obstructed individual independence, Hu Shi's emphasis on the pragmatism so missing from Chinese thought and philosophy, Ding Wenjiang's writings on (Western) Science[17] - these all brought home quite clearly the idea that the survival of the Chinese nation depended on transplanting some of this powerful and rational Westernness over the great East-West barrier and into China.[18]

Tiyu As an Intercultural Zone

Interestingly, however, the male world of postwar Chinese physical culture was one remarkably free of this type of dichotomizing thought that supposed great and absolute divides between China and the West. When one considers that the whole history of "*tiyu*" in modern China had been one of imagining samenesses with the West, of imagining a place for China in a universally Western history, then perhaps this should not surprise us.

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[17] See Chapter XXIV on "The New Culture Movement" in Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan and Chester Tan, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition, Volume II* (New York: Columbia Press, 1960), pp. 151-195.

[18] A short piece by Chen Duxiu in *New Youth* in 1920 presents an odd example of the use of this dichotomy. Chen quotes Dewey (obviously one of the great symbols of Western pragmatic and rational modernity, and who was lecturing in China at the time), as saying, "Students in Fengtian all have healthy physiques, unlike students in the South and in Beijing, who always look so worn out and weak." Chen then adds, "this is something about which the student community should feel very concerned." Here, Dewey becomes a foremost authority on physical, national and regional strength, but in a way that also fits perfectly with (1) Chinese stereotypes of brawny Northeasterners and wimpy Southerners, and (2) the Chinese modernizing line that the nation depends on these educated youth who should therefore get in shape. Duxiu, "Sui gan lu (bashi): Qingnian tiyu wenti" [Random jottings (#80): Problems in youth physical education], *Xin qingnian (La Jeunesse)* 7.2 (1 January 1920), p. 157.

In this section I will attempt to explain this uniqueness by way of Michael Taussig's ideas on what he calls the human race's "mimetic faculty" - "the faculty to copy, imitate, make models, explore difference, yield into and become Other." What attracts me to this model is its attempt to explain "the unsettling confrontation of the West with itself as portrayed in the eyes and handiwork of its Others."[19] Here the West's "Others" refer to the Chinese people, whom Westerners had characterized for so long as feminine, passive, superstitious, just simply Other, and to whom Western missionaries of Christ and/or sports hoped to spread knowledge of Western physical culture and all its attendant social values. Traditional historical models of contact between imperialist and the imperialized, or colonizer and colonized, are usually seen in terms of one-dimensional "acceptance" and/or "resistance," which again is how the history of Chinese athletics has often been read. However, I hope to use these ideas about "mimesis" to explain a much more complicated contact between Western spreaders of sport and their Chinese students, a contact that created in athletics "an intercultural nexus, a new cultural zone ... for discovering strangeness and confirming sameness."[20] I see the world of *tiyu* as creating an entirely new cultural space, where both Western teacher and Chinese student were able to use *tiyu* to become the Other, "slipping into Otherness, trying it on for size."[21]

The postwar, post-May Fourth years allowed this "intercultural zone" to survive untouched, even to thrive more vigorously for a time. One of Taussig's more useful contributions is to suggest that the mimetic faculty he writes about is more than

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[19] Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. xv.

[20] Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*, p. 195.

[21] Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*, p. 33.

just a faculty, but also a history, and that while the mimetic faculty has real effects on our histories, the working of this faculty is also dependent upon history. I understand the early 1920s to be a time when conditions were ripe for an explosion of the mimetic faculty within China's *tiyu* community, when young Chinese athletes and their earnest Western teachers embraced this "welcome opportunity to live subjunctively as neither subject nor object of history but as both, at one and the same time."[22]

English Language and *Tiyu* Mimesis

One aspect of this mimetic history of early 1920s *tiyu* regards language, specifically the very common use of English sports terminology on the playing field itself, and within Chinese books and articles on *tiyu*. Several elderly friends of mine, ex-athletes who began their sporting careers in 1920s China, remembered their experiences largely in English terms. Dong Hanwen began playing soccer in junior high school in Shenyang in the mid-1920s, and when asked about it now, talks proudly of his skills at "center half."[23] Li Shiming joined his Shenyang junior high school baseball team in the early 1920s, and after moving to Dalian soon after, joined a "Sports Club" organized by Japanese and Chinese merchants there. His memories of his sports career in Liaoning come out largely in Japanese-accented English terms like "baseball," "pitcher," "running," and "skating."[24] Cheng Jinguan, a hurdler-sprinter on the 1936

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[22] Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*, pp. xiii-xv, 255. The "history" I am referring to is of course the history of imperialism in China.

[23] Interview with Dong Hanwen, Taipei, Taiwan, 15 October 1995. Mr. Dong was later personally scouted and given a soccer scholarship by Zhang Xueliang, president/principal of the Northeastern University and High School; Dong owes this to his soccer skills and also to the fact that his father Dong Futing was a local military man of some renown.

[24] Interview with Li Shiming, Beitou, Taiwan, 13 June 1996.

Chinese Olympic team, began playing soccer in middle school in Shanghai. Although he was a standout athlete, later playing on Fudan University championship soccer teams while still in high school, he described his soccer talent to me (in a burst of fluent English) as "natural, I never practiced."[25] Even the simple act of taking an English name seems to have contributed to the fun of this new world of sport. This was a world where Chinese young men could even get in touch with the formidable scientific and literary traditions of the West; the Shanghai College annual praised the two freshman members of the school track and field team, standout athletes named Amoeba Wu and Longfellow Chen![26]

Spectators could get in on the act as well. A. B. Davis, headmaster of the Hankou YMCA Commercial School, wrote an account of China's Third National Games, held in Wuchang in 1924. He marvelled at the way in which Chinese sports fans cheered on their teams:

> The manner in which the athletes went at their jobs, and their comments on the games, were much the same as those of Western youths. The Chinese students seem to have largely adopted English phraseology in some of their sports; and in the races it was not uncommon to hear such remarks as, "Come on, boy, you can beat him!" "Hurray! North China comes in one, two, three"; while the spectators at the basket-ball games frantically encouraged their players with, "Shoot, shoot!" "Take it away from him!" "Too bad you missed that one." At the baseball games, even a dyed-in-the-wool fan could shut his eyes and listen to the talk, and imagine himself comfortably seated in the bleachers somewhere back in America.[27]

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[25] Interview with Cheng Jinguan, Suzhou, China, 2 March 1997.

[26] *The Shanghai 1925 (Volume X) (Hujiang yichou niankan)* (Shanghai: Shanghai College, 1925), p. 97.

[27] Hoh, *Physical Education in China*, pp. 157-158.

This use of spoken and written English is a very telling element of this era of Chinese physical culture, and far too important to explain away as a simple throwaway instance of creating distinctions and hierarchy through the use of a few foreign words. There is class involved, no doubt, but there is much more than this going on. No one who has played baseball in rural Taiwan and heard children yell out their calls "Stu-rike-uu" and "Out-tow," local variations on Japanized baseball terminology still used fifty years after the departure of the colonial power, would deny that language allows us to see very real and very complicated historical factors at work, both in 1990s central Taiwan and 1920s urban China.[28]

Zhang Jiwu, Physical Education Director for Nankai University and High School, wrote in a 1926 school publication on Nankai *tiyu*, citing (in English without Chinese translation) F. H. Robertson that "man is the sum of his movements," and William James that "intrepidity, contempt of softness, surrender of private interests, obedience to command, must remain the rock upon which states are built."[29] A journal published by the Patriotic Girls' School Physical Education Research Society in June 1925 included three articles written in English by Chinese *tiyu* activists in Shanghai. Yi Liang Chang wrote that the school was "widely reputed for its special attention to the physical education of girls. Either a graduate or an undergraduate, after having been

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[28] To be sure, the fact that these terms are Taiwanized versions of Japanized English makes the whole phenomenon even that much more complicated. However, Taiwanese baseball is not limited only to these Taiwanized-Japanized terms; one 1990s invention is the transliterary term *hongburang* (literally, "red and unyielding") for "home run" that has entered the fan and media baseball lexicon.

[29] Zhang Jiwu, "Nankai zhi tiyu" [Nankai physical education], *Nankai xuexiao ershier zhounian jinianhao* [Nankai School 22nd anniversary special publication] (17 October 1926), reprinted in Wang Wenjun, Liang Jisheng, Yang Xun, Zhang Shujian, and Xia Jiashan, eds., *Nankai daxue xiaoshi ziliaoxuan (1919-1949)* [Selected materials on the history of Nankai University,] (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1989), p. 540.

well trained, is very active, sound in body and mind, and able to accomplish every thing as a man."[30] Y. Y. Hsuh wrote on China's continuing woes in the Far Eastern Olympic Games, concluding, "Therefore, our country men, make up your mind, and try your best to improve athletics. In this way, China will some days be the strongest nation in the Far East, and in the world too."[31] And S. Wang wrote on "The Importance of Physical Culture," describing the relationship of exercise to "The cultivation of health," "The assistance to mental development," and "The effect on moral character."[32]

In fall 1923, Shen Guoquan took a job as Professor of Physical Education at Nanyang University, only months after he graduated from Nanyang and finished a soccer career so outstanding that he was "worshipped by the entire school as a master sportsman."[33] That winter, he told a *Nanyang Weekly* reporter, "The West has a saying: 'If we want to have a truly great citizenry, we will have to train and turn out individuals who have the three M's,' where these three M's are Mind, Muscle and Money. The meaning of this saying is not too far removed from our three types of education, in the moral, the intellectual and the physical (*de-zhi-ti sanyu*)."[34]

The range of ideas "themselves" being communicated through English here are astounding enough - I am most fascinated by Zhang Jiwu's association of William

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[30] Yi Liang Chang, "A Few Encouraging Words to the Physical Training Society of Ai Kuo Girls School," *Tiyu huikan* 1 (June 1925), p. 1.

[31] Y. Y. Hsuh, "The Far Eastern Olympic Games," *Tiyu huikan* 1 (June 1925), p. 2.

[32] S. Wang, "The Importance of Physical Culture," *Tiyu huikan* 1 (June 1925), pp. 2-3.

[33] Heng, "Benxiao tiyu xin jiaoshou Shen Guoquan jun" [Our school's new P.E. professor, Mr. Shen Guoquan], *Nanyang zhoukan (Nanyang Weekly)* 3.11 (15 December 1923).

[34] Shen Guoquan narration, transcribed by Fei Zhendong, "Wo duiyu benxiao tiyu de sheshi he jihua" [My thoughts and plans on our school's *tiyu*], *Nanyang zhoukan (Nanyang Weekly)* 3.11 (15 December 1923), p. 2. "Mind," "Muscle," and "Money" were all typeset in English with no Chinese translation.

James's work and physical education in China ("the rock upon which states are built"), and Shen Guoquan's equivalence of the 3 M's with the Spencerian formula for a three-sided education (first, because Shen identifies Spencer's model as uniquely Chinese, and second, since it leaves Spencer's "moral education" as the equivalent of "Money" in the full equation). But besides this great range of modernist and national sentiments, what else was being expressed? The first thing one thinks of is a cheap classist hierarchy to be established, and immediately imprinted on each reader's mind, according to how much of this English s/he really understood. Another element is the position of English as a recognized common language, a most precise body of terminology, with regard to world physical culture, akin to the use of Latin as a worldwide standard in the natural sciences.

However, there is another process going on here. Walter Benjamin has written on the mimetic element, the "flash" that is achieved sometimes, in written language. It is likely that this type of quoting from a foreign (or perhaps supra-foreign) language is not what Benjamin had in mind, his formulation still works here with a slight tweaking. He describes the importance of the semiotic aspect of language which is needed to bring this ray of recognition - "the coherence of words or sentences is the bearer through which, like a flash, similarity appears."[35] What I propose is that in this instance, it is in fact the incoherence (but an understood or even expected incoherence) of mixing English words and phrases in with Chinese speech and prose that brings Benjamin's flash, that brings the feeling that perhaps even a lowly Nankai High School

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[35] Walter Benjamin, "On the Mimetic Faculty," in Peter Demetz, ed., translated by Edmund Jephcott, *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), pp. 335-336.

student in 1920s Tianjin could actually live in another transcendent world of "physical health and intelligence"[36] along with all those moderns in the West so fit in mind and body.

I would use another of Benjamin's ideas to describe the power of this use of English:

> The answer to the question "*What* does language communicate?" is therefore "All language communicates itself."... Or more precisely: all language communicates itself *in* itself; it is in the purest sense the "medium" of the communication.... For just because nothing is communicated *through* language, what is communicated *in* language cannot be externally limited or measured, and therefore all language contains its own incommensurable, uniquely constituted infinity. Its linguistic being, not its verbal meanings, defines its frontier.[37]

Benjamin's word "frontier" fits perfectly with my understanding of this use of English in Chinese physical culture. Shen's above exposition on the "3 M's," for example, was more than his wish for a fit and wealthy China, "translated" into English. If the media is the message, then the English language here is quite literally Mind, Muscle and Money, and the way in which all these things could be achieved. Bodily mimesis - imitating, practicing, mastering the poses, gestures and movements of the Western Athlete/Teacher - allowed the Chinese Other to enter this world of physical fitness and commitment to a national community via a learned self-control.[38] The use of language to produce similarities between China and the West allowed Chinese youth to move

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[36] Statistician Karl Pearson's concept, cited by Zhang Jiwu, "Nankai zhi tiyu," p. 540.

[37] Walter Benjamin, "On Language as Such and on the Language of Man," in Peter Demetz, ed., trans. by Edmund Jephcott, *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), pp. 316-317.

[38] Benjamin's mention of the uses of ancient dance in producing similarity also underscores the importance of a bodily element of the mimetic faculty.

past these physical horizons into an entirely new frontier of sportsmanship, fair play and all that was sporting about the fabulous West.[39]

And Westerner into Other

Another aspect of this vague and exciting frontier regards the Western physical education experts who came to China in the early Republican period to spread their philosophies of fit bodies, minds and nations. The most famed of these foreign experts was Charles Harold McCloy, who was known almost exclusively by his Chinese name "Mai Kele." In 1913, at the age of 27, the Marietta, Ohio native was appointed upon his graduation from Johns Hopkins Medical College to the post of Secretary of the Department of Physical Education, National Council, YMCA of China.[40] Soon upon his arrival in China, McCloy began proposing reforms to the military drill-dominated physical education he saw as so "monotonous and dull, almost totally lacking in educational value,"[41] "purely passive," authoritarian, anti-democratic and actually

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[39] I am attempting to pull off this discussion of mimesis and Chinese physical culture in as self-reflexive a way as possible - for this very paper itself is swimming in Taussig's "intercultural zone." How else, besides this zone of looking for similarities and "yearning for the true real," would one hope to describe my attempt (writing in late 1990s San Diego) to describe early twentieth-century Chinese physical culture from a "Chinese perspective." so confident I can do so that I insist on using the term "*tiyu*" to preserve its true essence? Or, for that matter, my attempt to base this entire section on the "similarities" between Chinese physical culture and Taussig's data on the Cuna Indians of Panama's San Blas Islands. (Do I even need to complicate the picture more by mentioning the disappointment I have encountered among Chinese scholars, who at this point in the history of their nation want no part of these "similarities" and comparisons, when I tell them that I see these connections?)

[40] McCloy also had eight years' experience as a physical education instructor and administrator. Charles Harold McCloy, *Some Achievement Standards in Track and Field Athletic Events for Boys from Ten to Twenty Years of Age* (Columbia University Ph.D. Dissertation, published by New York: A. S. Barnes and Company Inc., 1932), "Vita."

[41] Mai Kele (Me K'e-lo, i.e. Charles McCloy), "Wushi nian lai Zhongguo zhi tiyu ji wushu" ("China's Physical Culture & Athletics for the Past 50 Years"), in *Zuijin zhi wushi nian (The Past Fifty Years)*, (Shanghai: Shenbaoguan, 1922; Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1987 reprint), p. 4; Mai Kele (Charles H. McCloy), translated by Xie Shouheng and Zhang Yuanyang, "De Rui Ying sanguo zhi tiyu"

harmful to students' health. By the early 1920s, "Mai Kele" was an institution in the world of Chinese physical education, publishing several articles a year and an occasional book (all written in Chinese). He taught a stable of loyal students at National Southeastern University in Nanjing, where he was Director of the School of Physical Education from 1921 to 1926. His 1916 book *Gymnastics Nomenclature* (*Ticao yiming*) was the standard for Chinese authors translating English works.[42] Ex-students like Wu Yunrui and Shao Rugan, who "Professor Mai" taught during the 1910s at Nanjing Higher Normal School, were already major figures in the Jiangsu-Zhejiang physical education community. McCloy's journal *Physical Education Quarterly*, founded in 1922 and printed by Shanghai's Commercial Press, was China's largest and most influential physical education journal of the 1920s.[43] And McCloy was a moving force behind the three most important *tiyu* organizations of the late 1910s and early 1920s - the Jiangsu Province Educational Association, the Chinese Education Reform Society's Physical Education and Citizens' Recreation Section, and the China Amateur Athletic Union.

McCloy's range and energy in his promotion of Chinese *tiyu* was astounding.

[Physical education in Germany, Sweden and England], in Nanjing gaodeng shifan xuexiao tiyu yanjiuhui, ed., *Tiyu yanjiuhui huikan* [Physical education research society journal] (Nanjing, 1918), p. 2; Wang Chien-tai (Wang Jiantai), *Mai Kele (Charles Harold McCloy) dui Zhongguo jindai tiyu de yingxiang (yijiuyisan ~ yijiuerliu)* [Charles Harold McCloy's influence on modern Chinese physical education (1913-1926)] (Taibei: Guoli tiyu xueyuan Tiyu yanjiusuo Master's Thesis, 1993), p. 93.

[42] Wang Chien-tai, *Mai Kele dui Zhongguo jindai tiyu de yingxiang*, p. 101. For example, see Xu Jiazhen, *Jiating ticao (Home Exercises)* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1923).

[43] The journal *Tiyu jikan* was officially published by the Southeastern University Physical Education Quarterly Society, but McCloy was clearly in charge. In 1923, the journal's English name was changed to *The Chinese Journal of Physical Education*. In 1924, the journal's third and final year, its name was changed to *The Chinese Journal of Physical Education and Hygiene (Tiyu yu weisheng)*. In its last year the journal had a circulation of 2000.

He could recall the work of Liang Qichao as he exhorted Chinese to lead a "New People" through their efforts in *tiyu*. Or, he might summon up the legacy of May Fourth, as in his article "*Tiyu* and *De-mo-ke-la-xi*." He was invited to speak at the Shanghai *Wushu* Association's January 1921 winter graduation ceremony, where he fit perfectly in the ranks of Chinese reformers and their historicization of Western claims of Chinese weakness: "Chinese people during the Qin, Han and Tang dynasties were complete in emphasizing the scholarly and the martial. Thus, the country flourished and grew in power. But then the Song arrived and [Neo-Confucian] *lixue* philosophy prospered, and the people began to take after a weak literary ideal. The eight-legged essay format began, bequeathing its harm to future generations, a problem which to this day has not been solved."[44]

His journal *Physical Education Quarterly* afforded McCloy the perfect chance to leave the strict confines of his persona as YMCA missionary of modernity and fulfill his role as Mai Kele, accomplished Chinese *tiyu* activist.[45] In 1922, he expounded upon the formation of ideals of "sportsmanship" in Europe and America. He translated this concept into Chinese as "*junzi de jingshen*," or literally "the gentlemanly spirit," explaining, "We should know that when Europeans and Americans (*OuMeiren*) were still in the barbaric ages, Chinese already had the concept of the natural and perfect gentleman (*junzi haoran*) as explained by Confucius and Mencius, but had not yet

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[44] "Mai Kele jun yanci" [Speech by Mr. Mai Kele (Charles McCloy)], *Wushu* 1.2 (February 1921), p. 2.

[45] In fact, McCloy seems to have ended his formal contact with the YMCA in 1921 when he took his position at Southeastern University. (He stopped drawing a YMCA salary in October 1921, and his biographical file ends at this date.) Biographical File for Charles Harold McCloy, Archives of the YMCA.

discovered the gentleman's spirit as applied to competitive sport."[46] In the same issue, McCloy joined his students in grunt translation work, reworking into Chinese the second of five parts of a long English article on "Appropriate Exercise Regimens for Male and Female Higher Primary School Students."[47] A year later in his journal, McCloy ventured into the realm of culture, suggesting 13 standards by which Chinese and any other culture could be evaluated, and the relationship between *tiyu* and achieving these standards.[48] Mai could also get down to the nitty-gritty details of the Far Eastern Athletic Association's and China Amateur Athletic Union's switch to the metric system. He discussed its worldwide use, its use in the Chinese railroad and postal systems and modern military, explained how to design running tracks to accommodate metric distances, and gave eight conversion factors between the metric and English systems of measurement.[49]

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[46] Mai Kele (Charles H. McCloy), "Yundong shang junzi de jingshen (Sportsmanship)" [The gentleman's spirit (sportsmanship) as applied to athletics], *Tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 1.2 (August 1922), pp. 1-2.

[47] Er-ai-li, translated by Mai Kele (Charles H. McCloy), "Gaodeng xiaoxue nannü xuesheng heli de yundong xitong" [Appropriate exercise regimens for male and female higher primary school students], *Tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 1.2 (August 1922), pp. 1-12. Other translations in this issue included Wang Yicheng's translation of Ernest Hjertberg, "Athletics in Theory and Practice," and Jin Zhaoju's translation of F. W. Cozens, "Competition During the Class Period in Physical Education."

[48] His standards were as follows: (1) Universality and level of education, (2) Levels of public and personal hygiene, (3) Male-female equality, (4) Level of social consciousness, (5) Prevalence of justice, (6) Peaceful, law-abiding spirit, (7) Political association, (8) Industrial development, (9) Level of culture and refinement in life, (10) Religious evolution, (11) Nationwide social organizations work to increase citizens' rights, not just for national honor, (12) Inventiveness of citizens, (13) Standards of behavior based on knowledge and rationality. Mai Kele (Charles H. McCloy), "Wenhua yu tiyu" [Culture and physical education], *Tiyu jikan (The Chinese Journal of Physical Education)* 2.4 (December 1923), pp. 1-9.

[49] Mai Kele (Charles H. McCloy), "Yuandong yundonghui ji Zhongguo gedi yundonghui gaiyong mituzhi" [On the switch to the metric system in the Far Eastern Games and in track meets all over China], *Tiyu jikan (The Chinese Journal of Physical Education)* 2.4 (December 1923), pp. 1-3.

Two examples above all can show how deeply McCloy had become involved in his role as Mai Kele. In 1922, *Shenbao* published a large volume entitled *The Past Fifty Years*, which featured 67 essays on the changes in China since the newspaper's founding in 1872. Articles were contributed by luminaries in every field in China - Hu Shi wrote on Chinese literature, Sun Yat-sen on China's revolution, Liang Qichao on China's progress, Cai Yuanpei on China's philosophy, and Ding Wenjiang on China's mining industry. An English "Contents" page compiled by *Shenbao* Secretary Francis Zia was provided to enable foreigners to learn more readily about modernizing China; he wrote, "a careful perusal of its contents will repay the reader's efforts in a very gratifying manner by enabling him to talk intelligently on almost every subject concerning China."[50]

Alongside these greats was a lesser known name, a Mai Kele who wrote a piece listed in English as "China's Physical Culture & Athletics for the Past 50 Years." The English "Contents" romanized the author's name (as "Me K'e-lo") in the same fashion as it did Sun's and the others; there was no sign that this authoritative author picked to define Chinese *tiyu* over the last fifty years was a "Westerner"! McCloy's article sought to explain Chinese *tiyu* from high antiquity all the way through to the activities of the Jiangsu Educational Association, and emphasized the need to understand the "historical process" involved. Reading the article, one finds it hard to blame Secretary Zia for thinking Mai Kele was another in a long line of Chinese reformers. The *tiyu* history McCloy described included an early "class split" between *shi* elites and *nong* peasants, between those who labor with their minds (*xin*) and with their bodies (*li*), that

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[50] Francis Zia, "The Past Fifty Years: What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish," in *Zuijin zhi wushi nian*.

was then resolved by the "complete" Confucian ideal, which combined the scholarly and the martial. But this holistic picture sunk into a decline of several millennia, as the Qin Emperor burned books and buried Confucians, as "the Han people turned to Buddha and Laozi, emphasizing purity and nirvana and venerating non-action," as refined scholars enjoyed banquets, as the Sui and Tang empires began the examination system, as Han Changli warned against the harms and dangers of polo, as Song dynasty scholars earned their "nasal drip" moniker, and as the Qing tricked the Mongols and Tibetans into submission with Lamaism, and guaranteed Han men and women's docility with the exam system and footbinding.[51] McCloy simply outdoes himself here, explaining recent *wushu* history, describing his hopes for Chinese *tiyu* in the next fifty years, and explaining why Chinese *tiyu* must be developed in a form suitable to "the condition of the Chinese people (*Zhongguo minxing*)".[52]

Readers, Chinese or foreign, who "carefully perused" this article would have found themselves in a fascinating, not gray but maybe swirling black and white, area between China and the West. This zone was opened up to all by this American man writing, under a Chinese name, for a Chinese audience about China's progress (in Western-defined terms as read by Chinese reformers) in both *tiyu* physical culture (Western in origin, but capable of expressing the strength and vitality of the Chinese nation) and martial arts (an "athletics" Chinese in origin and therefore lacking in the modern rational and educational values which China needed so desperately).

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[51] Mai Kele, "Wushi nian lai Zhongguo zhi tiyu ji wushu," p. 1.

[52] Mai Kele, "Wushi nian lai Zhongguo zhi tiyu ji wushu," pp. 3-6.

The next year, McCloy would write (in English) on *wushu* as "the one uniquely Chinese physical training - the only true son of the soil." C. H. McCloy, "Physical Education in China," *Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education Bulletin* 2.5 (1923), p. 1.

A second example of McCloy as Mai came in a long article titled "The Significance of these National Games," written by McCloy in 1924 for the official publication of the Third National Games at Wuchang. His opening was typical of his earlier English-language work, as he discussed the disastrous results of an education that neglects the physical:

> Say you have [a student] who is very intelligent, accomplished in scholarship, and clear-minded. But he will still lack something in terms of life. He will fail because, besides the intellectual, even if mentally he is perfect, the other aspects of his character are not developed. Take his judgment and adaptability - he will lack judgment and be unable to adapt. In discouraging situations, he will completely lose spirit. He will never be a self-starter, lacking initiative or any fighting spirit. His psyche will be on the edge of disaster. He will never be able to relax, and will easily sink into anxiety. These qualities all come back to his poor physical condition. And he will probably be unable to relate to others. Without a social conscience, without sincerity, and without any leadership ability, it will be hard for him to have any efficiency in any social conditions.[53]

His emphasis on statistics and their use in measuring the spread of Chinese *tiyu* was characteristic of his work as well:

> The correlation between Olympic point totals and national population is 84%. I have also computed the relationship between scores in American track meets and university enrollments, which correlates at 82%. So what does this mean? It just shows that the more athletes there are, the more great athletes there will be.... So one great use of these [National] Games will be to give us a measure of how widespread *tiyu* is in China, and how efficient physical education has been.[54]

But it is in between these points in this article when McCloy truly becomes Chinese *tiyu* master Mai Kele:

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[53] Mai Kele (Charles H. McCloy), "Quanguo yundonghui zhi yiyi" [The significance of these National Games], *Di san ci quanguo yundong dahui tekan* [Special Publication of the Third National Games] (Hankou: Hankou jidujiao qingnianhui, 1924).

[54] Mai Kele, "Quanguo yundonghui zhi yiyi."

> The Chinese upper classes traditionally emphasized scholarship and neglected the martial, and had no concept of a healthy character. Any nation in this situation would begin to regress - but this regression is not a regression in character, rather, it is just that the natural instinct has not yet been developed. It is like a village full of hundreds of poor people, who have right under their feet a huge gold mine. If they can develop this mine, they will all be rich. We Chinese (*Women Zhongguoren*) need only recover this hereditary instinct, and develop it, and we can achieve this healthy character, these lofty morals and abilities.[55]

If his emphasis on statistics, healthy initiative and physical fitness as material wealth had seemed "Western," it was really only an illusion, or only as "Western" as Chinese reformers had tried to sound for decades. For Mai was now fully able to lead as a "Chinese" this search for untapped Han instincts of chivalry and competition.

I am fascinated by McCloy's thirteen-year role in China as "Mai Kele," [56] and by what it meant for McCloy, as Mai, to pass on this body of knowledge (a knowledge specific to recent historical conditions in the West) to the Chinese *tiyu* community in the Chinese language. For if we return to Benjamin here, McCloy was doing more than merely "translating" this Western discipline from English into a written language that Chinese people could understand. And if the media is the message, then McCloy's message was one of stupendous consequence for the future of Chinese *tiyu* - that this "physical education" belonged to China as "*tiyu*." No longer did Chinese intellectuals have to search for China's place within universal History, for *tiyu*'s place within universal Sport and its History. McCloy abandoned his position as the Western

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[55] Mai Kele, "Quanguo yundonghui zhi yiyi." Underlining added.

[56] The picture only becomes even more complicated when one considers that while doing research in the history of modern *tiyu* in China, I was often compared to "Mai Kele," as a fellow American sports expert in China. A professor with whom I worked in Hangzhou was fond of saying, when introducing me to other scholars, "Eighty years ago Mai Kele brought the modern European-American physical culture to China. Now Mao Anjun (my Chinese name) has come to take the history of our 20th century *tiyu* development back to America."

physical education teacher for a role as Chinese *tiyu* doyen. And this helped bring to many Chinese this new world, this space beyond the powerful West and weak China, and beyond Histories of Western masculine initiative and Chinese feminine passivity.

Indeed, it was possible, once in this zone, for Western missionaries of Christ and physical education to forget even their very calling, the very reason for them to be in China. Dr. J. H. Gray was a foremost leader of the Chinese YMCA Physical Education Section for several years, coming to China in 1920 after 12 years in a similar post in India. Gray penned an infrequent article or two under his Chinese name *Ge-lei*, but he never took to this Chinese persona as McCloy had to Mai Kele. Gray had more reason than others to keep in mind a split between the Western teacher and the Chinese student; he was roundly execrated in 1923 when he insisted on serving as leader of the Chinese team at the Sixth Far Eastern Games in Osaka. Yet it seems even he was able to forget these distinctions, writing,

> The avidity with which [China] has adopted [the athletic movement] and made it her own clearly indicates that it was not built on national or even racial lines, but on instinctive and fundamental human traits, and can, therefore, be claimed by China as inherently hers, as it can be by any other people. It *remains*, therefore, an inherent expression of Chinese life ...[57]

A. B. Davis of the Hankou YMCA Commercial School seemed just as capable of losing himself in the fun and spectacle of China's Third National Games, writing, "there were times during the big event in Wuchang when it was difficult to realize that one was really in China, and not on an athletic field somewhere in America or England...."[58]

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[57] J. H. Gray, "The Present Status of Physical Education in China," *American Physical Education Review* 31.10 (December 1926), p. 1169. Italics are Gray's.

[58] Hoh, *Physical Education in China*, p. 157.

An extreme case of the mimetic role in Chinese physical culture can also be seen in the short history of American football in China.[59] In 1926, a football playoff was held in Shanghai between the Shanghai American School, the Huaimei School from Yancheng, and the Shanghai Chinese American-Football Team. This last team was the newest, having been established just that fall at St. John's University by William Sung (Shen Siliang, recently returned from study at Springfield College), with American ex-footballers Portfield and Gilliam as coaches. After a November 13 game in which the Shanghai Chinese team soundly defeated the Shanghai Americans, the American school's young cheerleading squad dedicated a trans-nationalistic cheer to the victors, of which even March Thirtieth activists would have been proud: "What's the matter with China? She's all right! Who's all right? China who won the game, China!"[60] Chinese students as American football players and American cheerleaders as Chinese nationalists - seldom was there acted out more convincingly this interpretation of Chinese *tiyu* as a "welcome opportunity to live subjunctively as neither subject nor object of history but as both, at one and the same time."[61]

This model of "mimesis," admittedly, may be a bit too whimsical for some, or

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[59] The earliest known football (American rules) team in China was organized at the Zhili Higher Normal school in Baoding in 1913-14, although the team was soon disbanded by officials who felt that the game (called *qiangqiu* in Chinese, or "seize-ball") was too violent. Shi Likang, "Ershi niandai Shanghai de ganlanqiu yundong" [(American) Football in 1920s Shanghai], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 17 (September 1987), p. 15.

The game was revived in China a decade later at the Huaimei School in Yancheng, northern Jiangsu province. This church school team was organized in 1923 by ex-American gridiron star, now Principal at Huaimei, and until 1926 the team traveled annually to Shanghai to play against the American School team there. Zhang Tianbai, "Ershi nian dai Yancheng Huaimei xuexiao kaizhan Meishi ganlanqiu yundong zhi jianjie" [A brief sketch of the development of American football at Yancheng's Huaimei School during the 1920s], *Jiangsu tiyu wenshi* 19 (June 1991), p. 6.

[60] Shi Likang, "Ershi niandai Shanghai de ganlanqiu yundong," p. 16.

[61] Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*, p. 255.

more importantly, may force me to ignore more brutal elements of the cultural imperialist project in China. It has been my goal not to confuse an "intercultural zone" with some imperialist utopia, where Western bringers of culture and modernity actually succeed in making Chinese believe in and build a Chinese nation-state that perfectly conforms to Western criteria. Early 1920s Chinese *tiyu*, for all its engagement with the West, is more than a domain of simple acquiesence to hegemonic Western formulae of modernity. I understand it as truly a zone where all were finally free to engage with, and even become, their Others, as a way to escape stifling imperialist and nationalist narratives. In other words, how else should one explain an amazing transvestic baseball game, joined in by some 20 Chinese and foreign "members of the teaching staff of Yenching University, Peking, in which men impersonated women, and vice versa"?[62]

Taussig writes that "modernity provides the cause, context, means, and needs, for the resurgence - not the continuity - of the mimetic faculty."[63] If we take this to mean not just the modern condition in general, but the specific historical conditions of modernity (and of modern China in particular), then we can obviously see why this zone of mimesis would look so inviting now - both for Chinese sick of having their national melon chopped up by the imperialists, and for Westerners starting to question their historical roles and activities atop the imperialist pecking order. In this zone, all these boundaries between Western Self and Chinese Other could seem to evaporate, as Westerners came face to face with themselves, their language and motions, as portrayed by the Chinese Others they taught and coached. Chinese youth had been testing the waters

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[62] *Beiyang huabao (The Pei-Yang Pictorial News)* 126 (5 October 1927), p. 2.

[63] Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*, p. 20.

of this "intercultural zone" for years now, but these Westerners' immersion in the waters of Chinese *tiyu* only accelerated its drive into this frontier where all were free to cast off the weight of national and modernist narratives, and to "[slip] into Otherness, [try] it on for size."[64]

Physical Culture and Modernity

By the early 1920s, physical culture occupied a significant space in Chinese conceptions of modernity and of a modern China. It was obvious to all observers that this modernity was based in premise upon the milieu of science, health, wealth and progress that had powered the industrial and imperialist triumphs of the Western powers and Japan. Yet this modernity, and the role physical culture played in it, were never seen as culturally bound to these foreign societies or histories. Rather, modern physical culture was seen as a proven formula, so empirically sound and scientific in theory as to be imagined as above culture. This last factor is important. By the mid-1920s this "intercultural zone" I have described was gone for the most part, replaced by a strident nationalism brought on by the May Thirtieth massacre of Chinese demonstrators in Shanghai by British-commanded International Settlement police in 1925, and also by developments in the physical culture world itself. (I discuss this nationalist mode of *tiyu* in Chapter Four.) However, the basic physical culture structures and organizations, many of which were developed by foreigners working and teaching in China, were scientific and modern enough that they were never questioned by even the most nationalistic of *tiyu* activists.

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[64] Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*, p. 33.

Tiyu activists worked to portray physical culture as a fully modern and modernizing enterprise, and their approaches and plans all smacked of a thoroughly modern consciousness. Luo Yidong of Anfu, one of the first Chinese to publish research on biological aspects of physical education, wrote in 1924 that one's "happiness" (perhaps the foremost goal of the modern citizen?) was directly proportional to how the individual fared as judged by four standards: economy, beauty, competition and physical fitness.[65] Physical culture had been one of eight main topics of the Ministry of Education program of mass education lectures, delivered to illiterate audiences by educators, college students and local leaders, since 1915.[66] The Changsha journal *Tiyu Weekly* robed itself fully in the garments of the modern movement. One 1920 issue featured advertisements for other self-consciously modern periodicals like *National Salvation Daily*, *Current Events*, and *Hunan Commerce*.[67] Inside the 20-page journal were long translations of two foreign articles, Yoshida Akinobu's "Sports Physiology" and Henry S. Curtis's "Games Instruction."[68] Editor Huang Xing contributed a short article on the scientific basis for the use of firecrackers in New Year's celebrations.[69] And it did not seem out of place for another *Tiyu Weekly* author

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[65] Luo Yidong, *Tiyuxue* [The science of physical fitness] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1924; 6th printing 1931), pp. 4-5.

[66] The other seven topics were: patriotism, respect for law, public morality, common knowledge, aesthetic appreciation, encouragement of industry, and public hygiene. Chai H. Chuang, "Movement for Educating Illiterates in China," *Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education Bulletin* 2.2 (1923), p. 8.

[67] Ads for *Jiuguo ribao*, *Shishi xinbao*, and *Hunan shiye zazhi*, *Tiyu zhoubao* 49 (12 January 1920), inside front cover.

[68] Yoshida Akinobu, translated by Luo Heizi, "Yundong shenglixue" [Sports physiology], and Henry S. Curtis, translated by Wang Changping and Mu Haipeng, "Youxi jiaoyu" [Games instruction], both in *Tiyu zhoubao* 49 (12 January 1920), pp. 5-10 and 11-13.

using the pseudonym "True Intentions" to propose games and activities to convince the public to celebrate New Year's according to the solar calendar and not the coming of the lunar new year.[70]

Avoiding Worms, and the Power of Standards

> Those who extolled the body over all else, the gymnasts and the scouts, always had the closest affinity with killing, just as the lovers of nature are close to the hunter. They see the body as a moving mechanism, with joints as its components and flesh to cushion the skeleton. They use the body and its parts as though they were already separated from it. Jewish tradition contains a disinclination to measure man with a foot-rule because the corpse is measured in this way for the coffin. This is what the manipulators of the body enjoy. They measure others, without realizing it, with the gaze of a coffin maker.
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> - Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944)[71]

> Perhaps the most important thing that has been done this year is the enormous amount of research conducted by Professor C. H. McCloy ... A study of weight for body types has been completed.... A study of chest measurements has been made.... The chest index as a basis of a test for hereditary stigmate of degeration has been made ... A study has been made of the vital measurements and school grades to see what the relation might be.... A new weighting for age-height-weight and athletic performance has been devised.
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> - W. Tchishin Tao and C. P. Chen, *Education in China, 1924*[72]

An important dimension of the *tiyu* drive towards modernity was the growing

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[69] Xing, "Fang baozhu he weisheng" [Firecrackers and hygiene], *Tiyu zhoubao* 49 (12 January 1920), pp. 19-20.

[70] Suxin, "Xinnian de youxi" [New Year's games], *Tiyu zhoubao* 49 (12 January 1920), pp. 18-19.

[71] Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, translated by John Cumming, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972), p. 235; also quoted in John M. Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), p. 113.

[72] W. Tchishin Tao and C. P. Chen, *Education in China, 1924* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1925), pp. 32-33.

recognition of *tiyu* as a separate science or discipline of its own. In the 1920s, the *tiyu* community was quick to start working on that most important and invasive aspect of any modern discipline - the establishment of standards. These ranged from physical checkups of students, to evaluations of students' physical skill levels or physical education teachers' effectiveness, to standards of *tiyu* ethics. As one book titled *Physical Education Standards Testing* began,

> Examinations are an important science in modern education. Only with examinations can we know the extent of one's abilities, the strength or weakness of one's body and mind, who is better and who is worse, who is strong and who is weak. The ability to recognize boundaries depends on the use of educational standards.... in physical education, without these exams, it is very difficult to determine or use in comparisons the measure of one's physical stamina, the strength or weakness of one's physique, or the level of one's physical skill, and much of the efficacy of education is lost. Therefore, in physical education, the institution of this [standards] testing is quite urgent.[73]

The authors continued, describing how examinations "on one hand can serve as a measure of progress or regression, can bring out students' competitive spirit, and enable the development of *tiyu*, and on the other hand can give educators a set standard for praising and criticizing as well as scoring students."[74] In an article proposing running, jumping and throwing standards for girls and boys of all ages, Huang Binsheng wrote that it was the lack of proper testing standards that prohibited the spread of physical fitness throughout China.[75] Charles McCloy, the leader of this Chinese search

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[73] Wang Huaiqi and Zou Falu, *Tiyu ceyanfa* [Physical education standards testing] (Shanghai: Zhongguo jianxueshe, 1925, 2nd printing 1929), p. 1.

[74] The testing battery that these authors suggested consisted of: six skills tests in soccer, 10 in basketball, two in softball, five in volleyball, five in tennis, 25 in track and field, six in gymnastics and martial arts, four body measurements, and evaluation on basis of ten qualities of "sportsmanship" (*yundong pinxing*). Wang Huaiqi and Zou Falu, *Tiyu ceyanfa*, pp. 2, 4-57.

[75] Huang Binsheng, "Biaozhun yundong de ceyan" [Standard athletic tests], *Tiyu jikan (The Chinese Journal of Physical Education)* 2.1 (April 1923), p. 1.

for reliable and accurate *tiyu* standards of all types, attempted to set this problem straight with a long article titled "How to Conduct Physical Examinations;" its 13-page third installment included a table of 111 measurements, evaluations and entries to perform during each student physical, along with descriptions of how to make these measurements and graph the results most precisely.[76]

Physical education students were not the only individuals coming under this new standardizing observation. The Chinese National *Tiyu* Research Society, formed in 1923, published a finely tuned set of standards by which any physical education teacher could be categorized in 15 rankings from "High-1" through "Basic-5."[77] This set of rankings, said to be "absolutely fair and without bias," was designed to "help motivate instructors to work hard to make progress," and certificates bearing the proper classification would be distributed to each teacher. The highest ranking, High-1, required: graduation from a specialized physical education school, three years of teaching experience, participation in summer instruction training sessions, participation in two physical education conferences, *tiyu*-related writings of 5000 characters or more, and ownership of at least six books on physical education. On the other extreme, any instructor with only the following qualifications would be classified as a lowly Basic-5: graduation from high school or its equivalent, five years' experience participating in physical exercise, 12 weeks of instruction in physical education,

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[76] Mai Kele, "Chayan shenti fangfa (xu)" [How to conduct physical examinations (continued)], *Tiyu jikan (The Chinese Journal of Physical Education)* 2.4 (December 1923), pp. 1-13. The first two installments of this article were in *Tiyu jikan* 2.2 (July 1923) and 2.3 (September 1923).

[77] Zhonghua quanguo tiyu yanjiuhui, "Tiyu jiaoyuan fenjifa" [Method for classifying physical education instructors], *Tiyu jikan (The Chinese Journal of Physical Education)* 2.1 (April 1923), pp. 1-4.

participation in one P.E. conference, *tiyu*-related writings of 1000 characters, and possession of four books on physical education.[78] Besides illustrating the standardizing, normalizing impulse of the age, these standards for physical education instructors also indicates the power of ideals of specialization and professionalization - of imagining a China where even the least qualified physical education instructors would be engaged in scholarly research and participating in conferences in their field of physical education.[79]

This vision of standards and normalization of Chinese bodies and their motions seems to have been most effective when it was applied to the individual citizen's self - when fulfilling the responsibilities of citizenry depended on scientific evaluation of one's own performance in and even outlook towards physical exercise. Participants in the modern *tiyu* became "subjects of self-knowledge," or "self-disciplining subjects." As with the historian Fujitani's new recruits into the modern Meiji-era Japanese army, proper participation in the world of modern *tiyu* "demanded constant attention to the self' and was "characterized by the minutest attention to the customs of the body."[80]

Xie Siyan's 1927 book *Track and Field Theory and Practice* begins with a set of qualifications that only a true athlete could meet; Xie asked each reader to evaluate

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[78] The authors lamented, "we fear that China at present has not a single person worthy of the High-1 (*gaoji di yi lei*) ranking." Zhonghua quanguo tiyu yanjiuhui, "Tiyu jiaoyuan fenjifa," pp. 2-4.

[79] Perhaps feeling that their remote province was lacking this kind of *tiyu* expertise, Shanxi educators began a program in 1927 to recruit "Ten Great Physical Education Professors" to bring modern *tiyu* to Shanxi. They hoped that big-name experts, 17 of whom (including two women) actually relocated to Shanxi by 1937, could convince locals that modern sports was as worthy an endeavor as horsemanship and martial arts. Shanxi sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Shanxi tongzhi di sishier juan: Tiyu zhi* [Shanxi provincial gazetteer, Volume 42: Chronicle of physical culture] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), p. 85.

[80] Fujitani, "Technologies of Power in Modern Japan," pp. 14-18.

him/herself with regard to standards differentiating the true athlete from the common martial arts-performing quack or itinerant.[81] Besides challenging his readers to evaluate their knowledge and their "Gentleman's" or "Sportsman's" spirit, Xie put the most emphasis on a strong body. For Xie this meant not only a body strong on the surface, but a body healthy inside and out. He gave the example of a Japanese Olympic athlete who disgraced his nation when he was diagnosed with worms during a routine physical checkup in Europe, as evidence of the need to get down to the roots in understanding one's own body and health. This goal could be achieved in part with attention to one's diet; he provided charts to be used in monitoring one's nutrition.[82]

Wang Huaiqi's book *Physical Education Standards Testing* included a "Student Performance Diary" which would allow young athletes to record their daily performance and progress in 60 physical tests![83] Also included was a "Sportsmanship Self-Evaluation Record" (*yundong pinxing ziping jilu*), which allowed each student to evaluate themselves monthly for six years on ten aspects of sportsmanship: honesty, obedience, enthusiasm, loyalty, morality, humility, politeness, courage and preparation, neat dress, and respect for rules.[84] Also included in the book were 12 perforable copies of an overall score sheet on which students would record their physical measurements, gymnastics, ball sports and track and field scores, and sportsmanship evaluations by

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[81] Xie Siyan, *Tianjingsai de lilun yu shiji* [Track and field theory and practice] (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1927), p. 7.

[82] Xie Siyan, *Tianjingsai de lilun yu shiji*, pp. 7-9. "Gentleman" and "Sportsman" were included in English type without Chinese translation.

[83] Wang Huaiqi and Zou Falu, *Tiyu ceyanfa*, pp. 62-65.

[84] Wang Huaiqi and Zou Falu, *Tiyu ceyanfa*, pp. 66-69.

semester.[85]

And again, it was not only the youth participating in *tiyu* who had to pay such close attention to his/her own bodily motions and rhythms. Some conscientious physical education instructors also tormented themselves over the importance of their role and of their performance. Huang Xing of Changsha wrote an article in late 1919 in the hopes that other instructors could learn from his "past sins" committed in his years as a calisthenics instructor.[86] Huang calculated that in his seven-plus years as an instructor, he taught some 900,000 student-hours, while teaching some individual students for up to 480 hours over four years. However, Huang sees these 900,000 student-hours as full of harm for his students, for his three sins - not thinking enough about his teaching, assuming that his students understood him and not asking if they had any questions, and spending more energy on theory than on practice. He then gave nine examples of the harm done by his sins. In 1914, a good athlete got married a month before his school's Autumn Meet; Huang did not put pressure on him to stay out of the meet after his honeymoon, and as a result of competing in a weak state he was now sick with tuberculosis. In 1916, a good athlete under his charge was masturbating regularly, and Huang was never able to tell. In 1919, a student of

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[85] Each sheet had several different *tiyu*-related homilies printed on the back, such as "A healthy body is to be respected, while weak muscles are shameful." or "Knowledge is the goods, the body is the boat; if the boat is wrecked it will not be able to deliver the goods." Wang Huaiqi and Zou Falu, *Tiyu ceyanfa*, back of book.

Xu Jiazhen's 1923 book *Home Exercises*, based on work by Harvard University physical education instructor Hartvig Nissen, was published by The Commercial Press as a small pocket volume. In addition to the book's 49 drawings of exercise poses, it also included a table for the reader to record 17 data about his/her body. These self-measurements were to be made and recorded once before beginning the exercise regimen, and five times after. Space was also included for description of four different illnesses or ailments at these six times. Xu Jiazhen, *Jiating ticao*, tables after p. 138.

[86] Huang Xing, "Wo jiao ticao shi de zuiguo" [My past sins as a calisthenics instructor], *Tiyu zhoubao* 42 (27 October 1919), p. 2.

Huang's came down with gastritis and then more serious stomach ailments, and eventually died because of his habit of eating hot peppers. Huang lamented, "These children gave me their precious time, and they all became sacrifices to my experiments - sacrifices to my vanity."[87] This painful attention to the self and to all one's thoughts and actions was vitally important to *tiyu*'s role in creating a citizenry capable of measuring, evaluating and disciplining their selves even to the point of the anguish exhibited by Huang's writings.

Through these endless self-evaluations, students and other *tiyu* participants were now expected to induct themselves into the totalizing systems of discipline upon which the modern nation-state was premised. As the Chinese physical culture world moved farther and farther from militaristic *ticao* drilling to these "liberating" scientific forms of exercise, the *tiyu*-minded individual was forced to commit to more and more intense forms of self-discipline and self-understanding. The result, of course, as in other areas of society, was the increasing disappearance of power, now that many urban Chinese were capable of disciplining themselves far more strictly and religiously than any imperial regime ever could. This was part of the modernizing process by which China began to achieve the conditions necessary to function as a Chinese nation-state integrated into new world orders.

The Science of Physical Fitness

Many in the physical culture community also made efforts to establishing *tiyu*'s modern credentials by showing its direct relationship to the world of science. I have

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[87] Huang Xing, "Wo jiao ticao shi de zuiguo," pp. 3-4.

mentioned Luo Yidong's 1924 book *The Science of Physical Fitness* (*Tiyuxue*); his study saw research into *tiyu* as bound most closely to physiology, anatomy, and hygienics, but also requiring an understanding of biology, evolution studies, genetics and "Anthropometry." Luo's study was divided into three parts, development, exercise and hygiene; the section on exercise included chapters on the relationships between exercise and physiology and the muscle, nervous, circulatory, respiratory, digestive and excretory systems.[88]

The 1920s also saw several other books published on physiological aspects of physical fitness: *Diagrams of Muscles and Practical Movements during Physical Exercise* by Charles McCloy and Jiao Xiangzong (published by Shanghai YMCA National Committee Directors' Training Center, 1920), Cheng Hanzhang's *Exercise Physiology* (published by Shanghai's Commercial Press, 1924), and Zhang Shouren's translation of Luther H. Gulick and W. J. Cromie's *Muscle Development* (Commercial Press, 1923 or earlier).[89]

Huang Binsheng published an article in 1923 introducing 15 types of "competitive games" that fit the needs of human evolution. These games like "hand-pull wrestling" (adapted from Western "Indian wrestling"), "knock off his cap," "chicken fight," and "the dog pulls the cave-tiger," all two-person games suitable for boys or girls, contained the "natural motions of climbing, hitting and throwing [that]

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[88] Luo Yidong, *Tiyuxue*, pp. 2-3, 10.

[89] Beijing tushuguan, ed., *Minguo shiqi zongshumu (1911-1949): Jiaoyu, tiyu* [Index of Republican-era books (1911-1949): Education, Physical Education] (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1995), p. 663; Commercial Press advertisement in *Tiyu jikan (The Chinese Journal of Physical Education)* 2.1 (April 1923).

are all the most urgent factors in the 'survival of the fittest.'"[90]

Along with biological science, a social scientific effort was also key to establishing *tiyu* as an agent of national modernity. A Zhang Liuquan wrote a long article for *The Chinese Educational Review* in 1925 analyzing high school students' recreational habits. He distributed more than 200 questionnaires at five Nanjing high schools, asking students detailed questions about their participation and their family's and neighbors' participation in 52 types of activities, from playing soccer to barbecuing sparrows to whoring to newspaper reading. This data was then presented in tables, bar graphs, and ratios of correspondence demonstrating family and neighborly influence during both summer and winter vacation. Zhang concluded that "harmful activities" (whoring, gambling, smoking) should be replaced with games and sports as a means of suppressing adolescent desire, and that concentration on physical exercise in schools could help cultivate "fine and reliable recreational habits."[91] Again, then, the legitimacy of social science and investigation was invoked to push the agenda of better living through team sports and natural outdoor movements.

Specialized Physical Education Schools and the Jiangnan Model

Meeting the increasingly specialized needs of physical education and research, then, also meant establishing specialized programs and schools to train Chinese youth in this modern field. As mentioned in previous chapters, China's earliest specialized

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[90] Huang Binsheng, "Jingdou youxi" [Competitive games], *Tiyu jikan (The Chinese Journal of Physical Education)* 2.1 (April 1923), pp. 1-4.

[91] Eleven of the 52 activities were *tiyu*-related. Zhang Liuquan, "Zhongdeng xuexiao xiuxian xiguan zhi yanjiu" [Research into recreational habits of high school students], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 17.7 (20 July 1925), p. 1-22.

physical education schools were established in the late Qing dynasty, almost exclusively in the Jiangnan area. This Jiangnan concentration continued into the 1920s, but there were physical education schools and departments being established in different areas of the nation as well. Nineteen of these degree programs established in the period 1920-1927 are included in Table 3-1. It is important to note the backgrounds of the individuals who founded these new *tiyu* schools. Of the twelve founders listed in this table, six were graduates of the Shanghai Chinese *Ticao* School. Five others had graduated from other Jiangnan physical education institutions founded in the late Qing or early Republic - Jiangsu Higher Normal School P.E. Department, Zhejiang P.E. Vocational School, and the Shanghai YMCA and YWCA Physical Education Normal Schools.

The nationwide influence of Shanghai specialized physical education training can also be illustrated by looking at the roll lists of the Shanghai East Asia P.E. School. Its first two graduating classes, admitted in 1914-15, included 21 Jiangsu natives, three residents of Zhejiang and two from Anhui. But by 1920, more than 22% of the school's 95 students came from outside the Jiangnan belt. They hailed from, and would likely be taking the knowledge of modern *tiyu* back to, Henan, Anhui, Guangxi, Fujian, Guizhou, Jiangxi and Gansu.[92] Meanwhile, Sun Wangqiu of Hangzhou's Zhejiang P.E. School could boast in 1928, "Since our school was established in the early years of the Republic, over one thousand students have graduated from our degree and extension programs. Except for Tibet, Mongolia and Xinjiang, every

[92] *Dongya tiyu xuexiao xiaokan* 2 (November 1920). pp. 1-6, 1-7.

province in the nation is home to one of our alumni."[93]

The Trend Toward Formal Organizations

Another element of *tiyu*'s drive toward modernity came with the trend of establishing private organizations devoted to the study and propagation of sports and physical fitness programs. In this time of warlord battles and factional strife, these organizations' neutrally nationalistic stands made them (self-consciously) beacons of a modern and healthy China where all could come together to work for a strong national body.

Regional athletic organizations had been established in North, East, Central and South China by YMCA directors in each of these areas in the 1910s. But the first sports organizations to have a national scope and to be directed by Chinese came in the 1920s. The history of the Chinese Amateur Athletic Union (*Zhonghua yeyu yundong lianhehui*) demonstrates this trend well. The first incarnation of the CAAU was established in 1919 to administrative meet the needs of sending a Chinese national team to the Fourth Far Eastern Championship Games in Manila. Twenty-five delegates representing (mostly YMCA) athletic organizations in Jilin, Shenyang, Tianjin, Beijing, Jinan, Baoding, Taiyuan, Kaifeng, Chengdu, Wuchang, Nanjing, Suzhou, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Canton, Hong Kong and Kunming attended two meetings that year, adopted a 12-article CAAU Constitution, and appointed an Organizing Committee consisting of three foreign and two Chinese YMCA *tiyu* personnel.[94] When

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[93] Sun Wangqiu, "Zhi biye tongxue shu" [Letter to our alumni], in *Zhejiang tiyu zhuanmen xuexiao yundong tekan* (Hangzhou: 1928), p. 105.

[94] Hoh, *Physical Education in China*, pp. 201-205.

the CAAU met in Shanghai in 1921 to prepare for the Fifth Far Eastern Games, it now included 49 members, who elected a new nine-man Organizing Committee made up of six Chinese and three foreigners.[95] The CAAU lasted until 1924 when it was merged into the more outwardly nationalistic China National Amateur Athletic Federation (*Zhonghua quanguo tiyu xiejinhui*); these events are also described in the next chapter.

This basic trend toward organization was the next logical step as notions of *tiyu* as a unique field of knowledge to be investigated and distributed to the nation's citizenry became more and more commonsense. Table 3-2 lists a sampling of bodies, both private and government-related, that came into existence in the 1920s and constituted *tiyu* as an important component of the urban cultural sphere.

The Emerging *Tiyu* Press

> Why do we advocate the sports movement? Because sports are a magic potion to cure our weak and withering China!
>
> Why do we worship stars from the sports world? Because sports stars can win glory for the nation and wipe away the humiliation of the Sick Man [tag for China]!
>
> ... People in society who worship athletes and want to know more details about their lives and the glories they have won for the nation, don't think that this is impossible. It is true that athletes are a little bit too distant; if you want to look upwards and see their dashing appearances for yourself, you might not be able to. Thus, Shanghai's Young Companion Printing House is providing just what society demands with our publication of *The Sports World*. A pictorial more than 100 pages in length, there is not in China or abroad a major star,

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[95] The CAAU was now headed by Chair Zhang Boling (Tianjin), Vice Chair Guo Bingwen (Nanjing), Accountant Yuan Dunli (Beijing), and Secretary Charles McCloy (Nanjing). The two foreigners among the five official advisors - R. W. Clack (Baoding, ex-Chair) and R. D. Smart (Suzhou) - were said to be very powerful within the CAAU. Gu Shiquan, "'Zhonghua yeyu yundong lianhehui' chengli qianhou" [Events surrounding the establishment of the Chinese Amateur Athletic Union], *Tiyu wenshi* 48 (March 1991), pp. 39-40.

minor figure or news item that we will not report on ...[96]

Finally, the propagation of *tiyu* knowledge also depended on a steady written stream of information on physical culture, to convey both this knowledge and also the sense that this realm was a deserving and valid part of Chinese modernity. The 1920s saw a rise in the amount of material published in subjects in *tiyu*, as readers were instructed in print and picture the most effective ways of exercising their body and improving their fitness (to be citizens).

An index compiled by the Beijing National Library on holdings in the Beijing, Shanghai and Chongqing Libraries lists 109 books published on topics in physical culture during the years from 1920 to 1927.[97] If we can take these holdings records as indicative of publishing trends, then this works out to 13.6 books a year, up from the average of 8.3 books a year in the 1910s. Table 3-3 contains basic information on the nature of these 109 books, of which 83% were published in Shanghai, and which were spread evenly between martial arts, physical education, and sports subject matter.

The 1920s also saw the introduction of several specialized physical culture periodicals, nine of which are listed in Table 3-4. These were also devoted to different areas of the *tiyu* world like competitive sports, physical education, sports science, and martial arts. In addition to these specialized journals, Shanghai's *Shenbao* published a

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[96] Advertisement for *Tiyu shijie*, *Liangyou (The Young Companion)* 12 (15 January 1927), p. 12.

[97] This index lists 121 books on "*tiyu*" published during this period, but this total includes 12 titles that I do not count. 10 are on chess and card games, which are considered elements of "*tiyu*" under the official PRC formulation, but were never seen as part of physical culture in the Republican period. Two are books published in Chinese in Southeast Asia - one on the Olympics, published by the Manila Chinese YMCA, and one book on the Ipoh branch of the Jingwu Association. My figure of 109 books includes 27 reprints of earlier titles. Beijing tushuguan, ed., *Minguo shiqi zongshumu (1911-1949): Jiaoyu, tiyu*, pp. 661-737.

weekly supplement in 1923-24 called "Education and Life" (*Jiaoyu yu rensheng*) which included a two-to-four-page *tiyu* column edited by Jiang Xiangqing of St. John's University. And besides the attention given to physical culture in mainstream periodicals like *The Ladies' Journal*, *The Young Companion*, *The Life Weekly* (all Shanghai-based) or *The Pei-Yang Pictorial News* (Tianjin), other periodicals like *Association Progress*, *The Students' Magazine*, *Nanyang Weekly* and *New Education* (all Shanghai publications) all published special *tiyu* issues during the early 1920s.[98]

This data highlights two facts in particular. First is the predominance of Shanghai in the *tiyu* publication world. This is not to say that only Shanghai residents were involved in the *tiyu* movement; modern publishing houses like The Commercial Press and Zhonghua Shuju extended distribution of these materials outside of the Jiangnan belt and into urban areas all over China. But the fact remains that it was Shanghai-published books, as with Shanghai-trained instructors, that served as the agents spreading modern *tiyu* and its ideology around China. The second trend shown here is the large number of martial arts publications put out during this period. It is important to understand that despite the rapid rise of sports-based *tiyu*, the martial arts were rebounding from their May Fourth-era lull, and doing so via the same modern forms of organization and publication as sports *tiyu*; I will return to these trends in Chapter Seven, which is devoted to the development of modern martial arts.

These *tiyu* publications of the 1920s posed physical culture as a unique realm which could serve as a subject of serious scientific and national-minded study at the same time that it could constitute a new element of China's rising popular culture. I

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[98] Hsu I-hsiung (Xu Yixiong), *Woguo jindai tiyu baokan mulu suoyin* [Catalogued index of modern Chinese sports periodicals] (Taibei: Shida shuyuan, 1994), pp. 629-638.

see no conflict or tension existing between these two capacities of *tiyu*. Both were fully in line with physical culture's role in building a Chinese modernity - healthy entertainment for healthy body-maintaining citizens, an explication on what the human body could achieve if coached and directed in scientifically approved motions.

Commercialism and the Capitalist Logic of *Tiyu*

Above I discussed the self-consciously modern dimension of 1920s Chinese physical culture. Although I have described this modernity as one which could be imagined to transcend culture and national boundaries, and thus be perfectly acceptable to nationalist elements in the *tiyu* community, we also see many Chinese taking pride in the growing similarity between their nation's physical culture and that of the strong, wealthy and modern Western and Japanese powers. However, besides these self-conscious resemblances, I feel that the real commonalities between Chinese and other nation's sporting culture lie in modern sports' roots in capitalism, and in their magnetic attraction to commercial interests.

In this respect as well, it was very possible for Chinese *tiyu*'s capitalistic ties to appear to be above culture and above national boundaries. In fact, this point brings up yet another of the contradictions of modern sport and physical culture which spring from this tightly contained ideology upon close examination. The idea of fair competition between free equals came to China only with modern physical culture and the global capitalist system. First, premodern Chinese physical cultures were not based on these chivalric Western concepts of the joy of competition; military, aristocratic, imperial and/or ritual ideals made up the basis for the different physical games and contests of China before the late Qing. Furthermore, the formal hierarchies of Confucian society meant that one rarely even came into contact with an "equal" - according to ideals of society and family, the

individual had to face almost any other individual as a superior or inferior (or a mixture of both). Like modern sport, capitalism's main selling point was this space to enter into competition, exceeding one's limits and pushing one's opponent to exceed theirs. This ideology seems so commonsensical now, and even in 1920s China. However, it is a historical one, and came to Chinese *tiyu* via this modern (Western) physical culture.

I have written in previous chapters about the power of *tiyu* with respect to ideologies of capitalism. China's modern physical culture finally provided the arena for the Darwinist practice struggles for which Chinese reformers had been calling for decades. These micro-struggles, experienced not only mentally but physically, were expected to cultivate the competitive instinct so necessary for survival in the modern world. I see this bodily involvement in these struggles as also working to condition the players and spectators for the ideologies of "friendly struggle" and "fair competition" under which capitalism justified its global expansion.

The connections between capitalism and modern physical culture were made on many different levels. *Tiyu* scientist Luo Yidong provided the most fundamental link between physical fitness and the economy, explaining how an individual's weak body can hurt the familial and national economies, and citing Ming thinker Qiu Jun on the necessity of employment.[99] A *Shenbao* author wrote in 1921 on the values that a physically fit citizenry could bring to a commercialized nation, in the forms of healthy trade and peace through strength.[100] General Feng Yuxiang, in a 1927 speech at the Xi'an Political Education Academy, used the subject of modern sports to attack the imperialists' penetration of

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[99] Luo Yidong, *Tiyuxue*, pp. 5-6.

[100] Lao, "Yundong yu zhanzheng zhi bijiao" [A comparison of athletics and war], *Shenbao*, 31 May 1921, "The Far Eastern Olympic Games Supplement #2" section, p. 1.

Chinese markets: "The new-style sports (*yundong*) are fine, but they all use foreign goods. When you are kicking around a soccer ball, the ball is foreign-made and the shoes are imported goods. When you play tennis, the net and the racket are all from the United States. Volleyball, baseball, basketball - not a one is different. I don't oppose playing ball in the least, but I do oppose this feverish consumption of foreigners' goods."[101] And national track star Chen Zhang'e, later Director of the Xiamen University Physical Education Department, in 1920 ran a race against a train in Xiamen; his reputation soared after he defeated the train and proved the human body's capacity to better even this ultimate symbol of modernity and commerce.[102]

The specialized agents involved in disseminating this sporting knowledge throughout China also modeled their physical culture agenda and philosophies after those of modern commerce and industry. A 1920 *Republican Daily News* editorial hailed the work done by the writers at Changsha's *Tiyu Weekly*, and their motto "Let work be our exercise."[103] This approach could be seen in *Tiyu Weekly* founder Huang Xing's 1919 article titled "Road Construction." Huang described the great importance of roads to the modern nation's culture, economy, defense, and employment programs. He continued,

> "The main reason I bring up the question of road construction today relates to physical culture. What I have been working to advocate is a physical culture characterized by 'economy of time' and 'economy of effort,' or a 'physical culture of production,' what one might call 'developing one's own physical fitness in the cause of working for the common good.' Now does anyone still doubt the relationship between

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[101] Wang Zengming, "Feng Yuxiang jiangjun yu tiyu" [General Feng Yuxiang and physical education], *Tiyu wenshi* 10 (June 1984), p. 10.

[102] Gu Xin, "Tiyujia Chen Zhang'e" [Physical education expert Chen Zhang'e], p. 48.

[103] "*Tiyu zhoubao tekan* di yi hao zhounian jinianhao" [*Tiyu Weekly Special Issue* to mark journal's first anniversary], *Minguo ribao (The Republican Daily News)*, 17 January 1920, p. 4.14.

road construction and physical culture?"[104]

Huang went on to compare road work with calisthenics, in how both activities exercise the four limbs and the internal organs and train good posture, and with games, with regard to the spirit of competition that can be developed in work and play.[105]

Charles McCloy, editor of Nanjing's *Physical Education Quarterly*, penned an article titled "The Reasons for Failure" on the substandard performance of China's physical education instructors. He cited a recent American newspaper report describing the 11 main causes of commercial, industrial and professional failure. After listing these causes, McCloy described how four of these reasons could be applied directly to physical education instruction: lack of qualifications (which caused of 38.2% of all economic failure), lack of capital (30.2%), lack of experience (5.6%), and lack of determination (1.7%). "The physical education instructor's capital is his specialized knowledge," wrote McCloy, as he encouraged his readers to eliminate 75.8% of the cause of *tiyu* failure by remedying these four deficiencies.[106]

Wang Huaiqi's book *Starball Regulations* is an amazing example of the interplay between modern sport, commercialism and capitalism. The cover of the pocketsized rulebook featured an advertisement for the regulation ball used in his game, "a durable little leather ball" with the official "Domestic Goods" (*guohuo*) stamp, produced by the Tan Kah-

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[104] Huang Xing, "Zhu lu" [Road construction], *Tiyu zhoubao* 32 (28 July 1919), pp. 3-4.

In another article, Huang compared his work as a physical fitness advocate to shopkeepers and their duty of providing warm leather clothes to customers during the winter - "For the sake of their livelihood, they cannot afford not to give the people what they need." Huang Xing, "Buduan de xiwang!" [Never-ending plans!], *Tiyu zhoubao* 49 (12 January 1920), p. 2.

[105] Huang Xing, "Zhu lu," p. 4.

[106] Jizhe (Charles H. McCloy), "Shibai de yuanyin" [The reasons for failure], *Tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 1.2 (August 1922), p. 1.

kee (Chen Jiageng) Corporation.[107] Inside he provided another plug for this corporation, writing that balls for use in starball "can be bought in any foreign goods mart - they have a "K" printed on them, but these are Japanese-made. There are now Chinese-made balls being manufactured by the Tan Kah-kee Corporation." He also mentioned that other items needed for the game - goals, flags, whistles, caps of various colors and shoes - were also being produced by the Tan Corporation.[108] The conclusion to Wang's book on starball featured fascinating and disturbing imaginings of the ties between sport and the workings of capitalism:

> Our research into physical culture is absolutely no different from the hard work done by laborers ...
>
> Early tiyu was in the form of empty-handed calisthenics, but it only reached a certain level. Without the supplement of equipment, it cannot be truly efficient. For sport, if there are no open grounds, then one must exercise alone. But if one wishes to have sport together with a great group of people gathered together, how can this be managed? By the unbiased investigations and criticisms made by engineers - are the responsibilities of an engineer and a sports referee any different? And athletes' rules-respecting participation in sports is just like the work done by laborers to produce goods. The ultimate victory or loss in sports, and the ultimate quality of a manufactured product - are these not exactly the same thing? Moreover, there is also the matter of athletes' respect for the rules. Whether in defeat or victory, there will always be some violation of the rules. Again, how much does this resemble the factory discipline that all must follow?[109]

Wang was one of the most influential physical education figures of the 1920s, having published 49 books on subjects in *tiyu* by 1927;[110] it is instructive to know that the most

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[107] Wang Huaiqi, *Xingqiu guize* [Starball Regulations] (Shanghai: Zhongguo jianxue she, 1928), front cover.

[108] Wang Huaiqi, *Xingqiu guize*, pp. 6-16.

[109] Wang Huaiqi, *Xingqiu guize*, pp. 57-59. Italics added.

[110] All but five of these works were published by one of the three following Shanghai publishing houses: The Commercial Press, the Great East Bookstore (*Dadong shuju*), and the China Fitness Study

mainstream of *tiyu* figures envisioned modern physical culture in such unapologetically modern ways. *Tiyu* was industry. It was an industry that consumed products of other industries, like sporting goods or apparel factories, in China, Japan and the West. Physical culture was an industry that was consumed by growing numbers of modern Chinese citizens, whether through state education, through their morning newspaper, or through their active spectatorship at sports events. But the *tiyu* industry was expected to churn out a very unique product - disciplined and self-disciplining individuals willing to sweat in labor or in play for the sake of a greater Chinese nation.

Finally, the tradition of spectatorship that came with these sports worked famously with the rising commercialism and consumer culture of early Republican China. Almost any major meet held in an urban setting could attract thousands of paying spectators. *The North-China Daily News*, usually hostile to Chinese athletic activities held without Western supervision, estimated a crowd of 20,000 Wuchang fans attending the Third National Games' final day.[111] The second day of the Seventh Far Eastern Championship Games National Selection Meet, held in Shanghai in June 1925, attracted five to six thousand paying spectators.[112] At the Eighth Far Eastern Games held in Shanghai in 1927, 16,000 fans paid to watch the China-Philippines soccer game, and 8000 paying fans attended the China-Japan baseball contest.[113] Eight thousand fans paid to watch the China-Philippines basketball game, and Boy Scouts and police had to apprehend several more ticketless fans

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Society (*Zhongguo jianxueshe*). Wang Huaiqi, *Xingqiu guize*, list inside front cover.

[111] "All-China Sports," *The North-China Daily News*, 28 May 1924, p. 7.

[112] "Di qi jie Yuandong yundonghui quanguo yuxuanhui zhi jingguo" [Happenings at the Seventh Far Eastern Championship Games National Selection Meet], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 17.6 (20 June 1925), p. 8.

[113] "Far Eastern Olympic Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 29 August 1927, p. 19.

attempting to break down the fence to get into the game.[114]

These spectators bought tickets in several different classes. At the Fujian Provincial Games of 1921, sports fans could choose from five types of tickets. Tickets were sold in advance at 53 stores, banks, pharmacies, bookstores, and teahouses in and around Fuzhou city, each of which kept 15% of the ticket proceeds.[115] Tickets for the 1921 Far Eastern Games, held in Shanghai, were also sold in advance, at convenient locations such as the Ningbo Guild, the Jiangsu Education Association, the Wing On Company, the Commercial Press, and the Moudeli Foreign Business Firm. Thus even the initial purchase of the tickets forced the individual to interact with one of these different agents of capitalist modernity. These tickets were also sold in five classes, from a 100 *yuan* family pass for the whole Games, to a student .20 *yuan* one-day ticket.[116] These different classes of seats enabled paying fans to experience, through their purchases and through their consumption of these physical contests, clear differences in status, and in discipline and supervision, as Boy Scout and police peacekeepers were stationed in the heaviest concentrations in the cheap seats.

The commercial connections did not stop there. Literature on the PRC Eighth National Games, held in October 1997, describes how "For the first time, the national games will adopt the advertising method, that is, using the names of sponsors or trademarks, to name the trophies and medals of various competition events."[117] However,

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[114] "The Far Eastern Olympic Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 30 August 1927, p. 14.

[115] *Fujian quansheng xuexiao lianhe yundong dahui baogao* [Official Report of the Fujian Provincial Interscholastic Games] (Fujian jiaoyuting, 1921), pp. 164-166.

[116] "Yuandong yundonghui xiaoxi" [News from the Far Eastern Championship Games], *Shenbao*, 24 May 1921, p. 10.

[117] *Bayun jianjie (Brief Introduction to the 8th National Games)* (Shanghai: Zhonghua renmin gongheguo Di ba jie quanguo yundonghui jizibu, 1996).

"advertising methods" were no stranger to Chinese national meets even seven decades ago. The Hankou YMCA *Tiyu* Department funded the official publication of the Third National Games of 1924 with the help of 28 advertisements, including 14 for banks and other ads for Shell Oil, Socony, Sincere Company Snow Cream, Girl Brand Beverages, and the Hankou Commercial Press.[118] Sports were used to sell products, like in the Quaker Rolled White Oats ad featuring a muscular, tussle-haired Chinese soccer player, ball at his feet and clutching a trophy with Quaker's Chinese brand name inscribed on the cup.[119] The Commercial Press had its advertisements all over *tiyu*-related books and magazines. One of its favorites was Nanjing's *Physical Education Quarterly*. In this journal's August 1922 170-page issue, 21 pages (or 12.4% of the total publication) were covered with 25 different Commercial Press ads.[120] In its April 1923 issue, 136 pages in length, 21 Commercial Press ads covered 18.5 pages (or 13.5% of the total). These advertisements were a virtual walking tour of Chinese capitalist modernity. Products sold by the Commercial Press included: commerce classes by mail, magazines (*The Students' Magazine*, *The Ladies' Journal*, *Youth Magazine*, *English Weekly*, *Science Magazine*), Wright and Ditson-Victor Co. tennis rackets, a Zhao Yuanren-produced series of eight records on modern Mandarin pronunciation, eight books on *wushu* martial arts, and filmstrips (in six types: education, *tiyu*, current events, famous scenery, new drama, ancient drama).[121] The Commercial Press did not supply the emerging sports world with this patronage for free, however; at the 1921 Far Eastern Games, Commercial Press photographers were the only Chinese press allowed

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[118] *Di san ci quanguo yundong dahui tekan*, advertisements at front and back of publication.

[119] Advertisement in *Liangyou (The Young Companion)* 16 (30 June 1927), p. 36.

[120] *Tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 1.2 (August 1922).

[121] *Tiyu jikan (The Chinese Journal of Physical Education)* 2.1 (April 1923).

on the Hongkou Park field.[122]

This heavy identification of 1920s with aggressive capitalist players in China is no coincidence. Nor is it a simple case of savvy media agents working to create a new discipline of knowledge and news coverage, "inventing stories" as it were. China's modern *tiyu* came to it at roughly the same time, and for the same reasons, as the globalizing system of capitalism and the nation-state. Modern *tiyu*, the reification of the body and its functions as observed in direct competition, was part of capitalism. Its invention of new ways of disciplining the individual "subject-citizen" was part of the modern nation-state environment which capitalism needed in order to thrive. The most celebrated sports moments, like these international meets, provided the rare opportunity to purchase a view to international struggle through the fair competition of *tiyu*. And what a deal! For just the price of a .20 *yuan* ticket one could witness sports' most valuable contribution to the nation-state - the reduction of normally complicated and overwhelming competition between nations to a duel between a few selected individuals. And to the winners, of course, went the spoils - here, however, not the right to pillage and dehumanize one's vanquished enemy, but the solid and valuable crystallization of this international struggle, in a prize trophy, medal or banner donated by these capitalist houses or by bourgeois government leaders.

Conclusion

I conclude this chapter with these connections between physical culture and capitalism, as a hint of Chinese physical culture's fundamental ties to histories of imperialism cultural and economic - histories from which many had looked to the fun and freedom of

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[122] "Yuandong yundonghui xiaoxi," p. 10.

modern sports to escape. Chinese of all political stripes hoped to be part of a China which could create, as American-educated physical education expert Hao Gengsheng called it, a "civilized nation ... a happy and active life" for all of its citizens. Most, if not all, of those who hoped to achieve this goal via physical culture began by looking to the achievements, formulae and philosophies of the Wetern nations' physical culture programs. Some were carried away by this world of play, fun and sport, and could imagine themselves and their China as part of the modern West. Others resented Western intrusions and missionizing, and hoped to create a Chinese *tiyu* impervious of this cultural imperialism. But all partook of this same modern, globalizing system of physical culture - this culture in which the very obvious (to us) ties to the West, its societies and its histories, were very easy to ignore, as the trappings of modernity were accepted as scientific, empirical and transcendent of any national or cultural boundaries. The next chapter covers the other side of the 1920s Chinese *tiyu* coin - namely, the explication of many of these "invisible" power relations and where they were drawn in the fields of Chinese physical culture.

CHAPTER 4

Nationalism and Power in 1920s Physical Culture

This chapter deals with the switch to a more nationalistic mode in the Chinese physical culture world. In the field of modern Chinese history, the awakening of nationalist and anti-imperialist sentiment among the urban masses is recognized as coming with the May Thirtieth massacre of 1925, where Chinese demonstrators in Shanghai were fired on by British-commanded International Settlement police. This awakening came even sooner in the Chinese *tiyu* community, with the developments at the Sixth Far Eastern Championship Games, held in Osaka in May 1923.

Since the First Far Eastern Championships of 1913, American YMCA officials had customarily served as heads of these Chinese athletic delegations. By 1923, not surprisingly, many Chinese had tired of this humiliating un-national tradition. J. H. Gray, Secretary of the China Amateur Athletic Union, already angered many in the months before these Far Eastern Games by dismissing, as "political" and not sportsmanlike, nationalist demands to boycott these Games held on the soil of China's imperialist archenemy Japan.[1] However, when Gray insisted on leading the Chinese team at the 1923 Games at Osaka, the *tiyu* world snapped. And the humiliation was

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[1] Hsu Yuan-ming (Xu Yuanmin), "Jindai Zhongguo canyu Yuandong yundonghui zhi tantao (1913-1934)" [A study of China's participation in the Far Eastern Championship Games (1913-1934)], unpublished paper, 1993, p. 54.

Just two years earlier, Gray had been at the center of another dispute over control of Chinese *tiyu* administration. In 1921, after just one year in China, Gray headed the Planning Committee of the Fifth Far Eastern Games held in Shanghai. A dispute between Gray and several prominent Chinese officials over the selection of referees almost resulted in a referee strike of the Games. Dong Shouyi, "Di wu jie Yuandong yundonghui qian de caipanyuan fengbo" [A disturbance among the referees before the Fifth Far Eastern Championship Games], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 26 (March 1990), p. 52.

doubled by that fact that it occurred before the eyes of Japanese fans and media, who jeered at the Chinese for this embarrassing lack of sovereign say-so.[2] For many in the Chinese *tiyu* community already itching to take back control from the foreigners of this important realm, this instance of imperialist behavior on the part of YMCA staff was the last straw.

In July 1923, an organization called the Chinese Athletic Association (*Zhonghua tiyu xiehui*) was established in Shanghai to struggle against this humiliation in the *tiyu* world, and against the activities of the ruling and YMCA-dominated Chinese Amateur Athletic Union.[3] A diverse group consisting of individuals from the Shanghai martial arts community (Lu Weichang, Chen Gongzhe, Ma Zizhen, Wu Zhiqing), the mainstream physical education community (Wang Zhuangfei, Tang Hao), and even a former CAAU Organizing Committee member (Hao Boyang), the new CAA quickly linked up with nationalist elements in other areas of China. By early 1924, the Hong Kong South China *Tiyu* Association and the Guangdong provincial women's teams had agreed to a boycott of the Third National Games to be held by the CAAU in Wuchang that May![4]

Faced with this nationalist challenge, the CAAU had to act quickly. It recruited six national figures to serve as Honorary Committee Members - political giants Yan Xishan and Wang Jingwei, and famed educators Huang Yanpei, Zhang Boling, Chen

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[2] Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo jin bai nian tiyu shi* [The history of Chinese physical culture over the last century] (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1967), p. 95.

[3] Zhang Tianbai, "Zhonghua quanguo tiyu xiejinhui choubei chengli shimo" [The planning and establishment of the China National Amateur Athletic Federation, from beginning to end], *Tiyu wenshi* 46 (November 1990), pp. 30-31.

[4] Zhang Tianbai, "Zhonghua quanguo tiyu xiejinhui choubei chengli shimo," pp. 31-32.

Shi and Yan Xiu.[5] Jiang Xiangqing, St. John's *tiyu* instructor and *Shenbao* sports editor, wrote an open letter to the CAA dissenters, citing the importance of the National Games with regard to a strong performance in the next Far Eastern Games of 1925. Jiang also claimed that the poor performance of the Chinese team at Osaka in 1923 was not all Gray's fault. CAA leaders Lu Weichang and Zhou Xisan traveled to Wuchang on the eve of the Games for a meeting with Gray; when the missionary asked for their cooperation in working to send a strong team to the next Far Eastern Games and promised that the foreign role would be limited to consultation only, the boycott threat was extinguished. But the CAAU had clearly outlived its usefulness; it was dissolved at the July 1924 meeting of the Chinese Educational Reform Society and merged with the CAA into the new China National Amateur Athletic Federation (*Zhonghua quanguo tiyu xiejinhui*), which lasted until 1948.[6]

This boycott movement is a perfect example of the important transformations taking place in mid-1920s Chinese physical culture. Liberal models, described in Chapter Three, that promised national salvation through democracy and international standards of fun and skill, were quickly revised to accommodate the nail-hard nationalism that events in greater Chinese society and the *tiyu* sphere stirred. Modern times called for strong and masculine nationalist forms to stand up to the self-consciously masculine imperialists and their ravaging of Chinese society and economy.

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[5] Zhang Gong, "'Zhonghua yeyu yundong lianhehui' jieti yu heshi?" [When was the Chinese Amateur Athletic Union dissolved?], *Tiyu wenshi* 50 (July 1991), p. 48.

[6] Zhang Gong, "'Zhonghua yeyu yundong lianhehui' jieti yu heshi?" p. 49; Zhang Tianbai, "Zhonghua quanguo tiyu xiejinhui choubei chengli shimo," p. 33.

Nationalist Physical Culture and the Third National Games

The Third National Games, held in Wuchang in May 1924, was the beginning of the nationalist era of Chinese nationalist *tiyu*, and a move past the benign-seeming "intercultural zone" of *tiyu* in the early 1920s. The first National Games held since the 1914 Games at Beijing's Tiantan, these Games were also the last to be associated with the YMCA. Of the Games' four main planners, two were YMCA personnel - but now it was Hankou YMCA Physical Education Director Hao Gengsheng ("returned from study in the United States, a specialist in physical education"[7]) and Wuchang YMCA Director Song Ruhai in the formerly "Western" roles of YMCA sports leaders.[8] Dr. J. H. Gray now acted only as "technical adviser" during the planning process, and that mostly from his China Amateur Athletic Union office in Shanghai.[9] A list of 70 meet officials and judges listed in *Shenbao* included only six foreign names - besides Gray's charge of the two-team baseball competition (Zhejiang and Zhili provinces), the other YMCA foreigners served as finish line judges, a race starter, a doctor, and leader of a children's games demonstration.[10]

The Wuchang meet thus served as a great step away from the swirling intercultural zone and toward a linear national mode. It is not for nothing that almost

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[7] Chen Shi, "Xu" [Preface], *Di san ci quanguo yundong dahui tekan* [Special Publication of the Third National Games] (Hankou: Hankou jidujiao qingnianhui, 1924).

[8] The other two main planners were Zhonghua University President Chen Shi and Wuchang elementary school principal Huang Zhiduan. Hao Gengsheng, *Hao Gengsheng huiyilu* [Memoirs of Hao Gengsheng] (Taibei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1969), p. 22.

[9] Gunsun Hoh, *Physical Education in China* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1926), p. 138. *Shenbao* referred to Gray as merely an "honorary advisor." "Quanguo yundonghui xuanshou jixu dao E" [National Games athletes continue to arrive in Hubei], *Shenbao*, 23 May 1924, p. 10.

[10] "Quanguo yundonghui yaoxun" [News from the National Games], *Shenbao*, 24 May 1924, p. 10.

any Chinese national narrative of modern *tiyu* sees these 1924 Games as the turning point - one recent book complimented these Games' switch to the metric system from the English system of measures, and describes the Games as "the beginning of Chinese National Games organized by Chinese themselves, [the] outcome of the post-May Fourth trend of taking back *tiyu* from the hands of Westerners."[11]

The meet featured 527 participating athletes from 13 Chinese provinces and a Manila Chinese YMCA team, who were then divided into four regions: North China, South China, East China and Central China.[12] Each team represented both home province and region of China; teams were referred to as "Zhili, North China" (*Huabei Zhi*) or "Jiangsu, East China" (*Huadong Su*). Some teams retained a school identification on top of this, like "Wenhua University, Hubei, Central China" (*Huazhong E Wenhua*).[13] Original plans described a 22-province Games with six divisions. The more remote "western" and "northeastern" provinces were unable to send teams, however, and so these two divisions were canceled.[14]

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[11] Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds., *Zhongguo jindai tiyushi* [The history of modern Chinese sport] (Beijing: Beijing tiyu xueyuan chubanshe, 1989), p. 148.

[12] Hoh, *Physical Education in China*, pp. 42, 44.

[13] "Quanguo yundonghui zongjiesu" [Final results of the National Games], *Shenbao*, 29 May 1924, p. 7.

[14] The one exception here was a team representing Guizhou province, originally in the planners' West China division. After the Guizhou Provincial Government ignored the invitation sent them by the National Games Committee, nine of the twenty-odd students from Guizhou studying in Wuchang at the time (at Wuchang Normal University and Wuchang Higher Commercial School), established their own Guizhou Province basketball team. They sought and received an 800 *yuan* contribution from the Guizhou Affairs Office in Wuchang, an office loyal to Zhou Xicheng, a powerful warlord in control of the Guizhou-Sichuan border region. The Guizhou team was assigned to the South China division, but on May 22 unfortunately lost their only game, falling to the Manila team by the lopsided score of 97-3. Wang Qihua, "Guizhou Qingmo Minguo shiqi tiyu yundong jilüe" [Brief record of the sports movement in late Qing and Republican Guizhou], *Guizhou tiyu shiliao* 3 (November 1986), pp. 30-31; Hao Gengsheng, *Hao Gengsheng huiyilu*, p. 25-26; 149.

Besides the new Chinese organizational presence and the "national" scope of the meet as described by the divisional alignment, many other elements of the meet provide very strikingly modern national moments. The meet got off to a roaring start with the May 22 opening ceremonies at the Hubei Public Recreation Grounds. *Shenbao* wrote, "with the red and green flags billowing, the tremendous sounds of the military bands, the scene was transformed into a grand celebration, the likes of which Hubei has not seen for some years."[15] A warship docked in Wuchang's Jiangkou port sounded ten cannon blasts. This was followed by a spectacular airplane flyover of the stadium, as the Central Air Force craft *Weimei* made ten loops over the stadium at an altitude of just some 200 feet![16] The plane dropped 10,000 brightly colored copies of Hubei Provincial Military Governor Xiao Yaonan's best wishes to the athletes (reading in part, "march towards Europe's status and surpass America, love and cherish this progress, one thousand miles in a single day"[17]) over the stadium and the city.[18] And the Games were filmed by the Peacock Moving Picture Company of Shanghai for national distribution by the YMCA.[19] Thus, it was now possible for this zone of

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[15] "Quanguo yundonghui kaihui zhi di yi ri" [The first day of the National Games], *Shenbao*, 25 May 1924, p. 7.

[16] The Central Air Force in Beijing sent 21 men and two aircraft to Wuhan just for the Games, as flyovers were originally scheduled for all four days of the meet. Chen Tiesheng, "Di san jie quanguo yundonghui guocao jishi benmo" [A full account of the national calisthenics demonstration at the Third National Games], *Jingwu zazhi* 42 (15 June 1924), p. 19; Wang Zhenya, *Jiu Zhongguo tiyu jianwen* [Glimpses of *tiyu* in the old China] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1987), p. 147.

[17] Wang Zhenya, *Jiu Zhongguo tiyu jianwen*, p. 147.

[18] The *Weimei* was damaged during this flight, and the *Aifoluo* damaged on the flight from Beijing, so flyovers were canceled for May 23-24. The final day of the meet, the 25th, saw an appearance by the *Aifoluo*, which circled the stadium five times and then returned to Beijing that same day.

[19] Hoh, *Physical Education in China*, p. 141.

These Games were not the first to be filmed in China. The First Fujian Provincial Games in 1920 were filmed by a Commercial Press crew from Shanghai, on invitation of Fujian Military

"Chinese" athletes performing "Western" athletics as coached and managed by Chinese YMCA officials to be extended as far as the YMCA's arms reached, to be flashed before the hopeful eyes of young YMCA participants all over China.

The Boy Scout presence was also a big part of the trend towards rationalization and nationalization at these Games. The Scouts were in charge of accompanying athletes to the stadium, of keeping order while referees held discussions on the field, of keeping food peddlers out of the stadium (there were four concession booths inside), and of resolving any disturbance on the grounds, even those involving friends of athletes or meet officials.[20] The Scouts also were charged with announcing by megaphone the results of each competition, to facilitate reporters' speedy telegraphing of the Games news back to their home newspapers; *Shenbao* mentioned the necessity of having Scouts who could speak more than just Hubei dialect so that reporters from all over China could understand them.[21] These telegraphs were not the only technological presence on the grounds. A field telephone system was installed so that messages could be sent all over the stadium. A loudspeaker was installed atop a wooden tower for broadcasting of competition results and other announcements. A wireless station was even installed, and a daily time signal at noon was received from

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Governor Li Houji. These games were organized by the Fuzhou YMCA and the Southern Fujian Athletic Association (*Minnan tiyu lianhehui*). Cai Jinbo, "Quan Min yundonghui jixiang (The Fukien Athletic Meet)," *Qingnian jinbu (Association Progress)* 42 (April 1921), p. 78.

[20] "Quanguo yundonghui yaoxun" [News from the National Games], *Shenbao*, 22 May 1924, p. 7. The Boy Scouts were joined by police and soldiers as they guarded the perimeter of the competition area. A wire fence went all the way around the track, about two feet from the track, and then five to six feet behind this was a wooden barricade behind which the spectators could stand. "All-China Sports," *The North-China Daily News*, 28 May 1924, p. 7.

[21] "Quanguo yundonghui dahui kaihuiji" [Record of the National Games opening ceremonies], *Shenbao*, 27 May 1924, p. 10.

the Wuchang main wireless station.[22]

The Games expressed the commitment to include women in the national endeavor, with its inclusion of women's events for the first time. Hubei, Hunan, Jiangxi and Jiangsu provinces were all represented by women's basketball, volleyball and/or softball squads. These women's teams were welcome to show their skills in special "female" adaptations of these sports (smaller courts, different rules), exhibiting the fitness of the new modern woman. Lu Lihua, founder of Shanghai's Liangjiang Women's *Tiyu* Normal School, wrote in the Games' *Special Publication*, "to strengthen the nation we must first strengthen the race, and to strengthen the race we must first strengthen the women who will be breeding (*yuzhong*) - we women are the mothers of citizens."[23] Women's physical fitness was crucial to the fitness of the nation, but as Lu pointed out, only indirectly. Thus, women's competitions were only unscheduled exhibitions and did not count toward the overall championship to be decided by the struggles between new Chinese men.[24]

Most "Chinese" of all, martial arts made their first appearance at the National Games, in a three-day program of group and individual *guocao* ("national calisthenics") demonstrations. Organized by Chen Tiesheng of Shanghai's famed *Jingwu* (Pure Martial) Association, the program consisted of 107 martial arts demonstrations, all scored on the basis of five standards: orderliness, spirit, strength, posture and dress.

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[22] Hoh, *Physical Education in China*, p. 160.

[23] Lu Lihua, "Zhongguo nüzi tiyu yijian shu" [An essay on my opinions on Chinese women's physical education], *Di san ci quanguo yundong dahui tekan*.

[24] The women's basketball and softball competitions were both won by Shanghai's Hujiang Women's Physical Education School, representing Jiangsu, and volleyball by the Changsha Women's Normal School team (Hunan). Hoh, *Physical Education in China*, pp. 142-155.

Participants came from 10 Wuhan-area schools and the men's and women's *Jingwu* branches from Hankou, Nanchang, and Kuala Lumpur. The competition was also attended by representatives from other *Jingwu* branches throughout Southern China and Southeast Asia, as the *Jingwu* organization used this National Games opportunity to exhibit their own brand of scientific national physical culture.[25]

Tiyu's inherent modernity was also made clear in violent and ugly ways that seemingly only national modernity can provide. Chief Planner Hao Gengsheng's memoirs, written decades later, recalled the difficulties involved in organizing the Games. Besides the grueling midnight meetings with the corrupt, emphysemic, opium-smoking Hubei Military Governor Xiao Yaonan, there were also the annoying complaints of the benighted local citizenry, who "were not open to the new winds of thought, and not only did not support this great celebration of a healthy citizenship, but in fact used many pretexts to oppose and obstruct it."[26] The new Hubei Public Recreation Grounds were to be built on the site of an old horse training area in Wuchang, and in the standard design of a running track which enclosed basketball, volleyball and tennis courts and a soccer field. Hao objected, on the grounds that this design "could not meet the Games' needs, to say nothing of international standards. At the same time, I hoped to use this unprecedented opportunity to go even further and leave the people of Wuchang a permanent sports stadium. Therefore, I insisted that we expand the area under construction."[27] One unexpected problem, however, was that if the grounds were to be built according to Hao's plans, a memorial arch would have to

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[25] Chen Tiesheng, "Di san jie quanguo yundonghui guocao jishi benmo," pp. 1-8.

[26] Hao Gengsheng, *Hao Gengsheng huiyilu*, pp. 22-24.

[27] Hao Gengsheng, *Hao Gengsheng huiyilu*, p. 23.

be destroyed. Once this news got out,

> The people of Wuchang, young and old, male and female, united to express their opposition, saying: That memorial arch is connected to the *fengshui* of the entire county, and if it is torn down, then plague, war and floods will be delivered to all the people of the county. This clearly was an unreasonable appeal, and there was certainly no room for one to dispel this superstition with a clear argument. But interestingly enough, there were also several youth there who believed in these things as well. In order to protect this memorial arch, they began striking against the National Games Planning Committee, trying negotiations, debates, petitions, protests, all sorts of measures, but none of them had any use. In such an unfriendly atmosphere, my policy was 'push on and fight for the cause of reason; the plan will absolutely not be altered.'

Hao's commitment to rationality was equaled by the locals' commitment to their memorial arch. One day Hao received a letter that read, "Hao, if you keep on with your plans to tear down our arch, to destroy Wuchang's *fengshui*, and to endanger the common people of the entire county, then we apologize, but we will have to take action, and ask you to eat bullets!"[28] The bullets never came, the Games went on (the cannon blasts and airplane flyovers no doubt posing even more awful threats to local *fengshui*, and underlining exactly where power lay in this dispute), and Hao went on to promote rationality and physical fitness to a ripe old age.[29] But the point was made to all involved that in the Chinese *tiyu*, modernity and the nation were paramount - no longer could it bow to irrational or unnational concerns.

Taking Back *Tiyu* from the Imperialists

During the early 1920s, Chinese *tiyu* presented for some a magical method to

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[28] Hao Gengsheng, *Hao Gengsheng huiyilu*, pp. 23-24.

[29] In the early 1970s, Hao was run down and killed by a young motorcyclist on the National Taiwan University campus - itself a site known in local lore to be victimized by bad *fengshui* ...

escape the ugly truths of history and the popular discourse on a weak and dying China. But physical culture also proved to be as effective in just the opposite capacity - rejection of these "intercultural zones" and participation in nationalist and anti-foreign movements in Chinese cities. The contemporary national narrative of Chinese *tiyu* emphasizes a theme of the Chinese *tiyu* community rising up to "take back" physical culture from the hands of the imperialists and missionaries.

It is obvious that for every instance of Westerners entering the zone of Chinese *tiyu* as a way of forgetting the recent history of imperialism in China, there were several other instances of Westerners who enjoyed keeping these East-West dichotomies right at the forefront. In 1924, two weeks before the Third National Games, a Wuhan area meet was held at Wuchang and organized solely by Wuchang educational officials for the second straight year. One Western journalist, obviously miffed at foreigners now being left out of the process, wrote that without foreign assistance, "the result was an even more glorious hotch-potch than last year." His article, sarcastically titled "China's Sovereign Rights on the Athletic Ground," criticized the narrow lanes left for races and field events (one discus landed on a spectator's umbrella), sniffed at the fact that soldiers, police and Boy Scouts were on hand to keep spectators off the track, and found utterly ridiculous the fact that a dog ran one lap around the track, "urged on by the cheering of the crowd," scoffing, "the enthusiasm of the spectator knows no bounds."[30] *Tiyu*, Chinese-style, lacked these "bounds" about which foreigners in China were so enthusiastic, and it is clear that the modernist trope about Chinese having to "take back" physical culture from the foreigners does hold some truth. There were

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[30] "China's Sovereign Rights on the Athletic Ground," *The North-China Daily News*, 10 May 1924, p. 7.

other insults as well. In 1923, the South China (*Nanhua*) Soccer Club of Hong Kong was invited to visit Australia for a three-month series of friendly matches. Star player Li Huitang, just 18 years old at the time, remembered a cartoon published in an Australian newspaper caricaturing the South China team as a pack of rail-thin, sickly, queue-wearing opium addicts.[31] After *Nanhua* won several of these games against Australian teams, the locals' view of the Chinese changed. They gave young Li the nickname "Asian Football King," and one newspaper referred to "The team composed not merely of 17 players but 'ambassadors' from the oldest country in the world to the youngest to bring forth friendship and better understanding."[32] But insults like the original cartoon would not be forgotten by Chinese players or other *tiyu* enthusiasts; in short, it seems quite logical that many in the community would try to turn this once-"Western" domain of physical culture against the imperialists.

There are examples from the early socialist movement in China of this type of nationalist or anti-imperialist physical culture agenda. As early as 1923, the Socialist Youth League of China, at their Second National Conference called for the

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[31] Li Cimin, "Liang ci canjia Aoyunhui de guojiao - Li Huitang" [Two-time soccer Olympian Li Huitang], in Ji Hongmin, Yu Xingmao and Lü Changfu, eds., *Aoyunhui yu Zhongguo* [The Olympics and China] (Beijing: Wenshi ziliao chubanshe, 1985), p. 110; Cai Yangwu, "Jiefang qian Gang-Hu zuqiu de fazhan jiqi shehue yuanyin" [The evolution of soccer in pre-liberation Hong Kong and Shanghai and the social factors behind it], *Tiyu wenshi* 45 (September 1990), p. 29.

[32] Shen Guoquan narration, transcribed by Fei Zhendong, "Fu Aozhou saiqiu jianwenlu" [Record of what I saw and heard on the road trip to Australia], *Nanyang zhoukan (Nanyang Weekly)* 3.11 (15 December 1923), p. 68.

Li also proved the masculinity and strength of Chinese men in other ways, starting a serious relationship with a young Australian woman who got his attention by cheering for him, "Go, Number 9," and ended up following Li and the *Nanhua* team around the country. The relationship apparently ended when the woman's grandmother wrote a note to Li telling him to break off this interracial relationship, but some Hong Kong newspapers had already reported that Li had wedded the woman. Li Huitang, "Li le mutai dao xianzai" [My life from the womb to today], *Liangyou (The Young Companion)* 45 (March 1930), pp. 26-27.

"Sinicization" of physical education and sports, for Chinese schools and individuals to take the leading role in promoting *tiyu*, and for the exclusive use of Mandarin Chinese terminology by referees and officials.[33] The same year, the Socialist Youth Brigade's mouthpiece *The Pioneer* included a Chinese translation of the Communist International Youth League resolution on physical education, which attacked capitalist physical education and sport as "masking itself as a neutral organization, encouraging proletarians to join in, and then eating away at their class consciousness and their courage to carry on class struggle.... in the end. [these sporting proletarians] become simply an advance force for the capitalist counterrevolutionaries."[34] Yun Daiying, eight years after his important article in the YMCA's *Association Progress*, again blasted the role of foreign schools in the Chinese *tiyu* world: "Sometimes [mission schools] will select a few athletes for special cultivation, nourishing them with milk and cookies, so that they will excel in track meets or in soccer games, thereby serving as a signboard advertisement (*zhaopai*) for the school. From the time when we began to be in contact with outside commerce, foreign capitalists have always needed to find within China a few 'compradors' ... to serve as their slaves (*yangnu*)."[35]

One of the Chinese Educational Reform Society P.E. & Hygiene Division's first

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[33] Qiao Keqin and Guan Wenming, *Zhongguo tiyu sixiangshi* [The history of Chinese physical education philosophy] (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1993), p. 254.

[34] "Tiyu wenti jueyian" [Resolution on the problem of sports], *Yianqu (The Poineer)* [sic] 18 (10 May 1923), p. 3.

This document is incorrectly cited as a resolution of a Chinese Socialist Youth Brigade Central Committee Meeting, in Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Quanguo tizong wenshi ziliao bianshen weiyuanhui, eds., *Tiyu shiliao, di 16 ji: Zhongguo jindai tiyu yijuean xuanbian* [Historical materials on physical education, Volume 16: Collection of resolutions on modern Chinese physical education] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1990), p. 356.

[35] Daiying, "Dadao jiaohui jiaoyu" [Defeat missionary education], *Zhongguo qingnian* 60 (3 January 1925), p. 159.

acts upon its formation in 1925 was to call for the creation of a unified Mandarin *tiyu* terminology to replace the messy mix of English sports terms and Japanese drill commands still in use. The Division (whose five head members included Charles McCloy) explained the urgency behind this nationalist decision: "if we do not work fervently to unify terminology, then in the future there will be no hope of progress of improvement ... without [this unification] each discipline will part and travel down its own road, influencing the whole *tiyu* project."[36]

Physical spaces of *tiyu* could be nationalized as well. In 1922, the North Boulevard Sports Grounds was constructed north of the Bell Tower in Xi'an, funded by warlord Feng Yuxiang and Shaanxi Provincial Tax Board/Tobacco Monopoly Director Xue Ziliang. Besides equipment for basketball, tennis, soccer, gymnastics and boxing, the grounds also featured

> a map of national humiliations, with big lettering to explain each one. There is a world park, with flowers and trees planted in the shape of each nation. As China has been carved up in so many years owing to so many different events, in the center there is a Patriots' Pavilion with pictures of events involving famous patriots, copies of several couplets of admonishment (*quanjie duilian*), and a newspaper reading room. As there is this recorded knowledge ... there are set rules on the field, with an appointed leader serving as guide. In games too, people must follow the rules and cannot act disorderly.[37]

In 1925, anti-imperialist and anti-Christian sentiment was so strong in Sichuan schools that the Provincial Games held that year prohibited the participation of any students

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[36] Resolution reprinted in Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Quanguo tizong wenshi ziliao bianshen weiyuanhui, eds., *Tiyu shiliao, di 16 ji: Zhongguo jindai tiyu yijuean xuanbian* [Historical materials on physical education, Volume 16: Collection of resolutions on modern Chinese physical education] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 37-38.

[37] Article in *Shaanxi ribao*, 13 May 1922. quoted in Wang Zengming, "Feng Yuxiang jiangjun yu tiyu" [General Feng Yuxiang and physical education], *Tiyu wenshi* 10 (June 1984), pp. 9-10.

from Christian schools.[38] That same year there was great controversy at St. John's University in Shanghai, where school President F. L. Hawks Pott did not allow students to fly the national flag at half mast following the May 30 massacre. When Pott closed down the entire university days later, many students and faculty left the school and formed the new Guanghua (Radiant China) University. The implications of these changes affected the Shanghai sports world as well; Nanyang, Fudan and Southeastern Universities immediately pulled out of the "Oriental Eight Athletic Conference" (*Dongfang ba daxue yundonghui*) of which St. John's was also a part, and joined with the new Guanghua University to form the Lower Yangzi Athletic Conference.[39]

Less explicit, but still meaningful, is the use of public athletic grounds as a site for nationalist protests. Shanghai's first public sports grounds, the West Gate Public Sports Grounds, were completed in 1917, and soon became recognized as a site for popular gatherings. On May 7, 1919, a "Citizen's Congress" was held at the grounds in support of the May 4 struggle in Beijing. In November and December of the same year, thousands of students gathered at the grounds to protest the murder of a Fujian resident by Japanese soldiers, and to announce a boycott of Japanese goods. In April 1925, a mass memorial for Sun Yat-sen was held on the athletic fields. Pictures exist of Li Lisan leading a huge crowd at a May Thirtieth Anti-Imperialist Demonstration of Power at the grounds later that year.[40] Keith Schoppa's book on Shen Dingyi

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[38] Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds., *Zhongguo jindai tiyushi*, p. 153.

[39] This new Lower Yangzi Conference (*Jiangnan daxue tiyuhui*) lasted until 1936. Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds., *Zhongguo jindai tiyushi*, p. 152; Chen Xianming, Liang Youde and Du Kehe, *Zhongguo bangqiu yundongshi* [The history of baseball in China] (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1990), p. 13.

[40] Wang Meidi, "Shanghai fandi fandui fengjian jihui zui duo de difang - Hunan tiyuchang" [The site

describes the use of the West Lake Athletic Grounds in Hangzhou for a 1921 protest against Zhejiang Provincial Governor Qi Yaoshan, a 1924 May Day rally held by print workers, a 1926 leftist memorial service for Sun Yat-sen, and 1927 labor strikes.[41] If not directly utilizing concepts of physical fitness, these examples do illustrate that broader notions of the sporting ground as a public space that could be turned toward nationalist and anti-imperialist ends. Thus, it is clear that people all over China understood sporting grounds and sport in general as spaces just as suited to national and anti-imperialist experiences as to an intercultural zone of finding and exploring sameness with the West via the world of physical culture.

Models of *Tiyu* and the Nation

This mode of nationalist, anti-imperialist physical culture does not fit together neatly with points made in the last chapter on *tiyu*'s power as a space for mimesis and intercultural play. These trends both appear in clear relief in the sources I have seen. Early 1920s physical culture features more of the former, and explicit nationalism seems to take the day by 1925-26, but these two modes are by no means temporally exclusive - one often sees a single event offering examples of both modes. (One example is the Third National Games at Wuchang, which was organized almost exclusively by Chinese, many of whom, however, were YMCA staff.)

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of the most anti-imperialist and anti-feudal gatherings - South Shanghai Sports Grounds], in Shanghai shi wenshiguan wenshi ziliao gongzuo weiyuanhui, ed., *Lishi wenhua mingcheng - Shanghai: Shanghai difang shi ziliao (liu)* [Shanghai, historical and cultural metropolis: Materials on Shanghai history, Part 6] (Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1988), pp. 51-53; Zeng Jinming, "Geming de fenghuotai" [Beacon tower of revolution], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 2 (December 1982), p. 4; Photograph in *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 2 (December 1982), inside front cover.

[41] R. Keith Schoppa, *Blood Road: The Mystery of Shen Dingyi in Revolutionary China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 99, 138, 173, 192.

The model that states "the media is the message" becomes harder to apply to the medium of *tiyu* when it seems to produce such different messages - namely, "let's see what I have in common with those powerful Westerners now" and "Yanqui go home." In many ways, of course, this is the problem behind the 1920s development of Chinese nationalism out of ideas commonsense by then of nationism (that is, the nation as the thing). However, the answer here lies with the mixed nature of *tiyu* - physical education and competitive sports - itself. Modern sport (and might this be the reason for its adoption all over the globe?) packs such a mixture of what seem to be such glaring contradictions - the individual vs. the team, the importance of victory vs. ideals of sportsmanship and "fair play," its myths of free or natural movement vs. the bodily discipline and specialized movements it requires, and its claims to be the key to a healthy greater populace vs. its need for this populace to sit and consume (and be consumed by) it, among others. It should not seem strange that while some Chinese might envision a Chinese nation built on "teamwork" with the West, others might envision a strong nation only as a Chinese anti-imperialist "team." Some may have seen Western physical education experts as benevolent coaches and their discipline as transnational tough love. Others clearly understood the foreigners as imperialists hoping to create a China that could be exploited even further by the West. And where some Chinese athletes might have taken seriously the trope of the good sport who betters himself by competing, win or lose, it is likely that just as many others wanted to break through this chivalric hypocrisy and just beat the imperialists, and beat them soundly. Chinese physical culture was founded in all of these notions. Importantly, though, these two extremes were two sides of the same coin of the nation and modernity. If the media is the message, then the message is the media - and the

message in my sources tells of the inseparable unity of the nation, modernity and *tiyu*. Once these concepts were imagined as one, there could be no undoing of this tightly wound core, only attempts to start it rolling in different directions.

Modernity and the Women's Physical Culture Push

Chinese *tiyu*'s greatest claim to modernity in the early 1920s was the growing inclusion of women and girls in the world of physical culture. The modern Chinese nation was to be an inclusive one, requiring contributions from all its able-bodied citizens - as everyone knew, a healthy China made up of healthy families could only be achieved when the whole population was healthy and fit. As Chinese men began to assert their control over the administration and theorization of physical culture for the nation, they were sure to include within this grasp the important realm of women's *tiyu*. Physical education expert Xie Siyan (a man who posed shirtless for the frontispiece photo of his book on track and field) wrote in a 1923 issue of *The Ladies' Journal*,

> The necessity of women's physical education is something with which anyone with just a bit of commonsense will agree. But I will not be superfluous or wordy here, instead offering a few examples:
> (1) Our nation's citizens make up a population of 400 million, and 200 million of these are women; now why would one want to push [*tiyu*] for the 200 million males while resigning the 200 million females to withering despondence and lethargy? ...
> (2) Speaking from the perspective of reproduction, the pain a woman experiences while giving birth cannot be imagined by men. But if a woman is always sick, and her body is weak at the time when she is to give birth, then this is even worse - it is a sure thing that the son or daughter that is born will not be strong and healthy.
> (3) Looking at it from a genetic perspective, the power of men's and women's genes is equal. But the male has less to do with passing on physiological traits, while the female is much more involved in this.
> (4) Looking at it from the perspective of education, no one can match the educating emotional influence of the mother. Our nation had Mencius' mother who moved three times [in order to avoid potentially

> harmful influences], while Europe had *Hua-di* (?); these are both fine examples of how to be a mother. So when a student is not repentant, the teacher will ask the mother to come and influence him through the power of her emotions; when a criminal is not repentant, the mother is asked to come and influence him through the power of her emotions. We can see that the emotional power of a mother can work on any kind of person - so a woman's physical fitness (*tiyu*) is extremely important to her children as well.
> (5) Looking at it in terms of the woman question, those who speak of this question always go on and on, exaggerating its importance. But if [women] do not train their bodies and sharpen their spirit, then it does not matter what you say about all those minor issues. If we do not start from the point of women's *tiyu*, I am afraid that even if we talk until our tongues are weary and our ears are deaf, it will not be of any use.[42]

Society, science, and social science - these self-consciously modern fields of knowledge could all be enlisted in an odd discourse of equality. But it is transparent that these nationist notions of equality and inclusion, like the discourse of physical fitness which made up a chief element of these notions, were simply elements of the male-gendered project of building a modern Chinese nation. Barlow's model of the "Chinese intellectuals' appropriation of the imperialists' sex binary"[43] is again the basis for work by male members of China's physical culture community to bring *tiyu* to their nation's women - a physical culture which would condition women's bodies as according to rational male measurements of the Chinese nation and its needs.

Women in 1920s China were becoming more and more involved in this culture of health and the body, and had been for decades, in schools throughout much of

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[42] Xie Siyan, "Nüzi tiyu wenti" [Questions of women's physical education], *Funü zazhi (The Ladies' Journal)* 9.7 (July 1923), pp. 2-5.

[43] Tani E. Barlow, "Theorizing Woman: *Funü*, *Guojia*, *Jiating* (Chinese Woman, Chinese State, Chinese Family)," in Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow, eds., *Body, Subject & Power in China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 253.

China.[44] The larger national narrative of *tiyu* at the time, which is my concern in this chapter, however, placed very little importance on women's physical endeavor, and this was simply by definition. The new Chinese nation, which would benefit so from strong and healthy team-spirited men's training, was never supposed to be about women. Chinese had not been ridiculed for their "pigtails" and robes and lampooned as the "Sick Men of East Asia" for decades, just so that China could now put forth women as representatives of the nation! (Especially when no one in the West was doing this either.) The whole nation-building project was male-defined and masculine in motif - the power, riches, strength that all of China supposedly desired was plainly a male construction.

Therefore, the magic intercultural zone of *tiyu*, described in the last chapter, where men could lose themselves so between cultures and outside of national histories, by definition would not be held open for Chinese women to enter. The Cuna Indians use similar gender divisions to construct their society and their relationship with the American colonizer. In a chapter subtitled "The Magic of Western Gear," Taussig describes Cuna men's role as that of mediators with access to the outside world; Cuna men wear Western suits, which are actually understood to strengthen Cuna men against spirits.[45] And what else were Anglo-American sports than a "gear" in which to suit up, a vehicle to strengthen Chinese men and their nation against the powerful and destructive "spirits" of imperialism and Western capitalism? It was imperative that

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[44] For a view of women's liberation through athletic activity, see Fan Hong, *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom: The Liberation of Women's Bodies in Modern China* (Ilford, Essex: Frank Cass Publishers, 1997).

[45] Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 182-189.

Chinese men keep the magic zone of *tiyu* as a male enclave - it would be a mockery of modernity if women, still identified by many in the *tiyu* world as the unfortunate repositories of Chinese backwardness, weakness, and Otherness, were to crash this territory of cross-cultural sport, learning, and male bonding.

This type of "intercultural zone" of exchange and exploring sameness was surely not off-limits to Chinese women. This kind of exploration, of examination of the self and the other, also went on between Chinese and Western women in the late Qing dynasty and early Republic. A set of two pictures exists of a Chinese woman named Mrs. Dai Ze and a Western woman in the late years of the Qing. In the second picture the two women have traded clothing - in their new costumes, they present to the camera what seems to have been an immensely pleasurable discarding of the set boundaries of the nation and national decorum.[46] Another example comes with the description of a Methodist missionary-run school in Tianjin by a former student named Cheng Sumei:

> All the lessons were given in English ... I was dressed and my hair was arranged now in European fashion ... With my English clothes, a hat which was the first I had ever had on my head, the skirts which I now wore instead of trousers, *I felt very much 'in the role.'* ... I learned how to drink tea as the English take it, with sugar and milk; how to eat bread and butter and toast; how to use a knife and fork instead of chop-sticks, and how to take exercise.[47]

However, in the male-dominated world of Chinese physical culture, a female fondness for getting "in the zone" or "in the role" was almost a moot point. In a modern physical culture based on Western notions of masculinity and the nation, the

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[46] *Jiu Zhongguo lüeying* [Flashes of Old China] (Beijing: Zhongguo huabaoshe, 1993), pp. 81-82.

[47] Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 233. Italics added.

men in charge of planning this course to nationhood saw little direct national significance for women's participation. Instead, I see the push for women's *tiyu*, advocated by liberal men as forcefully as by women activists, as part of another process, the extension of dominant national gazes to the bodies of Chinese women.

Graceful Sights to Behold in China's *Tiyu* Grounds

Above I discussed the Third National Games held at Wuchang in 1924. At these Games, male Chinese athletes competed in seven medal events: track and field, swimming, soccer, basketball, volleyball, baseball and tennis. There were other demonstration events, however, and it is instructive to see which areas of *tiyu* were not recognized as authentic National Games. There were demonstrations by male athletes in Chinese martial arts and calisthenics, neither of which were proper enough *tiyu* to deserve spotlights in these National Games. There were also demonstrations at Wuchang by female teams in basketball, volleyball and softball.[48] Needless to say, these were not medal events either. It was accepted that these ball sports were crucial in developing a Chinese populace that could work and play together as a team. (Volleyball was even known then as *duiqiu*, or "team-ball"). But it seems fairly transparent why women's efforts in these games were not judged worthy of official mention - they were women. What would have been the point? Of what national use would a team of disciplined, willed, unified, strong women be? There was simply not enough international precedent, or pressure by those leading the women's *tiyu* movement, to force such a risky innovation.

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[48] Wang Zhenya, *Jiu Zhongguo tiyu jianwen*, pp. 141-142. Three years later, the journal *Tiyu* included photos of a dance program performed at the 1924 Games by junior high school girls in matching white dresses, "soaring, moving, awe-inspiring, fascinating." *Tiyu [Physical Education]* 1.2 (15 June 1927).

National Games organizers were not alone in this way of thinking. The Far Eastern Championship Games (FECG), a (mostly) biennial sports festival that rotated between China, Japan and the Philippines from 1913 to 1934, featured women's tennis and volleyball, but as non-medal events only, beginning with the Sixth Games held in Osaka in 1923.[49] Women's events were limited to this unofficial "demonstration" status until the Tenth Games at Manila in 1934, when they were recognized as official medal events. The presence and status of women at these international Games is interesting, and points out a very ambiguous position for women's *tiyu* in Chinese nationalism - in particular, the relative lack of importance placed by men on women's team sports and their potential vis-a-vis this sporting aspect of the modern nation.

Volleyball (with nine to 16 players per side) was often the first sport introduced into women's physical education curricula. Pan Zhiben's article "A Game for Women - Volleyball," published in *The Ladies' Journal* in 1922, opened:

> Ball games suitable for women are quite rare; in tennis too few people can play so it cannot be popularized. Basketball is too intense, as sometimes people may fall down. Thus, volleyball is the only game really suitable for women. There is no physical contact (*chongtu*) with the opponent of which to speak, and since every person covers their own zone there is not too much running involved. [Women's] using both hands to hit the ball is a graceful sight to behold ...[50]

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[49] Ruan Weicun, *Yuandong yundonghui lishi yu chengji* [History and Records of the Far Eastern Championship Games] (Shanghai: Qinfen shuju, 1933), p. 82. The 16-woman Chinese volleyball team was made up of five athletes from Shanghai schools, two from Suzhou, one from Ningbo, four from Guangzhou, two from Tianjin and two from Beijing. Zhang Wanqing, "Huiyi Zhongguo shouci nüzi paiqiudui chuguo cansai" [Remembering the first time a Chinese women's volleyball team traveled abroad to compete], *Tiyu wenshi* 38 (July 1989), pp. 53-54. *The Ladies' Journal*, in their July and August 1923 issues, published pictures from the women's tennis and volleyball competitions at Osaka. One photo was of a Chinese woman tennis player shaking hands with her Japanese opponent, both women dressed in similar loose white blouses and dark bloomer short pants. *Funü zazhi (The Ladies' Journal)* 9.7 (1 July 1923) and 9.8 (1 August 1923).

[50] Pan Zhiben, "Nüzi youxi - duiqiu shu" [A game for women - volleyball], *Funü zazhi (The Ladies' Journal)* 8.7 (July 1922), p. 81.

This new participation of women in competitive sports is usually cited as a sign of social progress in China. Fan Hong takes more "superficial" histories to task for "miss[ing] the essential point that the pursuit of physical freedom was an integral part of women's emancipation in China."[51] Progressive or not, this is an important change to note. After 1923 or so, women's participation in competitive sports became more common.

However, women's participation in athletic meets was still frequently limited to group demonstrations of what was known as "soft calisthenics" (*rouruan ticao*) or dance. The most celebrated of these demonstrations was the debut of Chinese women in the Far Eastern Championship Games in 1921. Led by Vera Barger, Celia Moyer and Yuan Baozhu, all of the Shanghai YWCA, some 830 young women from 14 Shanghai schools thrilled the Hongkou Park crowd with their mass calisthenics demonstration. The women wore identical white hats and long-sleeved blouses, and black bloomer skirts, stockings and shoes, but were distinguished by school, by the flags behind which they marched and the badges pinned to their blouses. The routine consisted of an arrangement of the motions of "modern form[s] of recreation," beginning with baseball and swimming. Then the students broke up by school, each performing a selection based on the movements of tennis, tug-of-war, basketball, climbing stairs, fishing and soccer. These routines were recorded on film, "including many 'close-ups' as well as covering the mass formations, and the demonstration can thus be reproduced in other centers in the interior where athletics for women are still

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[51] Fan Hong, *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom: The Liberation of Women's Bodies in Modern China* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1997), p. 137. Or see Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds., *Zhongguo jindai tiyushi*, p. 176, on Chinese women "gallantly ascending the stage of history" via their participation in team sports.

almost unknown."[52] Women's physical fitness was clearly a priority now in China. However, in terms of competing as representatives of the nation, Chinese women athletes would still only be allowed to go softly and gracefully through the motions in this realm of modern sport.

The All-Southern Sichuan Athletic Meet, held in spring 1922 and organized by Yun Daiying (then teaching at Southern Sichuan Normal School), also sported an atmosphere thick in tellingly modern attitudes toward women. To be seen all around the sporting grounds were sets of two posters reading, "My husband Commander Yang supports women cutting their hair short!" and "Female compatriots, once your feet were bound; now liberate your feet!" signed by Yang-Tian Hengqiu and Yang-Liu Gufang - both wives of Games Chairman and Second Corps Commander Yang Sen![53] This meet featured track and field, soccer, gymnastics and martial arts competitions for men only, but girls from the Women's Study Society Elementary School and Women's Normal School Elementary School were among students from ten schools performing group calisthenics as side demonstration events.[54]

The eventual inclusion of women in competitive sports in the mid-1920s was not unanimous. There was apparently enough popular opposition to women's participation in track and field events that Zhang Ruizhen, writing in *The Chinese*

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[52] "Chinese Girls to be in Far Eastern Games," *Millard's Review of the Far East* (28 May 1921), p. 695; "Yuandong yundonghui xiaoxi" [News from the Far Eastern Championship Games], *Shenbao*, 24 May 1921, p. 10; "The Far Eastern Olympic Games Supplement," *Shenbao*, 2 June 1921, p. 2.

[53] Yi Runsheng and Mao Hongkai, "Yun Daiying yu you yici Chuannan lianhe yundonghui" [Yun Daiying and another All-Southern Sichuan Athletic Meet], *Sichuan tiyu shiliao* 6 (May 1984), pp. 14-15.

[54] Yi Runsheng and Mao Hongkai, "Yun Daiying," p. 14.

Journal of Physical Education in 1923, felt it necessary to answer six common misconceptions about women, their bodies, their manners, and the dangers of track and field. To those who protested that "women were naturally disposed toward refinement and quiet, and do not enjoy intense exercise," Zhang contended that in this twentieth century of equality between men and women, to restrict women's sporting participation would "hurt women's self-respect and be unconducive with regard to notions of male-female equality."[55] Many argued against female participation on the basis of physiological differences between women's and men's bodies; Zhang did not refute this claim, but answered, "The citizen's martial spirit is learned so much more in the home than in school. If a household has a father and mother who are richly endowed with this martial spirit, then it naturally will be cultivated in their children, who will then flower into martial citizens themselves. That said, who wouldn't work to promote women's participation in track and field?"[56]

Many male fans at the Third Central China Games (*Huazhong yundonghui*), held in Nanchang, Jiangxi in April 1925, may have been the answer to Zhang's rhetorical question. *Shenbao* accounts of the meet portrayed an atmosphere of mockery and hostility towards women involved in the Games. More than 300 athletes from Hunan, Hubei, Anhui and Jiangxi provinces participated in these Games, which included competitions in women's volleyball, basketball, softball and tennis, and also demonstrations in women's mass calisthenics, martial arts and swimming.[57] However,

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[55] Zhang Ruizhen, "Nüzi tianjingsai yundong shuo" [On women's participation in track and field competitions]. *Tiyu jikan (The Chinese Journal of Physical Education)* 2.1 (April 1923), pp. 1-2.

[56] Zhang Ruizhen, "Nüzi tianjingsai yundong shuo," p. 2.

[57] Hunan sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Hunan shengzhi, di ershier juan: Tiyu zhi* [Hunan provincial gazetteer, Volume 22: Chronicle of physical culture] (Changsha: Hunan chubanshe, 1994),

the Nanchang crowds' reactions to these performances were disturbing. During an opening ceremonies mass dance titled "Heavenly Women Scattering Flowers," performed by Baoyun Girls' School, "at once [several men] crashed down onto and around the field to watch; it was no small number of people, and the scene became quite chaotic." The reporter continued, "Every time there is a women's performance at an athletic meet, every single male gets all carried away and crashes about, as if they were rushing to get home upon the death of their parents, and the meet loses all sense of order." Later that day when female swimmers from Hunan arrived at the Nanchang pool, the packed crowd grew even more restless; "fortunately the Boy Scouts were on hand to keep order."[58] During a women's sporting event, when one of the teams began singing the team song, "several spectators began shouting, 'Well-done! Well-done! Sing another! Sing another!' their attitudes, language and gestures flippant and undignified."[59] And during a rain delay in a soccer game, players from the Hubei team went up into the covered stands reserved for female student groups, began harassing the women seated in the area, and had to be escorted away by security guards.[60] This behavior by no means was confined to inland provinces like Jiangxi. At the Eighth Far Eastern Championship Games held in Shanghai in 1927, the Eastern Chinese women's volleyball team decided to end their demonstration match prematurely after being

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pp. 563-564; Kui, "Di san jie Huazhong yundonghui zhi di yi ri" [The first day of the Third Central China Games], *Shenbao*, 26 April 1925, p. 12.

[58] Kui, "Di san jie Huazhong yundonghui zhi di yi ri," p. 12.

[59] Kui, "Di san jie Huazhong yundonghui zhi jieguo" [Results of the Third Central China Games], *Shenbao*, 28 April 1925, p. 11.

[60] Kui, "Di san jie Huazhong yundonghui zhi jieguo," p. 11.

subject to jeering and insults from rowdy "undesirables" in the crowd.[61]

The new and large presence of women at these regional and international Games seems to have been a revolutionary one, and it is likely that these meets provided these women athletes with their own new ideas of participation in the creation of a nation built on strong bodies and sporting spirits. However, the boorish behavior of men responding to their presence demonstrates just how this presence offended male ideas of the sporting gender order, where the exclusive male right to team sport was a proprietary claim. I see this popular unrest as yet another type of attempt to reserve the world of physical culture as a male preserve, an attempt to remind *tiyu*-oriented women at every turn that their participation in this realm was still to be defined and measured by men whose real job it was to be saving the nation.

Measures of a Women's Physical Culture Agenda

If women's participation in competitive athletics still posed a problem for some, there was still no doubt that women's physical education and attention to women's physical fitness were an important part of the modern agenda. The call for women's *tiyu* was invigorated by a new popular push in the early 1920s, led by *The Ladies' Journal*. Put out by Shanghai's Commercial Press, *The Ladies' Journal* published a series of articles that showed the connections between women's exercise and "healthy beauty" (*jiankang mei*).[62] As one author introduced her "Beauty Exercise Regimen" in

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[61] "Far Eastern Olympic Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 22 August 1927, p. 14.

[62] Chien-ming Yu has written on this subject of "healthy beauty" in modern Chinese women's physical culture. Chien-ming Yu (You Jianming), "Jindai Zhongguo nüzi tiyu guan chutan" [A Probe into Views on Women's Physical Education in Modern China], *Xin shixue* 7.4 (December 1996), pp. 119-158.

1921 by writing,

> The healthiness of one's body and the beauty of one's deportment (*zitai*) are very closely linked. If one hopes to achieve a healthy body, exercise cannot be ignored. Our nation's women have long ignored exercise, so most women's bodies, if not too skinny and feeble, are too full and fat, and neither of these can be counted as a mark of health. The three types of [balancing and stretching] exercises described below are all very simple. If women practice them faithfully for long, not only can they make their bodies more healthy, but they can also make their bodies more attractive and beautiful (*yanmei*) - yes, there are more than shallow rewards to be gained![63]

Staying true to the era, *The Ladies' Journal* published two articles on exercise for professional women. As Xiao Liu wrote in 1922, "Exercise can strengthen the body, this everyone knows. Professionals (*you zhiye de ren*), no matter how busy they are on the job, simply need to take some time out every day to do a little bit of exercise for their body's sake. And isn't this a time of great debate on the issue of women professionals?"[64] And Yang Binru pointed out in 1924 that "With modern transportation growing more convenient, our daily affairs become more and more varied, and there are more and more professional women in society every day. Thus, women's *tiyu* needs to grow by the day as well."[65]

But this growing attention to women's *tiyu* also reveals how subject it was to the scientific power of foreign men and women and of Chinese men. Chen Yongsheng,

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[63] Gao Shan, "Meirong de yundongfa" [Beauty Exercise Regimen], *Funü zazhi (The Ladies' Journal)* 7.12 (December 1921), p. 81.

[64] Xiao Liu, "Nüzi shinei ticao" [Indoor calisthenics for women], *Funü zazhi (The Ladies' Journal)* 8.1 (January 1922), p. 83.

[65] Yang Binru, "Zhiye funü de yundong" [Exercise for professional women], *Funü zazhi (The Ladies' Journal)* 10.6 (June 1924), p. 908. The ten types of dance-type exercises pictured were called (in English, giving away the exercises' foreign origin): Adoration, Courtsey, Hoisting Sail, Pulling Rope, Measuring Tape, Wind Mill, Chicken's Wings, Archery, Tree Swaying, and Furling Sail.

in her 1924 book *Regimen for Women's Beauty Exercise*, discussed a "beauty ratio" formulated by American women's health expert Annette Kellerman; in this (unit-less) formula, a woman's weight should equal the sum of her height and chest measurement divided by 240. Another "Ideal Ratio of Femininity" (translated into Chinese as *nüxing zhishu*), developed by the American expert Hastings, measured one's feminine factor by the formula

$$\frac{\text{chest + buttocks + thigh}}{\text{neck + hips + wrist + ankle}} \times 100 .^{66}$$

This new push for legitimacy (by definition a scientific legitimacy in this enlightened era) for women's *tiyu* was limited by the world of men and their science. Gao Shilin had to base her 1921 article "Why We Should Exercise" almost solely on the opinions of Drs. Henry G. Beyar and Thomas D. Wood.[67] Yang Binru's article on exercise for women professionals, mentioned above, likewise borrowed heavily from the work of American physical education authorities Sargent and McCloy.[68]

This discourse of women's physical fitness and their corresponding fitness to be a citizen surely produced a new space for Chinese women to express their own ideas about their bodies and their lives. However, I find it hard to agree with a narrative of liberation and emancipation through *tiyu* like Fan Hong's, where women's physical culture is significant for having "heightened women's consciousness of the capabilities

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[66] Chen introduced still more complicated models theorized by German scholars, including one where ideal height would equal head length multiplied by a factor from 7.5 to 8.0, hand length x 9, and foot length times 6 or 7. Chen Yongsheng, *Nüzi meirong yundongfa* [Regimen for Women's Beauty Exercise] (Shanghai: Wenming shuju, 1924), pp. 30-35.

[67] Gao Shilin, "Women weishenme yao yundong" [Why We Should Exercise], *Funü zazhi (The Ladies' Journal)* 7.7 (July 1921), pp. 80-81.

[68] Yang Binru, "Zhiye funü de yundong," p. 909.

of their own bodies, increased the level of their physical power, and provided a psychological confidence that spilt over into other areas of life."[69] For the emancipation and opportunities that did come from women's *tiyu* were also accompanied by new limits and constraints. Fan grants that "it was not all sweetness and light," in true May Fourth fashion blaming "outworn social values and sanctions" belonging to "feudal society."[70] "Feudal," "Confucian," and "backward" bogeymen aside, it was obviously the dark angels of science and modernity that sustained men's work to retain the upper hand in this *tiyu* discourse. For a discussion on "Women's Physical Culture" in its "Talking Hygiene" column, Beijing's *Morning Post* turned to a writer who used the pen name "Profound and Deep." His article was simply an explication of the seven main problems with Chinese women's bodies: "(1) Women's lower extremities - their legs and feet - are always crooked ... (3) Our nation's women's chests are extremely narrow and flat ... (4) Of our nation's women there is not one without a crooked back and a bent-over figure ..."[71] This unfortunately un-profound columnist and many others took women's "*tiyu*" literally and saw it as a "bodily education," or more specifically, a chance to lecture on the defects of women's bodies. Finally, *The Ladies' Journal*'s July 1923 forum on women's *tiyu* consisted of two articles (including one entitled "Beauties from a Physical Fitness Perspective") by Xie Siyan, one of the biggest male names in 1920s Chinese track and field, and a translation of Saiga Kazumi's piece "A Study of Women's Physical Education" from

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[69] Fan Hong, *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom*, p. 138.

[70] Fan Hong, *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom*, pp. 137-138.

[71] Yan Sui, "Nüzi de tiyu" [Women's physical fitness], *Chenbao (The Morning Post)*, 28 March 1921, p. 5, and 29 March 1921, p. 7.

the journal *Research into the Japanese Family*.[72]

There was simply very little room in this discourse of women's physical culture for independent women's voices. Thus, it was difficult to create a space for women's *tiyu* outside of that narrow zone reined in so tightly by American and German beauty ratios, Japanese ideals of domesticity, and self-Orientalizing notions of Chinese feminine weakness through history. For Agnes Fung to encourage *tiyu* participation among Chinese women in 1927, she likely felt obligated to borrow the male reformers' phrasings of the pathetic nature of the traditional Chinese woman and the importance of learning from healthy Western women:

> ... for several thousand years [Chinese women] had been in bondage, and naturally the encumbrance though removed, still leaves its shadow.... Custom puts us at a disadvantage, so much so that only a few dare disobey it. For the foreign woman there are all sorts of recreation, such as tennis, swimming, riding, bicycling, hiking, and what not, after she is done with studies, therefore she suffers not a whit from the change of environment, and continues to enjoy good health. But for the Chinese woman, there are no such sports. She is shut up in her house, and does nothing, there being the servants at her beck and call, except to play mahjjong in order to pass her time. Naturally sitting in a crammed position can do no good to her body, yet she does it because it is custom. Only the more modern ones dare to give their legs some exercise by doing the Charleston, the others must be content with sitting.[73]

In the realm of men's physical culture, as I have discussed above, the strong West served as a magical zone in which could be seen China's future, and in which Chinese

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[72] Xie Siyan, "Nüzi tiyu wenti" [Questions of women's physical education] and "Cong tiyu shang kanlai de meiren" [Beauties from a physical fitness perspective], and Saiga Kazumi, translated by Yan Wei, "Nüzi tiyu yanjiu" [A Study of Women's Physical Education], all in *Funü zazhi (The Ladies' Journal)* 9.7 (July 1923), pp. 2-5, 11-17, and 6-10.

[73] Agnes Fung, "Chinese Women and Physical Culture," *Tiyu shijie (The Sports World)* 1 (30 March 1927), p. 39.

men could forget about national histories and Chinese-Western dichotomies, and just play. But this example expresses how for Chinese women, the West and the image of the Western woman, even when invoked by women, served only as a reminder of Chinese women's weakness and inferiority through the centuries, and of the scientifically-backed prescriptions and enjoinders that were to form the basis of women's physical culture.

On the eve of the Third National Games in 1924, Lu Lihua, one of the first female physical cultural activists in China, called for more formal research, textbooks, periodicals and classes by mail on women's physical fitness, and for parks and exercise equipment for women even down to the village level. But in order to justify her program, which was quite progressive at the time, Lu also had to borrow the old language of male reformers in China. She criticized Chinese women's "worship of pensive serenity and their understanding of softness and weakness as noble virtues." And even Lu could not avoid the old "mothers of citizens" line:

> To strengthen the nation we must first strengthen the race, and to strengthen the race we must first strengthen the women who will be breeding - we women are the mothers of citizens. In order to fulfill this important responsibility of giving birth, we must not neglect our physical fitness - if we do, it will leave hereditary factors and the child's development greatly harmed. Thus the great urgency of this huge problem of women's physical fitness.[74]

Rhetoric like Lu's, although relying on the dominant stereotypes of modern Chinese women's obligations and failings, does clearly open up a space for women to speak and write more frankly about their bodies and their world. On the rare occasions when women were able to publish their thoughts on the subject of *tiyu*, it is not hard to

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[74] Lu Lihua, "Zhongguo nüzi tiyu yijian shu."

identify in their words their critiques, from a woman's perspective, of 1920s China. Xiang Fuchun, a member of the Physical Education Research Society at the Shanghai Patriotic Girls' School, wrote an article titled "My Views on Physical Education" in 1925. *Tiyu*, she explained, was not only for the sake of physical strength, but was meant "to strengthen the spirit, so that one could finally be able to handle any matter or situation in society, not being defeated by the attacks of the outside world." This observation, easily read as a critique of the obstacles which women faced in modern Chinese society, was accompanied by a more powerful condemnation of the male modernity of the twentieth century: "The more civilized (*wen*) the world gets, the more deliberate people's thinking gets. The more machines are developed, the more people's bodies degenerate. Look at the engineers and inventors - not one of them can avoid these absorbed and contemplative extremes."[75]

Ding Zengfang, another member of this Shanghai group, used her writings on physical education to register other political critiques. Positioning herself far from those who would still blame weak women for China's semi-colonized fate, Ding explained how "China's weakness" was basically the fault of the rapacious warlords who destroyed China's people and industry. Women, as "the mothers of the nation," were surely responsible for not hurting China further by raising "morons and lunatics," but also had to shape up their bodies so that their fit minds could process the important democratic and scientific ideas so important to their Chinese nation.[76]

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[75] The feminist agenda in Xiang's writings become even more apparent when she genders the realm of *tiyu* feminine by using the pronoun "she" to describe it. Xiang Fuchun, "Wo de tiyu guan" [My views on physical education], *Tiyu huikan* 1 (June 1925), p. 8.

[76] Ding Zengfang, "Wo duiyu tiyu zhi ganxiang" [My feelings about physical education], *Tiyu huikan* 1 (June 1925), p. 11.

It is difficult to measure "liberation" - that is, if it was delivered to urban Chinese women via this new focus on women's *tiyu*. Today, many assume that these women, by putting their bodies through the motions of Western sports and exercises, caused great stirs by refuting Confucian ideals of female modesty and obedience. Here I have included examples of women formulating valuable critiques of Chinese society and modernity in the terms, once thought to be so benign and apolitical, of women's physical education. But without a separate linguistic space that, as Benjamin says, could "define its [own] frontier,"[77] could this scandalizing flash, this shocking moment of impropriety, or this thinly veiled jab at the contradictions in male-dominated Chinese society, itself do the job?

Without such a separate space, the dominant discourse on women's *tiyu* in the 1920s remained as just a slightly qualified encouragement for women to make themselves stronger for the sake of the nation. Here, I have tried to heed Dorothy Ko's caution, made in the context of Ming women's history, against "mistaking normative prescriptions for experienced realities" and seeing the continuation of ahistorical "Chinese traditions" of oppression of women where there are not.[78] However, my point has been to explain the power of Western-imposed, scientifically-"proven" models of masculinity and nation, and how nationally-minded Chinese men saw no problem in demanding that Chinese women fall in line according to the model as well.

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[77] Walter Benjamin, "On Language as Such and on the Language of Man," in Peter Demetz, ed., trans. by Edmund Jephcott, *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), p. 317.

[78] Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 1-4.

Kathleen McCrone has discussed the scientific debate on women's physical culture in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Britain. She shows a male medical emphasis on the fearful possibility of overworking the female body, with warnings about "womb irritation" and "pelvic disturbances" that echo (and surely influenced) similar concerns voiced in China.[79] Scientific "evidence," modern romanticized notions of "womanhood," and Social Darwinian concepts of "motherhood" combined to present hegemonic limits on women's sport and exercise that were hard for British women to transcend.[80] The same is true in China. In the discourse of 1920s Chinese *tiyu*, there was little room for women's contributions to a strong China besides the duty of breeding a healthy next generation of Chinese boys. 1920s women's *tiyu* stands as, at best, a stage of mildly liberal condescension at the hands of China's male managers of physical culture. Wang Huaiqi's 1928 explanation of his motivation in designing the original game "starball" (a miniaturized and "peaceful" variation on soccer, a sport seen as too intense for women[81]) illustrates perfectly women's position in *tiyu* in the late 1920s:

> Soccer has a very intense quality to it; young men naturally are quite interested in this type of competition. But children or weak women surely cannot take this kind of excitement - this is just something that the average woman or child cannot bear. Since soccer has become so popular, schools have strictly forbidden women and children from taking part in this kind of sport... It does not make sense that there should be

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[79] Kathleen E. McCrone, *Playing the Game: Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1879-1914* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1988), pp. 197-200.

[80] McCrone, *Playing the Game*, pp. 206-212.

[81] The only women's soccer team I have come across existed at the Shanghai Private Liangjiang Women's Physical Education School from 1924 to 1926. Their male coach, Jinan University P.E. Department Director Shen Kunnan, organized the team after reading an article about a British women's soccer team in an English periodical. Wu Zhiming and Wu Jian, "Woguo jindai di yi zhi nüzi zuqiudui" [Modern China's first women's soccer team], *Tiyu wenshi* 13 (June 1985), p. 30.

> sports for men that women cannot practice. Men's and women's bodies, however, are naturally different, so their exercises and sports have to correspond to these different levels. This is well-nigh impossible to avoid. So if appropriate games could be designed for women to participate in ...[82]

Internationalism and Nationalism

A final aspect of Chinese *tiyu*'s appeal to nationalist elements was, interestingly enough, the internationalist theme that has been played up by architects of modern physical culture going back to Olympic founder Pierre de Coubertin,[83] and the promise *tiyu* offered for participation in the international. International sport obviously assumes the nation; in fact the whole basis for competitions between athletes of different nations (because it is always "China vs. Japan" or "US vs. USSR," and never Shijiazhuang vs. Yokohama or Nashville vs. Minsk) was exactly this opportunity to train ideas of competition between nations through physical exertion or through the visual consumption of this physical effort. This is obviously not to equate the two, the national and the international, but simply to point out the fact that these two formulations were inseparable. Without the international (and specifically the strength and power of the "advanced" nations of the world) there would be no need to create a

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[82] Wang Huaiqi. *Xingqiu guize* [Starball Regulations] (Shanghai: Zhongguo jianxueshe, 1928), pp. 2-3.

Hong Kong soccer legend Li Huitang, in his 1928 book entitled *Soccer*, also pushed the sport as a way to condition women to be healthy wives and mothers, and also suggested a less "intense" version of the game more suited to women's participation, with seven instead of 11 players per side. Wu Yang, "Li Huitang tichang nüzi zuqiu" [Li Huitang's push for women's soccer], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 26 (March 1990), p. 53.

[83] For example, see Coubertin on the Olympics as an internationalized "republic of muscles," and his belief that his Games could contribute to world peace, trade and understanding of different nations and cultures. John J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 136, 155.

modern Chinese nation. And without the nation, its need to impress itself into the subconscious of all modern citizens, and modern ideas of nationalism,[84] no one ever would have thought to organize, participate in, or pay to view institutions like the Olympics or the Far Eastern Games.

Chinese athletes' and spectators' first introduction to the international world of sport was via the Far Eastern Championship Games. The Vth through VIIIth Games were held during the 1920s, both bookends hosted by Shanghai, in 1921 and 1927. Even by 1921, many Chinese involved in the world of *tiyu* were very clear about the national and international significances of sport. A *Shenbao* author wrote in an article on the 1921 Games, "The spirit of struggle in athletics is the same as in war. If one is defeated in war, territory is lost. If one is defeated in athletics, reputation is lost. And of territory and reputation, no one yet knows which is more important... We need to be able to perform in athletics before we can talk of war. A nation needs to be able to fight before it can talk of peace. World peace begins with athletics."[85]

The prominent international role of athletics also made it imperative that all Chinese learned the international rules of proper decorum for attending these events. If the ultimate goal was to finally ascend the international stage, it would do no good to be immediately

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[84] These are two separate concepts that I am dealing with: nationalism (the belief in one's own nation over all others, wrong or right), and nationism (the belief in the modern national form over all other forms of organization of community, wrong or right). I see them as the results of separate historical processes, but obviously as also two concepts which could work very easily together in the modern era.

[85] Lao, "Yundong yu zhanzheng zhi bijiao" [A comparison of athletics and war], *Shenbao*, 31 May 1921, "The Far Eastern Olympic Games Supplement #2" section, p. 1.

This connection between sports and the military realm might be underscored by the fact that at these 1921 Games, the Chinese gold medal-winning basketball team was led by Qinghua University star Sun Liren, who went on to serve as Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist Army on Taiwan. Qu Ziqing, *Zhongguo lanqiu shihua* [Stories from the history of basketball in China] (Taibei: Weihua tiyu xunkanshe, 1961), p. 12.

laughed off it for unbecoming conduct. Another *Shenbao* writer worried openly about "foreigners laughing at our citizens for our lack of common sense ... [for their] immoral and improper clapping [when opposing athletes made mistakes]." In fact, at the 1921 Fifth Far Eastern Games in Shanghai, workers were stationed in the bleachers to announce that "clapping in these situations [when opposing athletes make mistakes] is a form of ridicule, and that the morality of the athletic grounds should be maintained. By doing this we can avoid the slights of foreigners, and avoid losing national prestige."[86]

Despite these worries, the reports in *Shenbao* dwell on stories of the success of internationalism in the Games environment. After the first day of competition, one writer praised the sportsmanlike spirit of fans who cheered for the Japanese athletes as they entered the field during the Opening Ceremonies.[87] Another report described the contingent of Japanese fans attending the Games at Hongkou Park; led by a cheerleader their yells ended with "Philippines *banzai*! China *banzai*! Japan *banzai*!" Unwilling to let this show of international sportsmanship go unanswered, a good part of the Chinese crowd yelled in turn, "Japan *wansui*! Philippines *wansui*! China *wansui*!"[88]

This international flavor of competitive sports was not lost on one anarchist group in Shanghai working to put forward their version of an international system. Six Hunan

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[86] Mo, "Di si ri huichang suo jian" [What I saw on the field on the fourth day of the meet], *Shenbao*, 3 June 1921, "The Far Eastern Olympic Games Supplement #5" section, p. 1; untitled item in same, p. 2.

[87] Mo, "Di yi ri huichang zhong suo jian" [What I saw on the field on the first day of the meet], *Shenbao*, 31 May 1921, "The Far Eastern Olympic Games Supplement #2" section, p. 1.

However, Chinese fans were likely saddened to learn that the Japanese team included four Taiwanese athletes. Tsai Jen-hsiung (Cai Zhenxiong), "Riju shidai 'Taiwan tiyu xiehui' chengli de lishi kaocha" [An historical investigation into the 'Taiwan Athletic Federation' established during the Japanese colonial period], paper presented at Di yi jie Dongbeiya tiyu yundongshi xueshu yantaohui [First Conference on the History of Physical Education and Sport in Northeast Asia], National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan, 19-21 December 1995.

[88] *Shenbao*, 5 June 1921, "The Far Eastern Olympic Games Supplement" section, p. 3.

anarchists were arrested outside Hongkou Park after one of them fired a gun during the Boy Scout demonstration closing the games on 4 June. Thousands of anarchist pamphlets seized by French and Chinese detectives contained materials on the great East Asian revolution to come. The anarchists made direct attempts to profit from the connection between athletics and national and international politics. According to their rhetoric, it would take "the strength of athletes" for Chinese to attack capitalism and overthrow the government. One banner confiscated at the site screamed, "Punch the capitalists and kick the government!"[89]

Despite the sportsmanlike sheen of friendly competition put on these international games by *Shenbao*, the Far Eastern Championship Games were marred by the ugly nationalism and racism that these competitions were supposed to extinguish. Before the Seventh Games, held in Manila in 1925, several poems were published wishing the Chinese athletes well. One poem titled "On Sending off the Athletes" included the lines "Annihilate those of the eastern islands, Conquer those from the south."[90] This was not a good omen for these Games, the most noted event of which was the boycott of the Games by members of Japan's track and field team after sprinter

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[89] Despite their internationalist goals, the anarchists employed traditional regionalist and nationalist stereotypes in attempting to deceive their captors. The armed anarchist (packing four guns) first pretended that he was Cantonese and could not understand the language of the arresting policemen, but was unable to answer when spoken to in that dialect. He then admitted to carrying the guns, but told the police that he was packing his weapons to protect himself from Japanese ruffians who had beaten him up. "Yundonghui zhong guojidang kaiqiang zhi waixun" [News on the radical party's opening fire at the athletic meet], *Shenbao*, 6 June 1921, p. 10; "Yundonghui zhong faxian guojidang zhi zuoxun" [Yesterday's news on the discovery of the radical party at the athletic meet], *Shenbao*, 7 June 1921, p. 10.

[90] *Di qi jie Yuandong yundonghui quanguo yuxuan dahui tekan* [Special publication of the National Selection Meet for the Seventh Far Eastern Championship Games] (Shanghai: Di qi jie Yuandong yundonghui quanguo yuxuan dahui tekanshe, 1925), p. 64.

Images of conquest were quite common. Soccer player Sun Jinshun remembered being inspired by the example of the great Magellan, who four hundred years earlier had traveled to and triumphed in Manila. Ying Wen, "Sun Jinshun shouzhan Manila" [Sun Jinshun leads the battle against Manila], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 16 (July 1987), p. 18.

Noto Tokushige's second-place finish was disqualified for elbowing the Filipino sprinter Garcia.[91] The president of the Japanese Amateur Athletic Association immediately telegraphed the track and field team, warning that if the boycott continued, the athletes would be barred forever from future competition and would have to pay their own return travel expenses.[92] Thirteen athletes, including team captain Tani, maintained their boycott. Japan's *Asahi Shinbun* blasted this lack of sportsmanship, as the athletes' "attitude seriously reflects on the dignity and international interests of their own country,"[93] and the Chinese delegation filed an official protest over this conduct.[94]

The general environment at the Eighth Games, held in Shanghai in 1927, was unfortunately not much better. Chinese organizers got things off to an internationalist and sportsmanlike start. A baseball autographed by Babe Ruth, a walking symbol of 1920s commercialized sport, was to be awarded to the hitter slamming the first home run of the Games.[95] Chinese athletes were sent to an official welcome for the

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[91] "Di qi jie Yuandong yundonghui jishi" [Account of the Seventh Far Eastern Championship Games], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 17.7 (20 July 1925), p. 5; "No Settlement Reached With 'Strikers,'" *The Manila Times*, 20 May 1925, p. 1.

[92] "Strikers Punished," *The Manila Times*, 22 May 1925, p. 1. The Japanese National Students Association, in sympathy with the striking athletes, volunteered to pay for their trip home. "Tokio To Withdraw Team From Olympics, Expected: Subsidy Likely To Be Ended," *The Manila Times*, 21 May 1925, p. 1. Photographs exist of several athletes singing the Japanese national anthem in tears after hearing that they were to be barred from the national team. Takahara Tomiyasu, ed., *Showa supōtsu shi: Olinpikku 80 nen* [The history of Showa sports: 80 years of the Olympic movement] (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1976), pp. 24-25.

[93] "Tokio To Withdraw Team From Olympics," p. 1.

The Japanese media was not united in its condemnation of the striking Japanese athletes. *Hochi* agreed with their actions, condemning the "unfair measures of the American umpires which incurred the rightful wrath of the Japanese delegates." "Hochi Waxes Indignant," *The Manila Times*, 22 May 1925, p. 1.

[94] Hsu Yuan-ming, "Jindai Zhongguo canyu Yuandong yundonghui zhi tantao (1913-1934)," p. 53.

[95] *Beiyang huabao (Pei-yang Pictorial News)* 140 (23 November 1927), p. 2.

Philippine delegation.[96] The Chinese-Philippine soccer game, however, as it always seemed to do, quickly blew the polite exterior off these games. When players from both teams started fighting, the Chinese crowd quickly became violent, throwing bottles, hammers, knives and sticks at the opponents. Some fans even crashed down on the field to join the brawls themselves; the fights were eventually broken up by Boy Scouts, police, and meet officials. The Philippine team forfeited the match rather than continue playing under these conditions, but ended up deciding to play the second half of the game anyway to avoid provoking even more violence from the 16,000 paying fans in attendance![97] A foreign fan could thank the Scout and police peacemakers for helping him narrowly avoid being beaten up in the stands for cheering for the Philippine team. However, a *Shenbao* account stated that this was only after fans in his vicinity asked him to quit "interfering" with his prejudice and his criticism of the referees.[98]

Even with this attempt to be internationally neutral, the hostility toward the Filipino athletes (perhaps dark-skinned reminders of the Asian backwardness which Chinese hoped to escape through modern *tiyu*) even found its way into the evening

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[96] *The North-China Daily News*, 17 August 1927, p. 9.

[97] "Far Eastern Olympic Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 1 September 1927, p. 10.

The media refused to be good sports and forget these clashes; the next week the *Pei-Yang Pictorial News* printed a Philippine soccer team picture with a caption indicating the squad as "the brutish and violent (*chengxiong ouren*) Philippine soccer team." *Beiyang huabao (Pei-Yang Pictorial News)* 118 (3 September 1927), p. 2.

[98] Jin Huating, "Yuandong yundonghui de duanpian" [Far Eastern Championship Games news shorts], *Shenbao*, 30 August 1927, p. 10.

This Chinese "neutrality" was praised days later when another *Shenbao* writer compared the Eighth Games favorably with the partisan Sixth and Seventh Games held in Osaka and Manila. He commended the fundamental neutrality of the Chinese citizenry, a quality that Japanese would not understand, and the Chinese adherence to rules, part of the Chinese inheritance of several thousand years of history. Yide, "Guominxing zhi biaoxian" [Our citizens' fundamental nature on display], *Shenbao*, 3 September 1927, p. 11.

entertainment programs put on during these last Far Eastern Games of the 1920s.[99] A banquet was held at the end of the meet to honor the 500-plus visiting Japanese and Filipino athletes and officials. During a particularly lively dance number, many of the Filipinos began "crazily shouting, toasting and drinking," at which point head Games organizer Shen Siliang stood up and made an announcement, casting aside diplomacy in the face of a much more important and frightening racial threat. Shen warned the Chinese and Japanese women in the crowd not to leave that night with any Filipino men. The *Shenbao* reporter in attendance saw Shen's warning as quite unnecessary, but for reasons other than we might expect - he reminded readers that most Chinese women simply had more taste than to leave with these "pitch-black Filipinos."[100]

Conclusion

This bald racism and nationalism which was an integral part of each Far Eastern Championship Games seems an appropriate place to end this chapter, as it illustrates clearly the starkness of the nationalist vision of the Chinese physical culture community of the 1920s. Chinese *tiyu*'s "short 1920s," the period ending with the establishment of the Nationalist regime at Nanjing in 1928, underwent many transformations as it bridged the liberal democratic thought of May Fourth and the aggressive nationalism of

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[99] After these Eighth Far Eastern Games, they would abandon the biennial format followed since 1913, and beginning in 1930, switch to a quadrennial schedule with the Games held in non-Olympic even-numbered years.

[100] Jin Huating, "Yuandong yundonghui de duanpian" [Far Eastern Championship Games news shorts], *Shenbao*, 3 September 1927, p. 12.

Another *Shenbao* author wrote on the same banquet, ridiculing the Filipino men who didn't want to let go of their dancing partners when the music stopped, "their faces turning black," crying out "oh, oh" for the women to go back to their rooms with them. Lin Zemin, "Niwu zalu" [Dance until you drop, a random jotting], *Shenbao*, 4 September 1927, p. 10.

the Nanjing Decade. I see the 1920s as the last era in which Chinese physical culture was not enlisted and constrained by explicit Party-political "isms." It was, however, an integral part of Chinese concepts of modernity and of the nation. Chinese *tiyu* activists borrowed from Western ideas of the relationships between the individual (male and female) and national bodies, and then built on top of this model the structure of a nationalist physical culture which would allow China to repel imperialist aggression as the nation modernized along paths blazed by these very imperialists.

In the 1920s, it was possible to imagine the Chinese nation as perhaps a half-century-premature '69 Mets, an underdog team of determined individuals who could scrap back from previous humiliations and adversity to seize a national pennant and a world championship. And the Chinese did believe. Whether couched in terms of a scientific modernity that transcended culture, or a specifically nationalist and anti-imperialist program for a strong China, this 1920s drive, the *tiyu* "body-cultivation" became a commonsense factor of future Chinese nationalisms of all stripes.

This physical cultivation would soon take on different characteristics as the Guomindang state of the late 1920s and 1930s introduced new forms of, and new methods of distributing, a "mass physical culture" for all of Chinese society. The ideals of sportsmanship and individual responsibility to the team would fade with the 1930s reach to implement the model of the strong unified national-racial body. But the steps taken in the 1920s, including the liberal use of Western physical culture theory and practices, and the later switch to a more nationalist mode of *tiyu*, were necessary preludes to the militaristic physical culture programs and ideals of a Guomindang state facing very different conditions.

CHAPTER 5

Social Bodies and National Physiques

The glittering beauty of the lake,
Burning with the spirit of the Early Xia.
How many young men and women are there,
Who have mustered their energies one by one, never letting us down?!
Hurry, with your bronze tendons and iron chests,
Come together in sport, but ask if the land of today's China is well.
But to exchange our antiques for the golden cup,
This all depends on the bodies and skills of our youth.
How brave the struggle! How fierce the soldiers!
Willing someday to put on the cap and begin the long march,
to fight with one's sons against the common enemy.
- Official Song of the Zhejiang Provincial Games, 1937[1]

The Fourth National Games and the Guomindang's Foray into Physical Culture

On April 1, 1930, Chiang Kai-shek, Chairman of the National Government, stood before a body of 1627 national-class athletes on the grass field of the Zhejiang Provincial Stadium in Hangzhou. In his role as Honorary Chairman of the Fourth National Games, Chiang declared,

> Today the masses from all over our nation have come to join in this athletic meet. But what kind of influence will these National Games have on the Chinese nation-race (*minzu*)? I am here expressly to report on this. The Chinese nation's population of 400 millions and vast territory are unrivaled in the entire world. But the Chinese nation's status in the world, its international ranking, is not even third-class. This is our Chinese nation's greatest shame. And the reason is that our nation's physiques (or "national physique"? - *minzu tizhi*) are weak, causing people of other nations to look upon us lightly. Today's meet can be said to show the true spirit of the Chinese nation's wish for liberty and equality. It is also the ardent expression of support by outstanding elements nationwide for the national government. So the

[1] He Yousheng and Wu Mengfei, "Zhejiang quansheng yundonghuige" [Song of the Zhejiang Provincial Games], *Tushu zhanwang* 2.7 (May 1937).

> significance of today's National Games is to set a new national record for the health and success of our national physique(s) (*minzu tige*).[2]

Thus with all of modern *tiyu*'s contradictions laid out before these athletes - the tension between the national-racial *minzu* made of strong individual physiques and the fascist dream of a united *minzu* body, the assumption of the possibility of 1627 bodies representing the health and strength of some 400 millions, the conflation of quantifiable categories of elite competitive *tiyu* ("new national records"[3]) with abstract notions of a national supra-body - so began China's Fourth National Games. These 1627 athletes (1163 male, 464 female) came to Hangzhou to represent 13 provinces, 6 cities, Hong Kong and the Chinese population in Kobe. There were more than three times as many athletes in these National Games as in the last Games of 1924, but only one more province was represented than in 1924. Fourteen provinces were still unrepresented in an arrangement that reflected accurately the extent of Nanjing's control over the provinces at this time.[4]

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[2] *Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao* [The National Games official report] (Hangzhou, 1930), *Yanshuoci* [Speeches] section, p. 3. For ease of translation I render the phrase *minzu* as "nation," although, as discussed in my introduction, I usually prefer "nation-race." The term *minzu*, coming from the Japanese *minzoku*, itself a translation of European concepts of racial nations and national races, is as hard to define exactly in Chinese as it is to translate into English. I see the vagueness of the term, its position between ideas of a modern nation-state and a primeval race descending from the Yellow Emperor, as a key to the popularization of this term in the 1930s. As becomes evident in this chapter, this term was also crucial to the development of modern physical culture in China.

[3] This was a common trope in the 1930s. One writer described his worry that "our citizens might break the world records for the worst physiques and lowest level of hygiene." Tan Jihua, "Lun tiyu" [On physical culture], *Yanjiu yu pipan* 1.6 (1 November 1935), p. 91.

[4] Guizhou, Shaanxi, Shanxi and Henan all fielded teams in 1924, but did not in 1930. Sichuan, Suiyuan, Liaoning, Heilongjiang (Harbin) and Anhui were all newcomers to the National Games. The 14 provinces not represented in 1930 were: Guangxi, Guizhou, Yunnan, Xikang, Xinjiang, Qinghai, Gansu, Ningxia, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Henan, Chahar, Rehe, and Jilin. Of the localities represented, the largest delegation came from Shanghai, with 199 competitors. The smallest team came from Hebei Province, who sent a team of just nine men (a basketball team and individual track and field competitors). The sizes of all 21 delegations are listed in Table 5-1.

However, the meet was still described as a true breakthrough event in the Chinese *tiyu* world. Zhu Jiahua, then Commissioner of the Zhejiang Provincial Department of Civil Affairs, was Planning Director for the Games. In an essay written on these Fourth Games, Zhu referred to "the one or two previous National Games, which were merely embellished facades." He continued, "These Games are different. From the earliest planning to the closing ceremonies, one sees in every way the government's promotion of *tiyu* and its true concern for the people's spirit." Zhu praised the government's efforts to make these Games so inclusive - "no [locale] was too far away to be reached" - and "especially" congratulated the women athletes present who would "give hope to the fragile and weak women of China."[5] In another essay, Zhu went further in discussing the Nationalist Government's contribution. Where past National Games divided China's athletes into regional teams, this was the first to have teams representing individual provinces or cities. As Zhu wrote,

> This was changed so that athletes from all over the nation will be mobilized under the government's leadership and encouragement.... In the past, the average athlete had incorrect ideas like "sport for sport's sake" or "playing sports just to win prizes." But "sport for sport's sake is just as meaningless as talking about "eating for eating's sake, or studying for studying's sake." And "playing sports just to win prizes" is like talking about "studying just for an exam or just for a diploma" - even more ridiculous. The goal of sports, narrowly defined, is to develop the individual's physical fitness. But people cannot exist outside of society. Thus we can go even farther and say that besides aiming to develop the individual's fitness, [sport] also aims to develop the fitness (*tiyu*) of the entire body of society (*shehui quanti*). We hope that the athletes in this meet can dismantle those old incorrect ideas, and know that the guiding principles of this meet are to develop citizens'

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[5] Zhu Jiahua, "Duiyu Quanguo yundong dahui de ganxiang yu jinhou de xiwang" [Thoughts on the National Games and hopes for the future], *Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao, Lunzhu* [Essays] section, pp. 5-6.

physical fitness and to arouse the national-racial (*minzu*) spirit.[6]

Here it was again - the "social body" - but was this the same as the "*minzu* physique"? It is no coincidence that these metaphors or notions of a Chinese national body carried the day in this new era of unified Guomindang rule.

Held in conjunction with the Zhejiang Provincial Exhibition at West Lake, these Fourth National Games marked the new Nationalist Government's highly-publicized entry into the sports world. And initial planning for the meet proceeded in true Guomindang style. The Fourth National Games had been awarded to the city of Guangzhou (to be run by the Guangdong Provincial Athletic Federation) twice by the China National Amateur Athletic Federation. In 1924 the CNAAF set a 1926 date for the Games, but political conditions made these plans untenable. When the CNAAF met during the Far Eastern Games in Shanghai in May 1927 they again assigned the Fourth Games to Guangzhou for 1929. However, when the Zhejiang Provincial Government proposed holding a National Games as part of their West Lake Exhibition, the National Government ordered the CNAAF to cease their planning work. The Guangzhou bid was quickly discarded and the Games were given to the Zhejiang government to promote as a Guomindang- (and not CNAAF-) sponsored event.[7]

These Games were not the first physical culture efforts by the new Nationalist Government. Their most celebrated involvement in *tiyu* was the Central Martial Arts

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[6] Zhu Jiahua, "Quanguo yundong dahui zhi yiyi" [The significance of the National Games], *Quanguo yundong dahui yaolan* [Guided tour of the National Games] (Hangzhou: Quanguo yundong dahui xuanchuanbu, 1930), pp. 5-6.

[7] Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo tiyu fazhan shi* [The history of the development of Chinese sport] (Taibei: Guoli jiaoyu ziliaoguan, 1981), p. 136; Dong Shouyi, "Aolinpike yu Zhongguo" [The Olympics and China], in Ji Hongmin, Yu Xingmao and Lü Changfu, eds., *Aoyunhui yu Zhongguo* [The Olympics and China] (Beijing: Wenshi ziliao chubanshe, 1985), p. 19.

Academy (*Zhongyang guoshuguan*) established in Nanjing in 1928, discussed in Chapter Seven. The new Education Department's National Education Conference, held in 1928, passed eight resolutions on physical education, from the reintroduction of military training into high schools, to the call for public athletic grounds to be built at the county level throughout China, to new legislation on provincial high school physical education budgets.[8] In April 1929, Nanjing issued the new "Citizens' Physical Fitness Law" which, among other things, charged parents and guardians with the responsibility of seeing that their male and female children received a physical education, strictly prohibited any customs or practices which were harmful to the health of young people, and ruled that each hamlet, village, town and city was to build a public athletic grounds.[9] A Central *Tiyu* Research Society was established in Nanjing in 1929, with its own journal, *Tiyu zazhi* (Physical Culture).

However, it was the Guomindang's heavy participation and investment in the Fourth National Games that brought its involvement in the *tiyu* world to the forefront. And it was these Games which Wu Zhihui of the Central Reconstruction Commission called in his speech "the starting point for the Chinese *minzu*'s recovery of strength and vigor."[10] Yet besides the Guomindang's attempts to fill the space of the National Games with nationalist bravado and to redirect the focus of the meet towards the idea

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[8] Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Quanguo tizong wenshi ziliao bianshen weiyuanhui, eds, *Tiyu shiliao di 16 ji: Zhongguo jindai tiyu yijuean xuanbian* [Historical materials on physical education, Volume 16: Collection of resolutions on modern Chinese physical education] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 66-91.

[9] "Guomin tiyu fa" [Citizens' physical fitness law], Education Department Directive #262, 16 April 1929, reprinted in Wang Zengming, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo tiyu fagui* [Modern Chinese physical culture laws and regulations] (Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui Hebei fenhui, 1988), pp. 1-2.

[10] *Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao, Yanshuoci* [Speeches] section, p. 6.

of a social body or a "*minzu* physique," it was impossible to keep values of individualism and bourgeois capitalism from creeping into the Games from the nearby West Lake Exhibition. The main planner, Zhu Jiahua, was infatuated with the similarities between the National Games and the West Lake Exhibition's contributions to the development of Chinese industry and commerce.[11] And the editor of Shanghai's *The Young Companion* insisted on using even more blatant corporate analogies to describe his approval of sport and these Games:

> The special thing about modern competition is that it combines many smaller strengths into a larger strength, and combines larger strengths into even larger strengths. Every kind of sport thoroughly proves this principle. We can extend this principle to the modern business world, and see similar trends. Look at the film industry, where MGM and Paramount merge, as do Paramount and Warner Brothers. It's embarrassing to say this, but in China we always seem to go against this trend.... Whether it's politics or society, we can analyze the trend. When every larger unit divides into smaller units, and these units divide until the units can't get any smaller, then strength becomes weakness, until they can't get any weaker. If this happens, we are put at a disadvantage in this competitive world. Thus, we must emphasize organized sports training.[12]

The Fourth Games were full of these contradictions. Above Planning Director Zhu ridiculed the idea of participating in sport just to win prizes. On the other hand, the Prizes Section, one of 13 administrative divisions of the Games Planning Committee, was established specifically to distribute the 1192 prizes (or 0.73 prizes per Games participant!) donated by private companies, government bodies and enthusiastic pro-*tiyu* elites.[13] The Games Publicity Section circulated 32 different nationalist

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[11] "Choubei zhi jingguo" [The planning process], *Shenbao*, 1 April 1930, p. 11.

[12] Liang Desuo, "Bianzhe jiang hua" [The editor speaks], *Liangyou (The Young Companion)* 46 (April 1930), p. 2.

[13] Some prizes were donated with the stipulation that they be awarded to winners of specific events,

slogans, many of which emphasized the "mass" nature of a healthy *tiyu* for China: "Without healthy citizens we will never be able to create a strong nation and race," "Only with a strong and healthy body can one have a strong and healthy spirit, only with a strong and healthy spirit can one fulfill one's great responsibility," and "The whole world is watching these National Games."[14] Shao Yuanchong, representing the Central Party Department, seconded this approach when he told the Opening Ceremonies crowd that

> We should know that in the past the masses' attention to physical fitness and martial arts was always paid to the individual, and was never devoted to making healthy the entire society's physical fitness (*shehui tili*), or competing with other nations of the world. Now we must make sure that physical fitness and martial arts get brought down to the masses, and the masses are made to pay attention to physical fitness and martial arts, so as to make the nation-race (*minzu*) healthy and strong. This, then, will be the success of racial nationalism (*minzu zhuyi*).[15]

At the same time, however, these Games gave birth to a sports hero-worship never before seen in China, as two of the Republican period's greatest stars were born in these Games. Male sprinter Liu Changchun, from Dalian, won the 100, 200 and 400 meter races, ran anchor on the winning Liaoning 1600 meter relay foursome, and captured the track and field overall men's individual championship. The women's track

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like the silver plaque donated by the Fujian Provincial Education Department to be given to the 200 meter low hurdles champion, or the silver bowl given by a Miss Yu Fengzhi to be awarded to the women's 50 meter dash winner. Others, like the two plaques donated by the Suiyuan Provincial Government or the silver cup donated by the Zhejiang Sericulture Reform Farm, were awarded at the Prize Section's discretion. Still other items, like the 100 copies of *Sanmin zhuyi yu shijie datong* [The Three People's Principles and Utopia] donated by a Mr. Jiao Yitang, or the 100 copies of *Riben yanjiu* [Japan research] gifted by the *Japan Research Monthly* Society, were distributed evenly among the 21 teams. *Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao, Jiangpin zu* [Prizes Section] section, pp. 7-100.

[14] *Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao, Shiwu gu baogao* [General affairs group report] section, pp. 27-28.

[15] *Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao, Yanshuoci* [Speeches] section, p. 4.

and field individual champ was female sprinter Sun Guiyun, who won two sprint events (50 and 100 meters) and ran the anchor leg for her co-champion Harbin 200 meter relay team.[16] Hangzhou's city fathers were so struck by Liu's and Sun's dominating performances that they dedicated a "Changchun Road" and a "Guiyun Bridge" near the Provincial Stadium to the two stars.[17]

These were the contradictions that would characterize Chinese *tiyu* in the 1930s. The soul of sports, born long ago in industrializing England and America, would always pull its participants and spectators down the path laid down by the globalizing doctrine of capitalism, free competition between individuals free to sell their labor (or to exchange it for fabulous trophies and prizes). National forces, however, would never give up on this physical, disciplining domain of health and strength

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[16] Liu and Sun took home amazing prize hauls for their efforts. Liu was awarded four gold medals, two silver cups (donated by Qingdao Mayor Ge Jing'en and the Shanghai Chinese Merchants Securities Exchange), a silver *ding* cauldron (Guangzhou Mayor Lin Yungai), two silver *jue* pitchers (Education Department, Administrative Yuan), two silver plaques (Control Yuan, Judicial Yuan Director Wang Chonghui), a silver flower vase (Henan Provincial Government), a jeweled sword (West Lake Museum Director), three championship banners (Jiangsu Education Department, Hubei Guomindang Regulation Committee, Shanghai Hequn Insurance Company), an enamel frame (China Enamel Factory), a tennis racket (The Commercial Press), a portable muscle trainer (Chu Minyi), a fountain-ballpoint pen set (Wing On Company), three bathing suits (Sanyou Enterprises), and four dozen handkerchiefs (Anli Foreign Goods House) - before the team prizes for which he was so largely responsible.

Sun garnered two gold medals, two silver cups (Shandong Education Department Director He Siyuan, Hangzhou Tax Department), two silver *jue* pitchers (Education Department, Administrative Yuan), four silver plaques (Fujian Provincial Government Committee member Ding Chaowu, Jiangxi Provincial Government, Shanghai Chinese Merchants Securities Exchange, National Games Committee), two silver bowls (Fujian Provincial Government, Ms. Yu Fengzhi), two championship banners (Anhui Provincial Education Department, Guangdong Provincial Chairman Chen Mingshu), an enamel frame (China Enamel Factory), a fountain-ballpoint pen set (Wing On), two bolts of fabric (Sanyou), and three dozen handkerchiefs (Anli) - again besides any prizes her Harbin team collected. *Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao, Jiangpin zu* [Prizes section] section, pp. 36, 38, 39-40, 59, 85, 87-89.

[17] Interview with Dong Hanwen, Taipei, 30 January 1997; Dai Shizeng, "Liuwang Beiping qijian de Dongbei tiyu xiejinhui" [The Northeastern Sports Federation during the time of exile in Beiping]. *Beijing tiyu wenshi* 1 (April 1984), p. 17.

seemingly so tailor-made for national goals.

In Chapter Four I discussed how the core of this modern sports in fact was wrapped tightly in a national hide - how sporting participation in China was closely linked to ideas of participation in a national effort to create a strong and unified China that could survive and thrive in the modern world. This atmosphere of national unity was everywhere at Hangzhou's National Games. From the accommodations provided to athletes (converted military barracks, women 32-36 to a room and men 70 to a room, furnished with a newspaper reading room and telegraph service),[18] to the modern-themed evening entertainment provided for the athletes (the film "True Face of a Woman," a film on the recent U.S. National Track Meet at Chicago, or the Jinling Drama Company production of "After Returning Home," a play about a modern youth and his old-style family)[19], to the games themselves (being able to participate in or watch a soccer game between Liaoning and Zhejiang or a women's volleyball game between Beiping and Jiangxi)[20], the National Games were a chance for the sporting elite of all these different locales to mingle and engage in fair competition, to teach and learn from each other, in the modernizing atmosphere of Hangzhou.

Yet somehow this vision of a sporting, modern-minded nation was never

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[18] *Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao, Zhaodai zu* [Accommodations section] section. p. 1.

[19] Pan Chuji. "Anhui sheng xuanshoutuan canjia si jie Quanyunhui de riji" [Diary of the Anhui team's participation in the Fourth National Games], *Anhui tiyu shiliao* 5 (October 1983). pp. 31-32.

[20] However, at times the inequality between coastal and inland areas of China was brought very clearly to the surface - for example, when the Tianjin men's basketball team defeated the Jiangxi squad 153-4. Even despite this grotesque disparity, the Games official report still tried to put a happy national face on the slaughter: "This kind of score is unprecedented. But both teams competed with all their might. The one side was not arrogant and proud in victory; the other was not discouraged or despondent in defeat. Both teams struggled to the end; this will and spirit is genuinely admirable." *Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao, Yundong chengji jilu* [Record of scores section] section. pp. 34-36.

enough for the Guomindang, either at these National Games, or through the 1930s, when it became increasingly insufficient for the needs of the ruling Party. As Zhu Jiahua wrote, these 1930 Games and this collection of healthy Chinese bodies would allow Chinese to begin to prove that the old "Sick Man of East Asia" line was now just an outdated joke. But to truly prove it false once and for all would require "a healthy and flawless spirit, which requires a healthy and flawless physique. Only by gathering tens and tens of millions of citizens with healthy and flawless physiques can we have a healthy and flawless *minzu* and culture."[21] The nationalizing influences that modern sport brought to the youth of China were no longer enough, as the Guomindang began hoping to exploit this phenomenon even further. They hoped to create not only strong individuals who could then work together to form a strong nation, but in fact to use physical culture to create a strong "*minzu* physique," a strong *minzu* nation-race which could far surpass the accomplishments of a nation fashioned together of strong individuals. Lloyd Eastman has discussed the fear of liberalism and its attendant individualism among fascist elements in the Guomindang.[22] The same distrust can be seen in the Guomindang's handling of Chinese physical culture during the Nanjing Decade. Chinese sport was explicitly politicized for the first time, as a heavy *minzu* nation-race seasoning was consistently spread over the liberal nation-state flavors inherent to modern sport.

Sport and physical exercise are clearly prime sites for the production of liminal moments outside of conventional social structures of power and authority. As

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[21] Zhu Jiahua, "Dahui zhi yiyi" [The significance of these Games], *Shenbao*, 1 April 1930, p. 11.

[22] Lloyd E. Eastman, *The Abortive Revolution: China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1974), pp. 44-45.

explained in Chapter Three, modern Chinese *tiyu* too was an arena where authoritarian systems of rule could be questioned and momentarily cast aside, in favor of fun and sweat and individual competition. Thus the need for the Guomindang state to politicize this bodily realm as they did, casting it with meanings of a single Chinese nation-race moving as one, maneuvering vigilantly through a world wrought with imperialist aggression and national shame and extinction. The liberal democratic *tiyu* of the 1920s was based on notions of the self-disciplining capacity of a modern citizenry. Understanding the fundamental unreliability of the easily distracted or misled individual, however, Guomindang agents now aimed to centralize this realm, extending a new *tiyu* arm of the state to these disciplining and stabilizing functions.

A New Mass *Tiyu*

Perhaps the most significant development of the 1930s Chinese physical culture world was the invention of a new "mass *tiyu*" to correct the problems inherent to Western bourgeois forms of sport spread by and for the elites of Chinese society. *Tiyu* discipline in the 1930s was centered on the concept of spreading (*puji*) physical culture to all elements of the Chinese population, creating a "*tiyu* for society" (*shehui tiyu*) or a "*tiyu* for the masses" (*minzhong tiyu*). This mass *tiyu* would be designed to strengthen the national and social body by extending the benefits of a scientific physical training and bodily education not only to national-class athletes, but also to China's common masses who, as one author explained, "120% need *tiyu* to better and transform their lives."[23]

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[23] Shang Shumei, "Minzhong tiyu" [Physical culture for the masses], *Kexue de Zhongguo* 2.8 (15 October 1933), p. 32.

The foremost leader in this field of mass *tiyu* was Wang Geng, a native of Yunyang County, Jiangsu, and student of Charles McCloy. After graduating in 1926 from the Southeastern University *Tiyu* Department, Wang served as *Tiyu* Director of the Shanghai Provincial Second Normal School, Zhejiang Provincial Fourth and Tenth High Schools, and the Jiangsu Provincial Mass Education College.[24] In a 1931 book, Wang asked, "What is *tiyu* for society?" The answer he listed was fivefold:

> 1. *Tiyu* for society increases the health rate of the masses (*minzhong zhi jiankanglü*)....
> 2. *Tiyu* for society is a benefit (*fuli*) given to the masses. Of all the most terrible suffering in our nation today, none is worse than poverty. But the basic causes behind poverty are disease and weakness. When people are unable to work, there are too few producers in society and too many dependents. The result is a kind of sick, energy-less society. If we promote *tiyu* for society and get the masses all to have healthy bodies and minds, then this kind of suffering will end.
> 3. *Tiyu* for society cultivates a strong will among the masses. When *tiyu* develops in society and the masses all have the opportunity to receive proper *tiyu* training, then the bad habits of fatalistic resignation against one's principles (*gou'an*), fear and oversentimentality will all be wiped away.
> 4. *Tiyu* for society gives rise to the special characteristics shared by our nation's people since antiquity.... benevolence, righteousness, loyalty, honesty and perseverance will flourish even more brightly with the power of *tiyu*.
> 5. *Tiyu* for society leads to a peaceful society. The unpeaceful elements in society consist mostly of the unemployed. The reason they have no work is usually due to physical defects or weakness. But these defects all can be corrected with the power of a *tiyu* for society. Also, if people do not have places they can go for proper entertainment, they will get involved in improper activities and turn into criminals.[25]

Wang's specialty was the design and maintenance of public athletic grounds

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[24] Wang Geng, *Minzhong tiyu shishifa* [Mass *tiyu* implementation methods] (Shanghai: Qinfen shuju, 1933), opposite p. 1.

[25] Wang Geng, *Gonggong tiyuchang* [Public athletic grounds] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheng jiaoyuting, 1931), pp. 2-3.

(*gonggong tiyuchang*); this would be the most important element of this *tiyu* program to pacify, discipline and strengthen Chinese society. As another specialist wrote, "Each person who comes to the athletic grounds is one less person in the teahouses, taverns, gambling dens and brothels."[26]

The Education Department's 1934 yearbook contained 25 pages of statistics on public athletic grounds in 24 Chinese provinces and six municipalities, listing budgets, facilities and personnel information for 1110 such grounds nationwide.[27] On the high end were facilities like the Jiangsu Provincial Public Athletic Grounds at Zhenjiang, located outside the old city's south gate. Blessed with annual funding of 17,000 *yuan*, the grounds were built on 37,000 square meters, and were furnished with track and field, soccer, basketball, tennis, gymnastics and ping-pong equipment.[28] Even management was top-notch; Grounds Director Wu Bangwei, a graduate of Nanjing Higher Normal School, taught and served as P.E. Director at Fujian's Jimei School, Nanjing's Southeastern University, and St. John's, Guanghua and Jinan Universities in Shanghai before taking the new Zhenjiang Grounds post in 1930.[29] The 17,000 *yuan* Wu had to work with in Zhenjiang could have funded some of China's lower-end public athletic grounds for centuries - like Guangxi's Tianhe County Public Grounds,

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[26] Wang Zhuangfei, *Tiyuchang zhinan* [Public athletic grounds guide] (Shanghai: Qinfen shuju, 1931), p. 65.

[27] The only provinces listing no public athletic grounds were Jilin, Suiyuan and Xinjiang. I have summarized these statistics in Table 5-2.

[28] Jiaoyubu Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Di yi ci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian* [First Chinese education yearbook] (Nanjing, 1934; Taibei: Zongqing tushu gongsi, reprint), *Bing bian* (Volume 3), p. 913.

[29] "Jinxiandai tiyu renwu" [Physical education figures of the modern and contemporary eras], *Jiangsu tiyu wenshi* 11 (June 1989), p. 27.

built in 1931 with an annual budget of five *yuan*, or Yunnan's Huaping County Public Grounds, which got by on 22 *yuan* a year. Whatever the budget, however, these public grounds were built and maintained for the same purpose of creating through sport and physical exercise a healthy, disciplined and occupied citizenry. As Director Shang Shumei of the Shandong Provincial Public Athletic Grounds explained, "The entire district should be treated as a school, and the entire body of the population are students. One should give advice, assist and teach in the beginning, with voluntary participation and self-administration as the goal."[30] In 1931, the Education Department's Directive #669 contained instructions on what events to include in the yearly (spring or autumn) "mass amateur sports meets" to be held at city- and county-level grounds. Martial arts, track and field, swimming, basketball, volleyball, soccer, baseball, tug-of-war and weightlifting were suggested, although the directive noted that events could be added or eliminated according to "local conditions."[31]

The bodies of China's urban residents received the most attention, as the possibilities of unrest in their city homes posed such a threat to the state. Expert Wang Zhuangfei saw cities like his native Shanghai, with their population density, suffocating jobs and moral decay, as "great ovens that can destroy the human vitality passed down for millennia," leading to suicide, crime, vagrancy and poverty. But public *tiyu* facilities would be better than any medicine in curing these ills, as they served these five

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[30] Shang Shumei, "Minzhong tiyu," p. 34. Shang recommended distributing publications, holding related speeches and performances, showing movies, posting slogans and wall posters, sponsoring athletic meets, *tiyu* classes, health contests, *tiyu* exhibitions and roving *tiyu* instructors.

[31] "Minzhong yeyu yundonghui banfa dawang" [Outline of mass amateur sports meet planning methods], Education Department Directive #669, 8 April 1931, reprinted in Chengdu tiyu xueyuan tiyushi yanjiusuo, ed., *Zhongguo jidai tiyushi ziliao* [Materials from modern Chinese physical culture history] (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), pp. 220-221.

goals: "(1) Getting the circulation going, improving the body's organization (*shenti de zuzhi*). (2) Training the will, cultivating a spirit of cooperation. (3) Harmonizing the spirit, adjusting to the listlessness of life. (4) Recovering from exhaustion, charging up one's work efficiency. (5) Good use of free time, avoidance of mean and debauched paths."[32] These goals were all of vital importance to the urban order that the state hoped to build; as Wang wrote,

> The laborer and merchant communities need free-time exercise (*yeyu yundong*) just as students need extracurricular sports; we are all human, and all deserve the equal right to pursue health and happiness. And the laborer and merchant communities of this city [Shanghai] need free-time exercise even more urgently than do the laborers and merchants of other areas. This is because this city is China's foremost marketing and commercial center; if the hundreds of thousands of workers and merchants are not able to find health and happiness, this will pose great danger to society.[33]

A "*tiyu* for society" would thus train the entire social body, disciplining the whole workings and suppressing any behavioral aberrations of Chinese society as it worked the muscles of the masses.

But the social trainers in China's universities and educational organizations did not treat the masses as a single entity; rather, they realized the different programs that would be needed to reach each segment of mass society. As the Education Department advised, "For the masses of the peasant, worker and merchant communities, all manner of methods should be used, at any time and any place, to get people interested in, paying attention to, and provoking their desires toward *tiyu*."[34] Cheng Dengke, a

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[32] Wang Zhuangfei, *Tiyuchang zhinan*, pp. 8-14.

[33] These comments were made with regard to the recent formation of the Shanghai First Municipal Public Athletic Grounds Laborer-Merchant Amateur Soccer Club. Wang Zhuangfei, *Tiyuchang zhinan*, p. 94.

[34] "Guomin tiyu shishi fang'an" [Program for the implementation of citizens' *tiyu*], *Jiaoyubu gongbao*

Chongqing native educated at the *Reichshochschule für Leibesübungen* (German National Sports Institute), envisioned a Citizens' *Tiyu* Office (*Guomin tiyu shu*) with 18 separate departments (*chu*) to execute all the functions needed to spread *tiyu* throughout society.[35] Wang Geng saw the need for a separate women and children's area at athletic grounds, since "women's and children's capacity for exercise and interest in exercise is different from that of adult men.... [the area] should have lots of plants and flowers, since women and children all love flowers, and this will make them happy to come exercise."[36] In 1935 treatises on mass *tiyu*, two writers published independently nearly identical schemes for the classification of programs for mass *tiyu* work:

> 1. Classification by age: Young children, Children, Youth, Adult, Elderly.
> 2. Classification by organizational unit: Individual, Family, School, Society, Military-Police, Party, Nation.
> 3. Classification by profession: Farmer, Worker, Merchant, Student, Military-Police, Bureaucrat.
> 4. Classification by sex: Male, Female.[37]

4.43-44 (6 November 1932), p. 79.

[35] This Office would be administered jointly by the Interior Department, Education Department and Training Supervision Department. Its 18 branches would be devoted to: couseling, general affairs, publication, construction, youth, women, athletic meets, statistics, village *tiyu*, publicity, martial arts, testing, training, scholastic affairs, military and police *tiyu*, worker and merchant *tiyu*, society *tiyu*, and supervision. Cheng Dengke, "Zhongguo jinhou minzhong tiyu yingyou zhi dongxiang" [The direction Chinese mass *tiyu* should take from this day forward], *Guoshu, tiyu, junshi* 29 (17 May 1934) [Weekly feature in *Zhongguo ribao*], p. 8.

[36] Wang Geng, "Minzhong tiyuchang zhi lilun yu shiji" [Mass athletic grounds, theory and practice], *Jiaoyu yu minzhong* 4.6 (February 1933), p. 1008.

[37] It is not clear who plagiarized whom, but Shu omitted the party from category 2, while Yu omitted merchants from his category 3. Yu Jinxiang, "Jinhou wuguo minzhong tiyu yingyou zhi dongxiang" [Directions our nation's mass *tiyu* should follow from this day on], *Tiyu zazhi* 1 (4 April 1935), p. 16; Shu Yifan, "Ruhe fazhan wuguo minzhong tiyu" [How to develop our nation's mass *tiyu*], *Hanxue yuekan* (1 May 1935), pp. 32-33.

Yu then listed 15 different types of locations where mass *tiyu* steps would have to be taken, including: mass athletic grounds, public pools and rinks, public exercise rooms, sunbathing facilities, village teahouses, park exercise areas, women and children's exercise areas, children's playgrounds, school, military, police, factory, store and hospital *tiyu* departments, union exercise facilities, and martial arts academies.[38]

One of the greatest areas of concern was the Chinese farming village and - as one Anqing *tiyu* activist described them - "the remote and backward village schools, where no one ever even mouths the two words 'physical education.'"[39] In the village schools where *tiyu* was taught, as another writer pointed out, teachers did not understand the principles of *tiyu* and hygiene, and did not take their young students' psychology into account when selecting activities for instruction.[40] A student at Shanghai's East Asia Physical Education School wrote in 1935 to the editors of *The Chin Fen Sports Monthly* on the defects of village youths' bodies - their shirts off, they looked the picture of healthy beauty (*jiankang mei*), but in truth their muscles were not agile or flexible, since the motions of their work were so heavy and repetitive.[41] It was clear to this Shanghai student that the modern gymnastics and corrective exercises he suggested for these village youth would be more beneficial to their bodies than the undisciplined movements of their daily pre-capitalist tasks.

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[38] Yu Jinxiang, "Jinhou wuguo minzhong tiyu yingyou zhi dongxiang," p. 17.

[39] Yu Zizhen, "Xiangcun xiaoxue tiyu jiaocai yu shebei" [Physical education instruction materials and equipment for village elementary schools], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 4.1 (October 1936), p. 44.

[40] Huo Liangui, "Gaijin xiangcun xiaoxue tiyu de wojian" [My opinions on reforming village elementary school physical instruction], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 4.3 (December 1936), p. 253.

[41] Zhang Zhenguo, "Nongcun qingnian suo xu de tiyu huodong" [The *tiyu* activities that village youth need], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.11 (August 1935), pp. 751-752.

Another problem, as Suzhou Agricultural School P.E. Instructor Chu Jianhong explained, was that peasants made up 85% of China's population, but were simply like "loose sand," not understanding the spirit of solidarity and struggle or the virtues of courage and sacrifice. In 1935, Chu introduced a village *tiyu* program, centered around a village-level public athletic grounds, that would: give peasants the chance to have healthy and developed bodies, imbue (*guanshu*) peasants with hygiene knowledge, cultivate the habit of entertainment through sports and games, cultivate a spirit of cooperation, solidarity, chivalry, courage and initiative, and promote peasant societal interaction and destroy the dangerous class consciousness (*jieji guannian*) among the people. The project would be funded by tobacco and alcohol taxes, county mass education funds, and proceeds from showing *tiyu*-related films and selling *tiyu* stamps and photos. Village *tiyu* work would include compiling a detailed survey of each village resident's sex, age, hobbies and activities, organizing teams and competitions, holding women's and children's Health Competitions, collecting peasants' opinions, and regular health and hygiene inspections.[42]

Another author hoped to transform traditional Chinese festival activities into "mass *tiyu* holidays" like those celebrated by the Greeks of old. Wang Fudan attributed the strength of the ancient Greek nation in part to the regular observance of the four "mass *tiyu* holidays" Olympia, Pythia, Nemea and Isthmia. Wang suggested that regulated mass participation in physical activities associated with four Chinese holidays - the Lantern Festival (parading with lanterns to the beating of drums), Tomb-

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[42] Chu Jianhong, "Shishi xiangcun tiyu juti fang'an" [Concrete proposal for the implementation of village *tiyu*], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.6 (March 1936), pp. 475-478. Chu's plan also would rely on a village-level version of the *Tiyu* Experimental Zone introduced below.

Sweeping Day (hikes, flying kites), Dragon Boat Festival (dragon boat races), and Old Persons' Day (mountain hikes) - could serve the same function for China. With competitions in lantern parades and kite-flying held on public *tiyu* grounds, and hikes and mountain climbs on designated peaks in each area, Wang suggested that formal administration of these holidays could turn these traditional activities into *tiyu* forms beneficial to the fitness of the Chinese nation-race.[43]

An important administrative innovation designed to measure the spread of *tiyu* among society was the *Tiyu* Experimental Zone (*Tiyu shiyan qu*), born of the need "to investigate the individual histories of people who come to exercise, and to understand the progress of *tiyu* for society in each locale."[44] The Education Department's 1932 program for citizens' *tiyu* required that every provincial and municipal education department establish such a program. P.E. experts would be distributed to experimental centers all around China, where they would be assisted by *Tiyu* Advisors from each county, representatives from Mass Education and Peasant Education Institutes, security, hygiene and police departments, and public athletic grounds managers. Funded by the provincial or municipal education department, the center would hold seasonal athletic meets, run sports leagues, teach approved scientific martial arts forms, lead morning calisthenics for merchants, distribute *tiyu*-related publications, hold *tiyu* expositions, carry out local health inspections, and even hold annual Health Contests for men, women and children! Keeping careful track of the

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[43] Wang Fudan, "Minzhong tiyu jieqi zhi jianyi" [A suggestion on mass physical culture holidays], *Tiyu yanjiu yu tongxun* 4.1 (December 1936), reprinted in Chengdu tiyu xueyuan tiyushi yanjiusuo, ed., *Zhongguo jidai tiyushi ziliao* [Materials from modern Chinese physical culture history] (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), pp. 45-48.

[44] "Guomin tiyu shishi fang'an," p. 80.

personal particulars of participants in these *tiyu* activities, the center could then use these aggregate profiles to work to spread *tiyu* knowledge in the entire province.[45] Thus, mass surveillance (and mass number-crunching) was the key to the state's mass *tiyu* program. Where 1920s liberal democratic *tiyu* relied on the self-disciplining capacity of the Chinese citizenry, the Guomindang sought to centralize this process, bringing functions of disciplining and classification back within the state's reach.

Private institutions also followed the state's mass *tiyu* lead. In 1933, Nankai School *Tiyu* Director Zhang Jiwu boasted that his school rejected the "Commercialism" and "Professionalism" so prevalent in individualistic Western sports like tennis and track and field, and moved towards trends of "Proletarianism" and "Athletics for the Masses" in team sports like volleyball.[46] This trend had begun even earlier at Nankai, as the school instituted mandatory physical standards testing (*yundong biaozhun ceyan*) for all male students. Nankai authorities went about encouraging their students by printing in the school paper the owners of the best and worst scores in all four testing events! So as students in 1931 were full of admiration for their peer Liu Sijiu, who scored top marks in the 100 meter dash and long jump, they could scorn weaklings like

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[45] "Guomin tiyu shishi fang'an," pp. 81-82. These efforts were carried out very conscientiously at the Jiangxi Provincial Athletic Grounds in Nanchang, where a Research Division was established to investigate and compile statistics on *tiyu* participants' personal and family life conditions. I have not found copies of the questionnaires that were distributed among the citizens who came to the grounds to play and work out. However, the Research Division did compile statistics on the *jie* classification of all the 627,324 participants who registered at the grounds in 1934. These numbers are included in Table 5-3. Statistics were also compiled for participation in different activities on the grounds; by far the favorite was basketball, with at least 10,000 Nanchang residents playing every month. *Jiangxi shengli tiyuchang shishi gongzuo zongbaogao* [Jiangxi Provincial Athletic Grounds final work report] (Nanchang: Jiangxi shengli tiyuchang, 1935), pp. 2-3, tables after p. 58.

[46] Zhang Jiwu, "Nankai xuexiao bannian lai quxiao xuanshouzhi hou de xin shiyan" [Nankai school's new experiments half a year after ending the athete system], *Tiyu zhoubao: Zhounian jinian tekan* (21 January 1933), p. 8. These English terms were used with Chinese translations.

Wu Weizhen, who finished with the lowest long jump (6'7") and shotput (10'0") marks. In 1932, last-place finishers like Meng Zhuang (21.5 seconds in the 100 meter dash) were derided in the *Nankai Weekly* as "worse than grade school girls."[47] The task of spreading ideas of physical fitness, even within elite institutions, was thus tackled with equally brute force, as standards of normality were impressed upon individuals by the weight of peer pressure, print media, and the sexism of the burgeoning masculine *minzu* nation.

Tiyu for China's Female Masses

This drive for a mass physical culture would have to provide for the physical fitness of the women of China as well, and the discourse on this theme of Chinese women's *tiyu* can again serve as a window into changing views of women's place in a modern Nationalist China. Programs for women's *tiyu* were still a great concern of the men charged with designing China's new *minzu*-centric physical culture, but now their plans also were tempered by the emergence of a cadre of female *tiyu* experts who now sought to add their particular feminine expertise to the field. Fan Hong understands women's *tiyu* programs under the 1930s New Life Movement as providing "an enhanced opportunity to free their bodies further through exercise."[48] I would suggest, however, that "liberation" or "freedom" are sorely inappropriate models within which

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[47] "Yundong biaozhun ceyan zhi jieguo" [Physical standards testing results], *Nankai zhoukan* 120 (15 December 1931), and "Benxiao yundong chengji ceyan" [Our school's physical standards testing], *Nankai zhoukan* (29 November 1932), both reprinted in Wang Wenjun, Liang Jisheng, Yang Xun, Zhang Shujian, and Xia Jiashan, eds. *Nankai daxue xiaoshi ziliaoxuan (1919-1949)* [Selected materials on the history of Nankai University,] (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1989), pp. 583, 588.

[48] Fan Hong, *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom: The Liberation of Women's Bodies in Modern China* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1997), p. 237.

to describe the intense body discipline and self-understanding into which *tiyu*-active women entered in the 1930s mass *tiyu* movement.

In Chapter Four, I described the efforts of the male managers of Chinese physical culture as a series of relatively consistent attempts to constrain women's physical culture to domestic, traditionally female spheres of society. By the 1930s, programs suggested by men were no longer so uniform, now varying from the Neanderthal to the benevolently paternalistic. The notorious eugenicist Pan Guangdan publicly addressed the "exercise fever" sweeping through women's communities in Shanghai, opining that women should not be encouraged to exercise at all. Participation in activities like tennis, cycling or basketball simply were too dangerous in terms of women's reproductive health, therefore threatening his vision of a China managed by the philosophy of "more-sons-and-grandsons-ism" (*duo zi duo sun zhuyi*).[49] The American-educated physical education expert, and head of the Education Department's Sports Standards Research group, Wu Yunrui, was impressed by what he learned on a fact-finding tour through Great Britain, France and Germany. He became an ardent supporter of women's *tiyu* programs, but not out of any progressive motives. In 1935 he wrote,

> Women's physical fitness is very important in terms of managing the household and the family. The woman's responsibilities in the household are cooking and cleaning. The former requires preparing three meals a day; if this presents too heavy of a burden, then there is no way that one can triumph in this work. In addition to the three meals, there is also the latter, cleaning and sweeping and tidying up, which can easily exhaust the spirit and fatigue the body. Again, if the body is

[49] "Nüzi yundong yingxiang shengyu" [The effects of women's exercise on reproduction], *Shenbao*, 18 June 1929, p. 3.

weak, then there is no way to succeed in these tasks.[50]

Many authors based their ideas for women's fitness programs on what they saw as basic scientifically-defined differences between female and male bodies. One thesis on girls' lack of physical strength was based on a new branch of science the author called "physiopsychology."[51] Another writer used science, and fittingly, metaphors of modern popular culture and consumption, to directly challenge the notion that equality between the sexes would result in identical *tiyu* regimens for men and women:

> This type of theory [of equality between the sexes] only brings great harm to our nation's women ... So-called "male-female equality" does not mean that women must do whatever men do. This is not equality; in fact it is inequality. For example [this is like saying that] if women can give birth, equality can only be achieved if men give birth too. So-called equality [must recognize that] women have a heavier biological responsibility.... To take another example, if a near-sighted person and someone who is not near-sighted sit in the same row to watch a performance, is this equal? With regard to equality, direct equality is not absolute equality.
>
> For the sake of distorting the true meaning of male-female equality, women's participation in men's sports has resulted in quite a few tragedies that make one want to weep in sorrow. Women's biological inheritance, their physiology and anatomy are different from men's; we should not have women participating in the same kinds of competition as men ... the price is a biological tragedy.[52]

Not all were so dismissive of women's participation in "men's" sports; two other authors wrote in 1933 that this idea was "a question very worth considering.... Physically and mentally, there are many natural differences between males and females.

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[50] Wu also wrote that "the homes of the German people would win the world championship of cleanliness." Wu Yunrui, "Wuguo minzu fuxing zhong nüzi tiyu zhi zhongyao" [The importance of women's physical education in the revival of our nation-race], *Tiyu zazhi* 1.1 (4 April 1935), p. 1.

[51] Ding Zuyin, "Tiyu de xinli yanjiu (shang)" [Psychological research into physical education, Part 1], *Xiaoxue jiaoshi banyuekan* 4.10 (1 February 1937), pp. 29-32.

[52] Zhou Xingjian, "Tan funü tiyu" [On women's sports], *Renyan zhoukan* 12 (5 May 1934), p. 258.

This is not to say that females are inferior to males in any way, but rather that females have their own specifically female characteristics; female sport should be suited to these characteristics and should develop along the lines of these characteristics."[53] The proof for this suggestion lay in their measurements of the differences between blood cell count, bone weight, muscle weight, and muscle water content figures for men and women. The authors concluded, "This is not to say that females should not participate in modern competitive sport; those who want to participate, should. But as for selecting which types of sports, and choosing a level of intensity, the female nature must be kept firmly in mind. By no means should women just blindly try to keep up with men."[54] However, this discussion of biological difference between men and women could be used for other ends as well. In 1937, *Physical Education Quarterly* published in translation a piece by Dr. Edgar V. Allen of the Mayo Clinic, who used his research on heart and digestive ailments to conclude that women were actually the stronger of the two sexes![55]

Cheng Dengke seemed to understand just how unique, liminal and powerful a position was held by women in the physical culture community. In 1935 Cheng wrote an open letter to the most recent graduates of Central University's Physical Education Department, his new "comrades" (*tongzhi*) in the *tiyu* community. He made ten requests of the graduates as a group, but made eight more points specifically to the

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[53] Xue Deyu and Gu Hengde, *Nannü de jingji he weisheng* [Men's and women's sports and hygiene] (Shanghai: Dongya shudian, 1933), p. 55. This book was published as part of a "Science knowledge popularization" series.

[54] Xue Deyu and Gu Hengde, *Nannü de jingji he weisheng*, p. 57.

[55] Edgar V. Allen, translated by Wu Zhiren, "Liangxing jian shei wei ruozhe" [Who is the weaker of the two sexes?], *Tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 3.1 (March 1937), pp. 11-12.

women graduates about their new responsibilities as "female *tiyu* comrades":

> (1) New female *tiyu* comrades, you must understand clearly - women are the mothers of citizens. If the [female] body is deficient in any way, this will affect the physiques of our citizens, and will directly determine the fate of our nation - survival or extinction....
> (2) ... you are the mothers of New China, and all our eyes are on the women of our nation....
> (3) ... you are the engineers who will build the New Woman....
> (4) ... you are the needle in the compass of women's health and fitness....
> (5) ... you are the nurses and caretakers of women....
> (6) ... you are the models and teachers of hygiene....
> (7) ... you are the heroes and leaders of the women of New China....
> (8) ... the Oriental skin-as-white-as-paper sickly beauty is not really beautiful. Using makeup to add color only ends up making one lose their true face; it makes one uglier, not more beautiful....[56]

The female "*tiyu* comrades" graduating from Chinese institutions faced these drastic expectations as they entered into this crucial realm of the Chinese nation-state in crisis.

By the 1930s there had emerged a new group of female physical education experts, who used their scientific and specialist educations to create their own justifications and conditions for a women's physical culture. Xiang Xianggao, one of these experts, wrote in *The Republican Daily News* in 1929 on women's physical fitness and its relation to women's position in society. Xiang cited late 19th century archaeological finds which proved that ancient societies were controlled by women - until men began training their bodies. "[Men] practiced at running, wrestling and fighting, throwing and leaping. As a result their physiques became stronger by the day, and this spelled the elimination of female [dominance] (*nüxing taotai*)."[57] Xiang

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[56] Cheng Dengke, "Xie gei xin biye de tiyu tongzhimen" [A letter to my newly-graduated comrades in physical culture], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.10 (July 1935), pp. 669-671.

[57] Xiang Xianggao, "Nüzi tiyu yu nüzi de jianglai" [Women's physical fitness and women's future], *Minguo ribao (The Republican Daily News)*, 23 January 1929, *Qingnian funü* [Young women] section p. 1.

understood physical fitness as a way for women to "retake" a role in Chinese society. She cited, as proof of women's decline in societies all over the world, the fact that skulls of Stone Age women averaged 2200-2400 cubic centimeters in volume, to an average of just 1338 cubic centimeters for modern women! Xiang wrote,

> I dare say, if women want to be rid of all the layers of oppression and to take back our natural women's rights, we must revive our inherent abilities. To revive these inherent abilities we must first strengthen our own bodies, and to strengthen our bodies, we absolutely must pay great attention to physical culture.... The women's abilities of which I speak are not simply the abilities to be a virtuous wife and doting mother, but the ability to be a strong and fit member of society.... So physical training should follow more radical suggestions - and not the light and easy, cultured and refined dance, or the soft and tender, leisurely and slow calisthenics. Only then will we be able to get things done. We should learn the skills of track and field, the warlike courage of martial arts, the team spirit of ball sports, and the strength and vitality of other outdoor activities.... Fellow women! If you want to know your future, from this day on look to your physical fitness![58]

The theme of women's participation in competitive sports was not new in China, although more and more *tiyu* experts (led by women like Xiang) were beginning to see (almost defiantly) a national significance in this kind of activity for women.

In 1933, a group of five highly-educated professional women (magazine editors, artists and designers) published a two-part piece on physical fitness for the modern working woman. They wrote, "We are all in very prestigious professions - which means that we must use our gray matter (as much as we have) in carrying out our work every day. This causes unending strain and injury to the capacities of our mind and spirit, and no matter what, we never have the slightest chance to engage in any work for the health of our own bodies."[59] The women shunned the fashionable tennis, golf,

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[58] Xiang Xianggao, "Nüzi tiyu yu nüzi de jianglai," p. 2.

[59] Naoruisi narration, transcribed by Tingtingdun, "Lao yu zhiwu de funü - chengle yijijia!" [Women

swimming and horseback riding of the rich, and, ignoring the comments of confused neighbors, took crash courses in acrobatics and martial arts. After the training was completed, the women ridiculed the traditions which kept women away from vigorous physical exercise, and described how their newfound vitality gave them even more advantage in competing with men to earn their "daily bread" (*meiri de mianbao*).[60]

Women also tried to take control of narratives of women's physical culture by taking over the discourse on menstruation and exercise. The possible dangers to women's reproductive health that could be incurred by jarring exercise during women's menstruation periods had constituted the bedrock of the women's *tiyu* discourse since the 1920s.[61] By the 1930s, however, female *tiyu* experts began to reform the menstruation-exercise debate on their own terms. One woman writer prefaced her discussion of menstruation and *tiyu* by stating, "Women are not only the mothers of the nation and *minzu*, but are the very progenitors of humanity (*renlei zhi genben*)."[62] In two articles published in *The Chin Fen Sports Monthly*, the same author used statistics on Chinese, Japanese and European women's menstruation, and referred to nine close-up drawings of disembodied, cross-sectioned pelvic bones, vaginas and uteri - formerly

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laboring at their professions - who become acrobats!], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 2.16 (27 May 1933), p. 9.

[60] Naoruisi, "Lao yu zhiwu de funü - chengle yijijia!" pp. 9-10; Naoruisi narration, transcribed by Tingtingdun, "Lao yu zhiwu de funü - chengle yijijia! (xu)" [Women laboring at their professions - who become acrobats! (Continued)], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 2.17 (3 June 1933), pp. 8-9.

[61] In 1925, Zhu Shifang, *Tiyu* Program Director at the Shanghai Patriotic Girls' School, said he was proudest of having instituted a "rest period," where girls could be excused from P.E. class once every 28 days, no questions asked. Zhu Shifang, "Renzhi benxiao yi nian lai zhi jingguo" [Events in my one year serving at this school], *Tiyu huikan* 1 (June 1925), pp. 5-6.

[62] Weiqin, "Nüzi tiyu yu shengli bianhua" [Women's *tiyu* and physiological changes], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.7 (10 April 1934), p. 15.

the territory of male *tiyu* experts.[63] Her findings were not radical in themselves - as she wrote that "Women must not do the same exercises as men, and married women especially must not do the same exercises as virgin women, or else physiological harm will be done."[64] However, her assertion that different categories of women were suited to different types of exercise, and her call for "those of us responsible for guiding women's *tiyu* in the near future [to] perform and compile similar investigations and statistics"[65] made clear statements about who would be in charge of this important realm of study.

Zhang Huilan, an American-educated woman serving as Director of the Hebei Provincial Women's Normal College P.E. Department, also achieved this same effect by discussing the uses of science and looking at different divisions of women's physical culture. Zhang was an advocate of frequent physical examinations for students, in order to allow their P.E. instructors to understand better their physical condition.[66] This knowledge would also be used to help divide physical education classes into

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[63] Weiqin, "Nüzi tiyu yu shengli bianhua," pp. 15-19; Weiqin, "Nüzi yuejing yu yundong zhi guanxi" [The relationship between women's menstruation and exercise], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.5 (10 February 1934), pp. 42-44.

[64] Weiqin, "Nüzi tiyu yu shengli bianhua," p. 19.

[65] Weiqin, "Nüzi yuejing yu yundong zhi guanxi," p. 44.

Zhang Yingfen of the Yenching University Women's Physical Education Department also wrote on the menstruation question, addressing the problem of women's "Monthly Excuse" in their participation in physical exercise. Zhang described this as a normal and necessary phenomenon, and suggested two systems to allow for the least disturbance in class and the least embarrassment for the menstruating student. Zhang Yingfen, "Nüzi tiyu zhong de lijia wenti" [The question of women being excused from physical education classes], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.5 (February 1935), pp. 325-326.

[66] Zhang Huilan, "Tige jianyan ji tiyu fenzu wenti" [Physical examinations and the question of dividing physical education classes into sections], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.12 (September 1935), p. 801.

sections, using "physical ability and general health" as the criteria. Whereas Jinling Women's College and Central University, both in Nanjing, simply had all the women in the school take exercise at the same time, Hebei Women's Normal divided its classes not only by year, but by three or four skill levels as well.[67] Thus, Zhang was able to describe the field of women's physical education as a complicated one that required detailed scientific knowledge and planning - and not a task that some careless instructor could just pull off without this detailed preparation. This appropriation of the women's *tiyu* agenda was an idea that seemed to appeal to women in the reading audience as well; in 1934 a female reader named Liu-Shao Jinying wrote in to *The Chin Fen Sports Monthly* with her detailed four-point program for the construction of a women's physical culture to help "revive the nation-race." This goal would be accomplished best, she wrote, by training more female *tiyu* instructors, providing specialized higher-level training for standout athletes, working to spread women's *tiyu* to the greater masses, and paying close attention to the effects of physical exercise on women's physiological health.[68]

Besides taking charge of a women's *tiyu* agenda, it was also possible for this realm to be used by women workers challenging the oppressive conditions of modern factory discipline. In 1934, an author in the Shanghai YWCA's *Young Women's Monthly* wrote on inequalities in many factory settings, where women were paid less than men and often lost their jobs when they left work to give birth. She also made an appeal based on "modern *tiyu* principles" for more rest and break times during work

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[67] Zhang Huilan, "Tige jianyan ji tiyu fenzu wenti," p. 801.

[68] Liu-Shao Jinying, "Tichang nüzi tiyu zhi wu jian" [My opinions on promoting a women's physical culture], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.3 (10 December 1934), pp. 212-213.

hours, so that working women could take time for deep breathing exercises or calisthenics routines which would allow them to recover from their exhaustion.[69]

However, there were instances that might make one wonder about the workings of this narrative of women's *tiyu*. In 1931, a Shanghai woman named Dai Mengqin wrote a short article for *The Life Weekly* on "the way to build a healthy body and a healthy nation" and her conversion to a healthy exercise-filled life. Dai opened her piece by providing "historical background" to explain the weakness of Chinese women throughout time immemorial: "Our nation's women have always sat around, just keeping an eye on the home, and not being accustomed to movement. Except for the women working in the fields, they were practically all just Lin Daiyu, possessing beautiful features but lacking a healthy body.[70]

Dai confessed that she personally had exacerbated this already sorry heritage by ignoring her husband's enthusiasm for exercise and his suggestions that she take part as well. It was not until Dai saw in this same *Life Weekly* magazine two articles, "A 63-Year-Old Woman" and "Fighting to Get My Husband Back," and examined some of the "Healthy Beauty" pictorials often featured in this publication, that she saw the light:

> Then I started to understand that a body's features and look are not unchangeable, that one can use one's own power to change oneself. My soul was extremely moved. That night I went to a bookstore and bought an American sports magazine, and after reading through it I realized that my interest was growing even stronger. I decided that I would learn how to exercise. The next day I bought a swimsuit and came back home to put it on before a mirror. I looked like a woman with a healthy body, but upon closer examination I noticed some major

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[69] Yunsu, "San zhong butong de xuyao" [Three different needs], *Nü qingnian yuekan* 13.6 (June 1934), p. 47.

[70] Dai Mengqin, "Jianshen jianguo de tujing" [The way to build a healthy body and a healthy nation], *Shenghuo zhoukan (The Life Weekly)* 6.26 (20 June 1931), p. 535.

> faults: (1) I had too much body fat, (2) my thighs were too thick, (3) my chest was too skinny, (4) my arms were a little bit too large.[71]

Determined to correct these faults, Dai began practicing sixteen types of exercise that her husband taught her. She explained how she always took this exercise while "examining myself in the mirror. The me in the mirror is like my companion, and also like my strict teacher."[72]

Dai was a woman with so many of the freedoms which a modern narrative of progress and liberation would reify so: she was literate, urbane, modern- and open-minded, participated in the "public sphere" of the modern media, had purchasing power, and sought to get in touch with and gain control over her body. But it should not seem hard to see another side of this story, and to see that Dai's program for strengthening China via women's physical fitness was still predicated on Western and Chinese males' ideals of beauty, their control of the media, and the fact that men were still largely understood as having knowledge about the field of *tiyu* that women did not share. Dai's exercises in the mirror were her way of watching with her own eyes her contributions to strengthening the nation, but also constituted Dai as a perfect example of the "self-conscious subject of self-knowledge" grateful for the chance to discipline, regulate, evaluate and normalize her own body.

Women were not the only ones worried about how their bodies conformed to official and popular standards of health and beauty. In the June 1935 number, the "Readers' Counsel" of *The Chin Fen Sports Monthly* addressed letters from a woman in Tianjin and a man from Shanghai who were both concerned with the same problem -

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[71] Dai Mengqin, "Jianshen jianguo de tujing," p. 535.

[72] Dai Mengqin, "Jianshen jianguo de tujing," pp. 535-536.

that their thighs were growing thicker and stouter as they intensified their track and field training regimens.[73] It is clear that 1930s programs to mass-ize *tiyu* and promulgate standards for health, fitness and physical ability placed both men and women into new types of quandaries unique to modernity. However, for all the efforts made by women to claim the space of women's *tiyu* for their own, and to use the cause of women's physical fitness to stake new claims in society, women often took the brunt of this 1930s *tiyu* narrative, as they were blamed for their lack of attention to physical fitness, and tagged with ahistories of weakness and sloth. Much of this came in the form of the media attention to elite competitive sports and the women involved in this endeavor. However, the power of Shanghai's urban media allowed these pressures to filter down to the common people, the masses whom the state was hoping to reach with its message of health and strength, and made women a special "problem" of the general mass *tiyu* drive.

Mass *Tiyu* and the Search for a National Pastime

One theme that was developed in the drive to create a physical culture for the masses was the importance of identifying a Chinese national pastime that could appeal to, as it strengthened and united, the Chinese people. Perhaps the first suggestion along these lines was made by Chen Lifu, the University of Pittsburgh-educated confidante of Chiang Kai-shek. In a 1933 essay on the creation of a sport suitable to the Chinese national condition, Chen described the importance of a "National Sport" (typeset in English, then translated "*guomin de yundong*") in uniting and strengthening

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[73] "Duzhe guwen" [Readers' counsel], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.9 (June 1935), pp. 639-640.

citizenries in, and thus determining the rise of, Greece, America, Britain and Japan.[74] Chen was eager to develop a national sport for China, but insisted on several conditions for such a sport: It could not be track and field, any ball sport, or any other activity which fell into the categories of "aristocratic or gentry class sport."[75] Chen also opined, "In today's China with its trouble within and danger from without, the modern and fashionable exercises that contain much of the play element, but include very little educational value, are just not very suitable."[76] Chen's theorizing was of little help to China's *tiyu* community, as he gave no suggestions for possible national sports, but imposed even further constraints such as: besides being easy to spread among the population, and cultivating virtues of teamwork and the spirit of struggle, China's new national sport would have to be "productionized" (*shengchanhua*), allowing "the power of exercise to be used for production work!"[77]

A year later, physical education expert Wu Cheng addressed this same subject of a national pastime. As he wrote, "Of all the nations in the world, there is not one that has not proceeded from the inherent nature of its people to establish one or several

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[74] Chen Lifu, "Chuangzao shihe Zhongguo guoqing de yundong" [Creating a sport suitable to the Chinese national condition], in Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xuanchuan weiyuanhui, eds., *Tiyu yu jiuguo* [Physical culture and national salvation] (Nanjing: Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xuanchuan weiyuanhui, 1933), pp. 101-102.

[75] Chen Lifu, "Chuangzao shihe Zhongguo guoqing de yundong," p. 104. However, in his memoirs published in 1994, Chen remembered fondly playing soccer with Owen Lattimore in the late 1910s at Beiyang University, where Chen studied and Lattimore's father taught English. Chen also described his participation in intramural tennis, basketball, soccer, track and field, ice skating and martial arts. Sidney H. Chang and Ramon H. Myers, eds., *The Storm Clouds Clear Over China: The Memoir of Ch'en Li-fu 1900-1993* (Stanford: Hoover Press, 1994), pp. 12-13.

[76] "Play element" and "educational value" were rendered in English with Chinese translations. Chen Lifu, "Chuangzao shihe Zhongguo guoqing de yundong," p. 104.

[77] Chen Lifu, "Chuangzao shihe Zhongguo guoqing de yundong," pp. 105-106.

national sports (*guomin yundong*), in which the entire masses can immerse themselves, maintaining the health and fitness of the entire nation, like Britain's soccer, America's baseball, and Germany's handball and gymnastics." Wu suggested swimming as China's national sport; as he wrote, most sports were "foreign goods," but swimming hailed from ancient China, as proved by the line "Southerners are fond of swimming" (*nanren shan yong*) in an ancient history. And with all China's rivers, there would be no need to build "aristocratized, Westernized" pools or other equipment to strengthen the Chinese people and cultivate within them the new sense of courage that swimming could bring.[78]

The "national game" was a common trope in writings of the early 1930s, reflecting both new ideas of the role of sports in bringing together Chinese athlete-citizens, and also new anxieties about sport and the national strength and status of China's Asian neighbors. Some authors could confidently refer to soccer as the Chinese "national game" (*guoji, guomin bisai*).[79] But talk of other nations' national sports could be frustrating, like the 1934 post-Far Eastern Games discussion of Japanese prowess in their "national game" of baseball.[80] Or it could be even downright threatening, like when *The Chin Fen Sports Monthly* was forced to report in its "Overseas Sports" column on the puppet Manchurian Athletic Association's

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[78] Wu Cheng, "Ding youyong wei guomin yundong de guanjian" [My humble opinion on swimming being established as a national sport], *Guoshu, tiyu, junshi* 34 (28 June 1934) [Weekly feature in *Zhongguo ribao*], p. 8.

[79] Yinting, "Sheng-tuo-mai-si yuanzheng qiudui li Hu ji" [A record of the St. Thomas team's arrival on their expedition to Shanghai], *Tiyu pinglun (The Sports Review)* 27 (15 April 1933), p. 54; Ma Chonggan, "Di wu jie Quanguo yundonghui zhi huigu" [A look back at the Fifth National Games], *Shenbao yuekan* 2.11 (15 November 1933), p. 79.

[80] Quoted in Chen Xianming, Liang Youde and Du Kehe, *Zhongguo bangqiu yundongshi* [The history of baseball in China] (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1990), p. 31.

nomination of soccer as their official "national game."[81]

In 1935, an opportunity came to settle on a national pastime for China once and for all. In a promotion to mark their second anniversary subscription drive, Shanghai's *The Chin Fen Sports Monthly*, announced a contest which would be open to all subscribers who submitted essays responding to the question, "Which type of game or sport should our nation take as its national pastime (*guomin youxi*)?"[82]

Five months later, the contest results were announced. Five physical education experts, including *Chin Fen* editor Shao Rugan, read the 3476 essays that the magazine received before its deadline. Soccer received 915 votes and basketball 825 votes, and these two sports were both named Chinese national pastimes. Martial arts were third with 309 votes, followed by: volleyball, swimming, shuttlecock, jump-rope, mini-soccer, track and field, gymnastics, boxing, ping-pong, *taiji* calisthenics, calisthenics, fencing, acrobatics, footraces in full military gear, military games, handball, health calisthenics, *taijiquan*, marathon, racewalking, war games, boat races, home construction, target shooting, dance, and labor. All 3476 participants won prizes, most receiving one *yuan* book coupons. 27 received sporting goods equipment, three won free accounting classes by mail, 19 won coveted slots at one of Shanghai's five physical education academies, and the two grand prize winners earned cash prizes of 50 *yuan*.[83]

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[81] "Yi yue lai zhi haiwai tiyu" [Overseas sports this past month], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.4 (10 January 1934), p. 69.

[82] "Er zhounian zhengqiu da yundong" [The great second anniversary subscription drive], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.12 (September 1935).

[83] "'Guomin youxi' xuanshang da'an jiexiao" [Announcing the prizes and results of the 'National pastime' contest], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.5 (February 1936). The 50 prizewinners listed were from the following provinces and municipalities: Jiangsu 10, Beiping 6, Shanghai 6, Fujian 4, Nanjing 4, Henan 3, Hunan 3, Shanxi 3, Anhui 2, Guangxi 2, Shandong 2, Zhejiang 2, Guangdong 1, Hebei 1, Jiangxi 1.

In addition to these cash prizes, the two co-champions also had their essays published by *Chin Fen*. Huang Jianxing, from Wuzhou, Guangxi, told why soccer was the most appropriate sport to serve as China's national pastime. Not only was the game invented by the Yellow Emperor himself, and soccer games the hallmark of physical culture in the heyday of China's proud Tang Dynasty era, but the game was now known around the world to cultivate solidarity and a cooperative spirit in its participants.[84] Soccer's unique status as a Chinese game that also had been developed by other modern nations of the West thus made it the perfect choice. Zhuang Wenchao of the Jimei School in Xiamen based his advocation of basketball as the Chinese national game on arguments of physiology and evolutionary science. He chose basketball over soccer since the latter was already taken as a national sport (by Britain), and because soccer's popularity was limited in scope to the Hong Kong-Guangdong region. In contrast, Zhuang described participation in basketball as a nationwide phenomenon, citing as proof the fact that more men's and women's basketball teams were sent to the most recent National Games than joined in any other sport.[85]

But this subscription drive was no mere contest. Editor Shao Rugan explained in an article in the same issue of *Chin Fen* the importance of this national pastime issue. It was true that this contest had been used as "a type of *tiyu*-psychological exam" to indicate the preferences of the magazine's readers. But the implementation of soccer

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[84] Huang Jianxing, "Wuguo ying caiyong zuqiu wei guomin youxi" [Our nation should take soccer as its national pastime], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.5 (February 1936), pp. 403-404.

[85] Zhuang Wenchao, "Wuguo ying caiyong lanqiu wei guomin youxi" [Our nation should take basketball as its national pastime], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.5 (February 1936), pp. 405-407.

or basketball, or both, as China's national pastime would be an important step in stimulating the development of modern physical culture in China. Shao appealed to the *tiyu* community for participation in further discussions on the subject, and hoped that once a consensus was reached, that sport could be ratified by the Chinese National Amateur Athletic Federation, and then by the central government itself as the official Chinese national pastime![86]

This search for a national pastime represented one extreme of the quest, so popular during this Nanjing Decade, for a physical culture that would turn the Chinese populace from a "loose sheet of sand" into a single strong and able national body. The editors and most readers of the Shanghai publication *The Chin Fen Sports Monthly* still believed in the virtues of Anglo-American competitive sports. These forms, derided as they were by so many in the 1930s *tiyu* world, provided for the qualities of hearty sportsmanship and hardy citizenship that were of such value to the Chinese nation. It seemed to be just the model for a Chinese national pastime to fit alongside American and Japanese baseball or British soccer. (And as the prize packages illustrated, it maintained the ties to the capitalist ethic that had fired the rise of modern *tiyu* in the first place.)

This attempt to create a mass *tiyu* out of the more exclusive Anglo-American sports is important. The *tiyu* experts and activists who remained faithful to these bourgeois models of sport, teamwork and the nation saw no contradiction between these sports and the goal of creating a Chinese physical culture that could be spread to

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[86] Shao Rugan, "Wei zhengqiu 'Woguo ying cai hezhong tiyu yundong wei guomin youxi' shuo jiju hua" [A few words on the call, "Which sport should be taken by our nation as the national pastime?"], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.5 (February 1936), p. 389.

all of the Chinese people. If these endeavors could just be made more affordable and available for China's working and farming populations, "national pastimes" like soccer or basketball would be perfect in (1) cultivating notions of collective struggle and sacrifice in the Chinese masses, and (2) developing a stronger athletic tradition and deeper talent pool that then would be reflected in international competitions. However, this adaptation of more exclusive models of team sports for mass purposes seemed to resonate less than other fascist models of Chinese citizens' physical endeavor and the fate of the Chinese nation and economy.

Mass *Tiyu* and Rational Labor For Society

> Production, in China with its weak nation and poor people, is naturally of paramount importance.... The most important factors in production are capital, land and labor, and everyone knows that of these, labor is the most important. Without labor there is no way to transform or move materials, much less produce anything. The source of labor is the human body - without strong bodies there of course could be no powerful labor for production, agriculture or handicrafts work. *To increase efficiency one especially needs healthy bodies. In the great enterprises of Europe and America, for the sake of rationalization, the health of all workers is especially emphasized. They are supervised not only during working hours, but even during rest time. Equipment and counseling are provided so that their bodies can stay healthy.*[87]

This 1936 article, titled "Physical Culture and New Life," laid out clearly an important element of the drive towards a mass *tiyu*, namely the crucial link between the healthy body and a strong labor force, that was mentioned in many of the prescriptions for a mass physical culture covered in the previous section. The author, a member of the Hubei Province Party-Government-Military-Scholastic *Tiyu* Promotion Society (a

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[87] Meng Guangpeng, "'Tiyu' yu 'Xin shenghuo'" ['Physical culture' and 'New Life'], *Hubei sheng dang zheng jun xue tiyu cujin weiyuanhui huikan* 1.2 (10 May 1936), p. 12. Italics added.

New Life Movement organization), took as his model "the radical (*jijin*) nations like Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Bolshevik Soviet Russia, whom, in the ever-worsening international climate, have included military affairs in their physical education, with citizens everywhere strictly trained."[88]

This topic of the healthy *tiyu*-trained body and production was an important one in the fascist atmosphere of mid-1930s China. Another Hubei author, in an article on the national economy and the revival of the Chinese nation-race, wrote that China needed strong bodies to put to work in its munitions, transportation, steelmaking, pharmaceutical and textile industries, and also for the traditional handicrafts and agriculture fields native to the Chinese nation-race.[89] A reader of *The Chin Fen Sports Monthly* contributed a letter in 1934 calling for a mass *tiyu* program so as to allow people to use their recreation and free time to contribute to the nation's production.[90] And a clever Wu Yunrui explained how physical fitness not only was beneficial for production, but would help the worker too, since one's increased work efficiency would be reflected in higher paychecks for piece-wage factory work![91]

Of great concern in this regard was the short life spans of Chinese people in comparison with demographic trends in Japan and the West. In an article on how a citizens' *tiyu* could help to solve these problems, one author wrote on the human task

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[88] Meng Guangpeng, "'Tiyu' yu 'Xin shenghuo,'" p. 9.

[89] Liu Shoupeng, "Tiyu yu guomin jingji jianshe" [Physical culture and the reconstruction of the national economy], *Hubei sheng dang zheng jun xue tiyu cujin weiyuanhui huikan* 1.3 (10 September 1936), p. 4.

[90] Jia Wencai, "Tichang tiyu yao zhuzhong shengchan" [To promote physical culture, production must be emphasized], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.3 (10 December 1934), p. 259.

[91] Wu Yunrui, "Wuguo minzu fuxing zhong nüzi tiyu zhi zhongyao," p. 1.

of becoming a "useful element in society":

> After birth, to raise and educate an individual takes on the average 20 years' time. During these 20 years, the entire society must expend a certain amount of energy and money in order to reach this goal. In other words, the entire society must invest 20 years in each individual, in order to finally receive any interest - the individual's contributions to society. Now this 20 years of nurturing makes up what proportion of the individual's lifetime? Because if one's life is long then society can reap much interest, but if not then very little.[92]

The author then supplied statistics which placed the Chinese average life span at exactly 30.00 years, in contrast with the spans of 43-55 years shared by Australians, Americans, British, French, Germans and Japanese. Counting the first 15 years of life as an investment period, for Chinese there was only a payoff period of 15 years in which an individual could contribute to society, where Westerners and Japanese could provide their society with service for 28-40 years.[93] These contrasts became most graphic when the author converted this loss of life into financial terms. China's yearly death rate, according to these numbers, stood at 3.00%, double or triple that of the Western nations; so with a population of 400 millions, some 12 million Chinese were dying every year. Even with half this many deaths a year, the author forecast a yearly cost to China's economy of 300 million *yuan* (assuming that each person contributed 50 *yuan* a year to the nation). He estimated that this sum could pay annually for: 70,000 *li* (21,000 miles) of asphalt roads, 600 water purification plants, 800 factories, 30,000 *li* (9000 miles) of railroads, 5000 modern hospitals, 1000 universities and

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[92] Xu Yongping, "Zhongguoren shengming de langfei zhi yanzhong kepaxing ji guomin tiyu de jianshe zhi poqie xuyaoxing lun" [On the serious and frightening nature of the waste of Chinese lives and the urgency of the need to reconstruct a citizens' physical culture], *Hanxue yuekan* 5.2 (1 May 1935), p. 1.

[93] Xu Yongping, "Zhongguoren shengming de langfei," pp. 1-2.

100,000 elementary schools![94] And it was the simple matter of a Spartan-style citizens' physical education that stood between China and this kind of productivity.

The concept of a "national physique," introduced by activists promoting mass-based physical culture, thus allowed many in the *tiyu* community to imagine the benefits to national production that a strong Chinese citizenry could provide. These visions of a newly-strengthened and revitalized Chinese "national body" devoting all its energy towards the national economy were part and parcel of the Guomindang's fascist visions for Chinese industry and society.

Many leading Guomindang fascist figures offered their opinions on physical culture in top journals of the field. Chen Guofu, then Governor of Jiangsu Province, wrote in *The Chin Fen Sports Monthly* on physical culture and "rationalized rest,"

> Work is man's most important activity; there is not an organism that does not constantly labor diligently. Man is an animal that has a natural disposition and intelligence, and must work and continue on working hard, in order to meet his duties and obligations to society. But after work, it is impossible to avoid mental and physical exhaustion, and one must rest to allow for a physiological rejuvenation and recovery from exhaustion. So, rest is of the utmost importance.[95]

Tellingly, this article was written in the context of advocating for labor and study a rational time management system providing day of rest every tenth day (and a half-day every fifth day) instead of weekly.

Authoritarian measures put forward by state educational bodies for the "mass-izing" of physical culture seemed to mesh perfectly with imaginations of a *tiyu* that could contribute directly to national industry and commerce, broadcast by many in the

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[94] Xu Yongping, "Zhongguoren shengming de langfei," pp. 2-3.

[95] Chen Guofu, "Helihua de xiuxi" [Rationalized rest], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.12 (10 September 1934), pp. 5-6.

physical culture community. Thus was it possible for these physical culture planners to design *tiyu* programs that would reproduce on Chinese bodies themselves, via these modern bodily motions taught to and demonstrated before Chinese citizens, the fascist ideals of a unified nation-race and disciplined state-controlled industry.

The Geographical Spread of Modern *Tiyu*

The geographical spread of *tiyu* personnel throughout China was another key to the Guomindang's goal of creating a unified *minzu* body out of individuals from such disparate conditions all over China. Above I have discussed legislation and directives handed down by the Guomindang state to encourage local attention to national *tiyu* programs. But these ambitious *tiyu* programs depended on a cadre of dedicated *tiyu* agents who could take knowledge of *tiyu* discipline and theory back to their home areas for the state.

The most successful aspect of this policy was the Education Department-sponsored Summer Physical Education School, held annually beginning in 1933 for elementary and junior high school teachers from all over China. This Nanjing program was not the first attempt to create a summer *tiyu* training program national in scope; Beijing's Qinghua University held such a program three times between 1928 and 1931. Directed by Beijing *tiyu* activist Ma Yuehan and the omnipresent Hao Gengsheng,[96] the Qinghua Summer Physical Education School staff boasted male and female physical education experts from Tianjin, Shanghai, Wuchang, Shanghai, Nanjing, Guangdong

[96] After organizing the Third National Games in 1924, Springfield College graduate Hao served as Professor of Physical Education at Dongwu University in Suzhou, and then in 1927 at Qinghua, before moving on to Northeastern University in 1929. "Jinxiandai tiyu renwu," p. 26.

and Fujian, as well as two American teachers.[97] The Nanjing Summer School attempted to reach a broader audience, encouraging P.E. instructors in each province to come to Nanjing for high-level exposure to physical education theory, science and practice. Letters written by Summer School alumni and published at the back of Shanghai's *The Chin Fen Sports Monthly* offer information as to enrollment trends. The 131 graduates who wrote with their whereabouts and employment situations came from urban and rural areas in 18 provinces.[98] They took back to their home towns and cities the fruits of this intense six-week, 35 hours-per-week curriculum[99]:

Theoretical Courses (23 hours):
Required Courses (10 hours): *Tiyu* Principles, General *Tiyu* Administration, General P.E. Pedagogy, Physical Examinations, Martial Arts Survey.
Elective Courses (10 hours): Elementary P.E., Middle School P.E., Mass *Tiyu*, Boy Scouts Education, Sports Coaching And Refereeing, Sports Physiology, Health Education, First Aid, Physical Skills Testing & Statistics, *Tiyu* Construction & Equipment, Kinesiology, Practical P.E. Music.
Research Courses (3 hours): Research Into Practical P.E. Questions.

Skills Courses (12 hours):
Martial Arts, Ball Sports, Track And Field, Group Activities, Swimming, Dance, Gymnastics.

That May and June, Tianjin's *The Sporting Weekly* published two opinion pieces on the

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[97] Huang Yanfu, "Woguo zaoqi peixun tiyu shizi de Qinghua shuqi tixiao" [The Qinghua Summer Physical Education School, an early site of our nation's physical education instructor training], *Beijing tiyu wenshi* 4 (May 1989), pp. 62-64.

[98] These 131 students are listed by home province in Table 5-4. Data from "Jiaobu shuqi tiyuban tongxuehui xiaoxi (er)" [Education Department summer *tiyu* class alumni news (2)], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.3 (December 1933), pp. 82-83; "Jiaoyubu tiyuban tongxuehui xiaoxi (san)" [Education Department *tiyu* class alumni news (3)], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.4 (January 1934), pp. 81-83; article with same title, parts 4-8, in *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.5 (February 1934), pp. 74-75, 1.6 (March 1934), pp. 70-71, 1.7 (April 1934), pp. 70-71, 1.8 (May 1934), pp. 68-69, and 1.10 (July 1934), pp. 60-61.

[99] "Jiaoyubu shuqi tiyu buxiban kecheng" [Education Department Summer *Tiyu* Session curriculum], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 2.21 (1 July 1933), pp. 9-11.

Nanjing Summer School. The journal's editors praised the central government's steps to spread *tiyu* knowledge throughout China. Their only complaint was that the program would be limited in its efficiency as long as provinces like Hebei and Guangdong insisted on holding their own summer instruction programs. They stated that whatever individual provinces could arrange "would never equal [the results of] the whole nation uniting to work together under a single plan, centering efforts in a suitable location."[100]

Yu Zizhen, an elementary *tiyu* teacher, the leading *tiyu* activist of Anhui province, and a graduate of Shanghai's East Asia P.E. School, did not agree with this centralism. Yu ridiculed the notion that the average *tiyu* instructor earning 40-50 *yuan* a month would have the resources or the free time for a six-week stay in the nation's capital. On this basis, but still not questioning the central government's primacy, Yu recommended that Nanjing fund similar *tiyu* summer schools in each province.[101] The long-term compromise result of this debate on central vs. local (distribution of central *tiyu* knowledge) can be seen in the Education Department's Normal School *Tiyu* Instructors' Summer Training Class program for 1937. Identical versions of this three-month session were to be held in Nanjing, Beiping, Guangzhou and Wuchang, which would supposedly enable every *tiyu* instructor from each of China's 815 normal schools

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[100] "Guanyu bennian shuqi tiyu xuexiao" [On this year's Summer *Tiyu* School], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 2.15 (20 May 1933), p. 1.

[101] Yu Zizhen, "Dui Jiaobu shuqi tixiao jidian yijian" [Some opinions on the Education Department Summer *Tiyu* School], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 2.20 (24 June 1933), pp. 2-3.

Perhaps owing to Yu's efforts, the Anhui Provincial Education Department held a monthlong *Tiyu* Administrators' Training Class that December for *tiyu* instructors and administrators from Tongcheng, Wuhu, Fuyang and Fengyang Counties. Siwen, "Tiyu xingzheng renyuan xunlianban" [*Tiyu* Administrators' Training Class], *Anhui tiyu shiliao* 17 (October 1986), p. 43.

to participate.[102] The Wuchang location was dropped, but more than 300 normal schools sent *tiyu* instructors to the other three Training Class locations that summer just before China erupted into all-out war.[103]

Just as effective in training *tiyu* specialists for work in their hometowns all across China were the handful of leading specialized physical education training schools in the Jiangnan area. The Physical Education Department at Nanjing's Central University (formerly Southeastern University, before that Nanjing Higher Normal School) was one. Some 150 P.E. majors graduated in the department's first nine classes from 1917 to 1930. The majority of these students were Jiangnan locals, but 17 provinces were represented among Central University's alumni.[104]

This distribution of specialized *tiyu* instructors, a process begun long before the national-level programs described above, was especially important to the development of modern *tiyu* in inland China. Wang Qihua, scholar of *tiyu* in the poor inland province of Guizhou, has compiled a list of 15 physical education instructors who returned to Guizhou after studying in China's larger cities to teach in Guiyang and Zunyi in the late 1920s and 1930s. Seven had graduated from Shanghai's East Asia Physical Education School, two from the Shanghai Physical Education School, two from Nanjing's Central University P.E. Department, one from Suzhou's Zhongshan

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[102] "Schooling Physical Directors." *The Illustrated Week-End Sporting World (Jingle huabao)* 11.9 (6 March 1937), p. 3.

[103] Hao Gengsheng, "Shi nian lai zhi Zhongguo tiyu" [Chinese physical culture over the last ten years], *Wenhua jianshe yuekan* 3.10 (10 July 1937), p. 118.

[104] I have listed by home province these 150 graduates and the 32 students enrolled in the Central *Tiyu* Department in 1930 in Table 5-5. "Guoli Nanjing gaoshi, Dongnan daxue, Zhongyang daxue li jie biye tongxue zuijin diaocha biao" [Data from recent survey of alumni from each Nanjing Higher Normal, Southeastern University and Central University graduating class], *Tiyu zazhi* 3 (June 1931), pp. 127-140.

P.E. School, one from Beijing Women's Higher Normal, and one from National Wuchang Higher Normal. Predictably, the only martial arts instructor among the bunch had the least glamorous credentials, having graduated from Qinyang *Wushu* School in Henan.[105] Thus, a generation after the systematic introduction of modern physical education theory was begun in China's prosperous coastal regions, this Jiangnan belt served as a major conduit for the spread of this theory back into the inland areas of China now increasingly exposed to these modernizing, nationizing exercise regimens.

The Militarization of Chinese Physical Culture: Justification

> After returning from Germany, I realized that the trends in China's *tiyu* community were similar to those in Germany. I felt that we, the Chinese nation-race, had a long and glorious history, and the majestic independent spirit of a great nation. However, after the Opium War, the invasion of the Eight Allied Forces, and the Sino-Japanese War, national strength deteriorated by the day, and the lives of the people grew more and more distressed. Now to try to compare [ourselves] with Germany, one would die from shame, but for lack of a convenient place even to do that. After their defeat in the first European war, Germany was able to develop and let flourish their spirit of self-strengthening and independence, by way of their physical education for the nation. However, China did not pay attention to this. Even the ones who did pay attention to this were only plagiarizing superficial aspects of Western [physical culture], and were not using the medicine best suited to the illness. But look at Germany - no matter how difficult it was, they never stopped slaving away for and promoting the cause of *tiyu*, and no matter how dried up their finances, they continued to make ways to increase *tiyu* funding and improve [*tiyu*] facilities of all types. The Germans' success in their movement to revive the race cannot but be said to be the just rewards of their physical culture efforts.[106]

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[105] Wang Qihua, "Guizhou Qingmo Minguo shiqi tiyu yundong jilüe" [Brief record of the sports movement in late Qing-early Republican Guizhou], *Guizhou tiyu shiliao* 3 (November 1986), p. 29.

[106] Cheng Dengke narration, edited by Chen Weilin, "Sanshi niandai wo tichu 'tiyu junshihua' yinqi de yi chang lunzhan" [The war of words brought about by my promotion of 'The militarization of physical education' in the 1930s], *Sichuan tiyu shiliao* 7 (June 1984), p. 7.

This is how Cheng Dengke, one of the leading Guomindang proponents of a "militarization of physical culture" (*tiyu junshihua*), in 1984 remembered his admiration for the Germans and their efforts for the cause of physical culture. Four years' study at Berlin's *Reichshochschule für Leibesübungen*, which qualified him to begin serving as Professor of Physical Education at Nanjing's Central University upon his 1933 return to China, convinced Cheng of the need to restore discipline and the military spirit to Chinese physical education. Cheng recalled his work promoting a militarized *tiyu* as a necessary effort to show his community how

> Chinese *tiyu* was going down the wrong road. For decades, it headed down the road of aristocratic *tiyu*, depriving the common people of sport and exercise, just telling them to stand aside and watch as the aristocrats participated in sport. Sport and exercise became the patent properties of the sons of the aristocratic classes, mere entertainment. People were told to throw away the innate national-essence *tiyu*, and to give all they had to promote foreign sports, to use foreign goods, and to pursue the new tides of international sport.... The only way out for our nation's physical culture was to use a compulsory *tiyu* to implement a physical culturization (*tiyuhua*) of the entire populace.[107]

Coming from the fascist order and discipline of the German National Sports Institute. Cheng was horrified with the state of Chinese physical culture. There was no choice but to start over in a new fascist *minzu*-centric direction. Indeed, Cheng's later *Essential History of World Sport* (first published in 1945) identified 1933, the year of his return from Germany, as the beginning of a new (and final) militarized era of Chinese *tiyu* history![108]

Cheng was truly on a mission to introduce this German-style vision to the

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[107] Cheng Dengke, "Sanshi niandai wo tichu 'tiyu junshihua,'" p. 7.

[108] Cheng Dengke, *Shijie tiyushi gangyao* [The essential history of world sport] (Chongqing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1945; Shanghai: Shanghai shudian reprint, *Minguo congshu di yi bian* #50), p. 229.

Chinese *tiyu* community, writing in 1934 that 80% of this community was corrupt and rotten (*fuhua*) - "These *tiyu* comrades are truly obstacles in the path of our physical education, our public enemies."[109] Cheng continued, "The depth of their corruption is different, and can be divided into four types:"

> 1. Those "dancing women, itinerant performers" only concerned about athletic techniques: "You are not welcome here. People don't call you 'Sir,' but 'Officer Bullshit' or just 'good-for-nothing.' Shame!"
> 2. Those who think they are "staying in a hotel," playing at sports but never studying in the dormitory.
> 3. "Self-deceivers and deceivers of others": "At home you cheat your parents of the money earned by their blood and sweat, and at school you cheat yourself. You fool around for two years until you graduate, and then you become one of those P.E. coaches who switch jobs every six months, again cheating countless students. Isn't this a self-deceiver and deceiver of others? Isn't this a corrupt *tiyu* comrade?"
> 4. Those students on the "fast train," who stay at a physical education school for a year or so and then leave to start teaching.

Cheng concluded, "I cannot but shout out in fury, to begin now to overthrow these corrupt *tiyu* elements and disloyal *tiyu* comrades!"[110]

The drive to provide a militarized physical training to the entire Chinese population, led during the 1930s by Cheng Dengke, actually began years before his return from Germany. A resolution sponsored by the Foreign Ministry at the First National Education Conference in 1928 called for the implementation of military training that would be integrated into schools' physical education programs.[111] China's

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[109] Cheng Dengke, "Dadao buzhongshi ji fuhua de tiyu tongzhi" [Overthrow our disloyal and corrupt *tiyu* comrades], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.4 (10 January 1934), p. 4.

[110] Cheng Dengke, "Dadao buzhongshi ji fuhua de tiyu tongzhi," pp. 4-5.

[111] This militarized physical education also emphasized the *guoshu* martial arts being rehabilitated and reformulated at this time as well. Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Quanguo tizong wenshi ziliao bianshen weiyuanhui, eds., *Tiyu shiliao, di 16 ji: Zhongguo jindai tiyu yijuean xuanbian* [Historical materials on physical education, Volume 16: Collection of resolutions on modern Chinese physical education] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 66-70.

English-language press carried objections to this development. Beiping's *China Tomorrow*, "the periodical of New China, dedicated to the masses," wrote that

> new tactics are being tried in hope of checking the flame of social protest at its source.... one must admit that the new government's scheme of inducing students to submit to military discipline is not without perspicuity. Those countries in which the youth have been subjected to compulsory military training are notable for the docility of their population.... what one thing kills initiative and moral sensitiveness more quickly than military discipline?"[112]

The China Critic published a letter from a "Friendly Foreigner," who perhaps missed the point of why military *tiyu* was being pushed by the Nationalist government: "Dean Inge has said, 'Let us not forget the purgative value of competitive games. It is not for nothing that these flourish most in the LEAST militaristic nations.' Verbum sap!"[113]

This militarized *tiyu* vision, in the absence of firm Nanjing control in the provinces or any significant group of activists committed to this program, could not yet be firmly implemented. However, by about 1933, the protests of Beiping progressives and friendly foreigners were no longer any match for the will of the pro-Guomindang *tiyu* planners. The presence of a new cadre of physical culture activists who saw their task as crucial to the progress of the Nationalist revolution, combined with a new state reach into provincial affairs and a new wave of anti-Japanese nationalism, afforded a new opportunity for the execution of this militarized *tiyu* design.

One such activist was Liu Shenzhan, hailing from Fuling County in southeastern Sichuan, who graduated from the Zhejiang Physical Education School in 1923 and returned to Sichuan, establishing the Southwestern P.E. School in Chengdu in 1925.

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[112] "Militarizing China's Schools," *China Tomorrow* 1.1 (20 November 1928), p. 2.

[113] Friendly Foreigner, letter in "Public Forum," *The China Critic* 1.9 (26 July 1928), pp. 180-181.

After a decade of promoting *tiyu* in Sichuan, Liu published a book in 1933 entitled *The Tiyu Revolution*, perhaps the decade's most strident call for a physical culture by, of and for the Chinese nation-race.

Liu's book, beginning with excerpts from Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek on the role of physical education in the movement for national salvation, presented *tiyu* as the key to the success of the Nationalist revolution. A *tiyu* revolution was just one of the many smaller movements - a literary revolution, an arts revolution, a technological revolution - that would all be necessary to the success of the whole. But he added, "if we are all to become revolutionaries, we first need to receive a revolutionary and ideologized (*zhuyihua*) *tiyu* training."[114] Liu gave an outline of the parameters of his ideal physical training:

> To promote a Chinese *tiyu* now, we absolutely cannot continue saying that martial arts are unscientific and therefore should be seen as worthless. We also cannot say that since track and field and ball sports are foreign, we must reject them. We cannot say that '*tiyu*' is this track and field and ball sports, thereby setting down a definition for '*tiyu*' as 'Western.' And we must not say that since martial arts are 'Chinese' then this phrase 'martial arts' can be distinguished from '*tiyu*.' So, I support the promotion and development of martial arts, turning them into a Chinese national-racial *tiyu* suitable to the national condition and to the nature of the citizenry (*guominxing*). As for track meets and ball games - Western sports - we must learn from their strong points and not just swallow them down whole, trying to make use of them without a full understanding.... this is not for reasons of economy, or even for them being foreign goods or not ... the most important reasons are: (1) *tiyu* and national-racial (*minzu*) consciousness, (2) *tiyu* and *minzu* nature, (3) *tiyu* and *minzu* spirit, (4) *tiyu* and *minzu* confidence, (5) *tiyu* and *minzu* struggle.[115]

Chu Minyi would have agreed with this formulation, as he wrote in 1934 on the

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[114] Liu Shenzhan, *Tiyu geming* [The *tiyu* revolution] (Nanjing: Zhongguo ribao, 1933), p. 6.

[115] Liu Shenzhan, *Tiyu geming*, pp. 11-12.

use of *tiyu* not in training the individual body, but in strengthening the entire "Chinese *minzu*," or what he alternately called the *guozu* "nation-race."[116] He continued by way of proof,

> Take, for example, a truck that can haul a load of one thousand or even ten thousand pounds. Of course the strength of one person will not be able to move it, and perhaps the strength of a hundred or even a thousand people might not be able to move it. But one small engine can move it and get it going. Thus, we can see that making the individual still bigger and stronger will be of no use at all.[117]

Liu took this dichotomy between the individual and the *minzu* nation-race even farther. In explaining the political implications of his program for a *tiyu* revolution, he recalled Sun Yat-sen's words of 1924 on the importance of "corporate" or institutional, and not individual, freedom in the success of the Nationalist revolution.[118] Liu stated simply that the result of the revolution would be "*minzu* freedom" and not "individual freedom":

> What is the relationship between '*tiyu*' and 'freedom'? Ten or so years ago in P.E. class in schools, when the instructor called attention the students stood at attention, and only when the 'at ease' call came did they relax. But now on the calisthenics grounds, roll call is scattered and confused, and after roll call the students just sneak away as they wish! ... Athletes attend lectures wearing their clogs, they wander through the streets and alleys outside the school gates, they wear their clothes and caps and crooked and odd angles.... With things in this state, how can one say that school training is not a failure? Isn't this the education of a doomed nation? These problems spring from the liberal 'natural movement' sports *tiyu*, because people don't understand the true meaning of 'freedom.' They confuse 'freedom' and 'leisurely aimlessness,' 'sprightliness' and 'relaxation of any discipline.' The only

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[116] Chu Minyi, "Fuxing minzu yu tichang tiyu" [Revitalizing the nation-race and promoting physical culture], *Hubei jiaoyu yuekan* 5 (January 1934), pp. 13-14, 16.

[117] Chu Minyi, "Fuxing minzu yu tichang tiyu," p. 14.

[118] John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China: Politics, Culture and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 215.

> thing to do is to institute strict military education. Strict military education does not violate the principles of education, and at the same time, military education recognizes the importance of national defense and *minzu* struggle.[119]

Liu's visions of a fascist physical culture for China also included the need for a strong individual leader for all to follow. He wrote in 1934, "For *tiyu* comrades to be able to truly unite with faith and dedication, and to become powerful, we still need a brilliant, able, wise and experienced leader; the *tiyu* community urgently needs a leader."[120] Liu finally got down to brass tacks, however, when he revealed the main goal of the revolutionary national-racial struggle to which he was so committed. As Liu wrote, "If our *minzu* rises up, besides shutting off the entrance of foreign control and oppression, we can also be the controllers (*tongzhizhe*) and oppressors (*yapozhe*)."[121]

The Foreign Fascist Influence on Chinese *Tiyu*

This envy of the nations of the world with the strength to oppress others was a large part of the militarized *tiyu* vision. Liu Shenzhan explained how *bushido*, the way of the warrior, was the key link between physical culture and the Japanese national-racial spirit, as was the "iron-blooded spirit" for the Germans. He concluded that

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[119] Liu Shenzhan, *Tiyu geming*, p. 32.

[120] Liu Shenzhan, "Women yingdang zenyang de nuli" [How we should be striving], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.1 (10 October 1934), p. 5.

Xu Minhui, Guangdong Provincial *Tiyu* Czar, also dreamed of a skilled, knowledgeable, experienced, ethical, and sportsmanlike "*tiyu* leader" to lead the national physical culture mission. Xu Minhui, "Lixiang de tiyu lingxiu" [An ideal *tiyu* leader], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.5 (February 1934), pp. 323-324.

[121] Liu Shenzhan, *Tiyu geming*, p. 40.

China needed to develop through physical culture a "martial spirit, a moral spirit of devotion, duty, respect and trust, propriety, justice, honesty and shame," the spirit embodied by the knight-errant tradition in China's past.[122]

Clear associations were made, by Liu and others, between the recent industrial and national successes of the German, Japanese and Italian nation-races, and their success in tuning modern physical education programs to unique racial qualities summoned up from their national pasts. The key to this success was revealed as an understanding of the true *guoqing* (national condition) of one's country. Most modern dictionaries gloss the character *qing* as pertaining to the fleeting or ephemeral - situation, condition, sentiment. This is not how the *guoqing* "national condition" was understood or used, however, in the 1930s discourse of a *minzu*-centric physical culture. The *guoqing* was the unconditional, essentialist nature of the nation (if at the same time a condition for the nation), that, if bottled in *tiyu* packages and distributed to the masses, would allow successes of the magnitude of those of the Yamato or Teutonic races.[123]

In 1935, *tiyu* revolutionary Liu Shenzhan, now serving as Sichuan Province *Tiyu* Inspector (*shidao*), described how this understanding of the nation would enable the creation of a new physical culture:

> In 1806 after Napoleon had trampled over the European continent, German philosopher *Su-xi-de* said to his people in a speech, 'What I call

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[122] Liu Shenzhan, *Tiyu geming*, p. 20.

[123] Thus, this usage of the term "condition" would be akin to the meaning expressed by the phase "the human condition."

Hsu Yuan-ming has also discussed the attention paid to the *guoqing* in the context of 1930s Chinese physical culture. Hsu Yuan-ming, *Zhanqian shinian Zhongguo tiyu sixiang zhi yanjiu* [Research into Chinese physical education philosophy during the prewar decade] (Taibei: Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue tiyu yanjiusuo Master's Thesis, 1990), pp. 25-26.

> for is the creation of an entirely new educational system. New Educators must create a single unified body of the German people, where each element of this body understands the same goals in their hearts and minds ...' I change this to say, 'What I call for is the creation of an entirely new *tiyu*. New physical culturists must create a single unified body of the Chinese citizenry, where each element of this body understands the same goals - of saving the nation and revitalizing the nation-race - in their hearts and minds ...[124]

The German devotion to the nation physical culture enterprise through even the toughest of circumstances was much admired in the 1930s Chinese *tiyu* world. Cheng Dengke, writing on the German use of concepts of race- and nation-strengthening in elementary school physical education, wrote, "In the circumstances shared by China and Germany, who have both been oppressed by the powers and their treaties, and whose economies are in straitened conditions, we especially know the importance of elementary school physical education."[125] The Nazis, for all their iron blood and steel weapons, sporting contests and warring conquests, disgusted many Chinese with their racial supremacism and their reign of terror inside and outside Germany. However, the dozens and dozens of articles published in China on aspects of German physical culture by German-educated *tiyu* planners like Cheng still allowed this model to achieve great currency throughout the Chinese *tiyu* community.[126]

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[124] Liu Shenzhan, "Tiyu jiuguo lun (er)" [On a physical education for national salvation (Part 2)], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.11 (August 1935), p. 719.

[125] Cheng Dengke, "Deguo xiaoxue tiyu shishi gaikuang ji ganyan" [An account of and my feelings on the German implementation of elementary physical education programs], *Jiaoyu congkan (The Educational Research)* 2.2 (June 1935), p. 1.

[126] The Cheng Dengke article on elementary school P.E. mentioned above was followed by an article on *tiyu* in German universities. Wu Cheng, "Deguo daxue tiyu zhi xin zhidu" [The new physical education curriculum in German universities], *Jiaoyu congkan (The Educational Research)* 2.2 (June 1935), p. 1-10. Wu, like Cheng, studied at Berlin's *Reichshochschule für Leibesübungen* from 1929 to 1932. "Jinxiandai tiyu renwu" [Physical education figures of the modern and contemporary eras], *Jiangsu tiyu wenshi* 11 (June 1989), pp. 23-24.

There was also great admiration for Mussolini and the recent Italian advances in fascist physical culture. For example, one article featured four photos of "Mussolini's sporting life," portraying Il Duce fencing, doing farm labor, riding a horse and riding a motorcycle, the author opining that "a politician should do his utmost to serve as a great example in order to make strong and fit persons of his citizens."[127] Even the journal *Chinese Architecture* featured pictures of Rome's new Mussolini Stadium, praising its design, budget and utility.[128] The number of sympathetic articles published on the Ethiopian resistance to Italian invasion indicates that Italy was seen as an imperialist bully perhaps not worth emulating.[129] However, there was still great attention to the fascist physical culture instituted by Mussolini in trying to build a new Roman empire.[130]

The Japanese *taiiku* example once again was seen as a model with great bearing on the future of Chinese *tiyu*. During the period of learning from the Anglo-American model of sports *tiyu*, the Japanese model had been relegated to the sidelines. It was not rejected outright, but few 1920s *tiyu* activists and educators looked to Japan for the newest physical education knowledge and trends. Rather, the link with Japan was

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[127] Yuan Tao, "Mo-suo-li-ni yu Yi-da-li de jiankang" [Mussolini and the health of Italy], *Huanian zhoukan* 1.11 (25 June 1932), pp. 210-212.

[128] Fan Wenzhao, "Ou Mei ganxiang" [Thoughts on Europe and America], *Zhongguo jianzhu* 24 (March 1936), pp. 17-19.

[129] For example, see Zhu Mei, "A-bi-xi-ni-ya junshi xunlian de yi ban" [Scenes from Abyssinian military training], *Zhonghua yuebao (The Central China Monthly)* 3.12 (1 December 1935), pp 43-45; Zhang Mingyang, "A-bi-xi-ni-ya de yingyong kangzhan yu women" [The valiant Abyssinian war of resistance and us], *Zhongxuesheng* 66 (June 1936), pp. 173-181. In his book on *tiyu* for China's emergency circumstances, Zhang Jiwu used the specter of Ethiopia's annexation by Italy to warn Chinese of what lay ahead at the hands of the Japanese. Zhang Jiwu, *Feichang shiqi zhi guomin tiyu* [Citizens' *tiyu* for the emergency period] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1937), p. 73.

[130] See the discussion of youth military training, including the Italian *Balila*, below.

maintained mostly in the realm of high-level competitive sports - the biennial Far Eastern Championship Games, or private team tours of Japan.[131]

The Japanese story of national and industrial successes and their recent international sporting triumphs,[132] seen as self-evidently related, made the Japanese *taiiku* model a very appealing one, even if it was the Japanese enemy against whom strong Chinese bodies would have to defend their nation. Chu Minyi explained, in a preface to a Chinese translation of a Japanese work on *tiyu* and anatomy, how Japan's strength as a nation was owed to its ***bushido*** tradition, the spirit of the "Yamato soul," and their recent achievements in science. Chu's implication clearly was that these preconditions for national strength were within the reach of a China sharing so many traditions with their Japanese "friends" (***bibang***).[133]

All facets of the Japanese physical culture enterprise were cited as examples for Chinese *tiyu* agents to follow. One author praised Japanese media conglomerates for their sponsorship of large competitions and tournaments.[134] Track and field expert Xie Siyan envied Japan for their government's commitment to physical culture and for Japanese physical education instructors' sense of pride in themselves and their

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[131] For example, the Jiaotong University soccer team travelled to Japan for seven games against Kobe and Tokyo university teams. Jiaotong won four, lost two and tied one game. Wang Daoping, "Jiaotong daxue zuqiu yundongshi shilüe (xu)" [A brief history of the sport of soccer at Jiaotong University (continued)], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 11 (September 1985), p. 8.

[132] Japanese athletes scored two medals in the 1920 Olympic Games, one in 1924, five in 1928, and 18 in 1932. Takahara Tomiyasu, ed., *Showa supōtsu shi: Olinpikku 80 nen* [The history of Showa sports: 80 years of the Olympic movement] (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1976), pp. 43, 46, 56, 73.

[133] Preface to Okamoto Noritsune, translated by Guo Renji, *Tiyu zhi kexue de jichu* [The scientific foundations of physical education], Original title *Taiiku kaibō* [Physical education and anatomy] (Shanghai: Xieqiao yiyuan, 1929), p. 3.

[134] Yuan Zongze, "Riben shehui tiyu zhi sheshi" [Physical education practices in Japanese society], *Minzhong jiaoyu yuekan* 2.5 (1 March 1930), pp. 37-38.

teaching.[135] An elementary school *tiyu* instructor from Linchuan County, Jiangxi praised Japan's "3M-ism" (Man, Money, Munitions) plan for national defense, and explained, "The Japanese understand deeply the implications of the short stature of the Yamato race, and this is the reason for their special emphasis on *tiyu*."[136] In 1936, *tiyu* expert Ruan Weicun wrote an article using tables and graphs to trace the evolution of Japanese physiques since the Meiji era, concluding that "the stones from their mountain can be used [by us] to mine jade."[137] Zhou Weizhuo, P.E. Director of the Hebei Provincial Zhengding High School and a graduate of the Beiping Normal University P.E. Department, led a group of eight Beiping Normal students on a *tiyu* inspection tour to Japan in 1935. There they met with Iwahara Taku, Director of the Ministry of Education's P.E. Section, and other physical education experts, and toured dozens of physical education schools and facilities.[138] In 1935, editors at *The Chin Fen Sports Monthly* answered two letters from readers in Changsha and Nanjing who wrote to ask

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[135] Xie Siyan, "Woguo canjia benjie Shiyunhui shibai hou de jiaoxun" [Lessons learned after our nation's failure in this Olympiad], *Tiyu* 4.11 (30 November 1936), p. 4.

[136] He provided tables compiled by Japanese researchers in 1931 showing Japanese youth consistently shorter and lighter than Chinese youth of the same age, and marveled that despite this Japanese were healthier than Chinese and able to "stand powerfully atop East Asia." Li Shijun, "Tiyu jiaoyu jianguo lun" [On *tiyu* education and nation-building], *Jiangxi jiaoyu* 18 (April 1936), p. 70.

[137] Ruan Weicun, "Riben minzu tige yanjin shikuang" [Specifics on the evolution of the physique(s) of the Japanese race], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.10 (July 1936), pp. 892-901.

Ruan, who would later serve as on of the foremost physical culture figures in the Wang Jingwei Nanjing government, also wrote regularly for the *Japanese Affairs Review* on Japanese physical culture. For example, see Ruan Weicun, "Riben jingji yundong fada shi" [The history of the development of competitive sport in Japan], *Riben pinglun (Japanese Affairs Review)* 4.2 (25 February 1934), pp. 187-190; Ruan Weicun, "Yijiusansi nian Riben zhi tiyu" [Japanese sports in 1934], *Riben pinglun* 6.1 (15 January 1935), pp. 166-189.

[138] Zhou Weizhuo, "Riben tiyu kaocha ji" [Record of our *tiyu* inspection tour in Japan], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.3 (December 1935), pp. 271-274; articles with the same title, Parts 2-4, *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.4 (January 1936), pp. 353-356; 3.5 (February 1936), pp. 423-424; 3.6 (March 1936), pp. 494-496.

how they could get access to lecture materials (in Japanese and Chinese) from the famed Tokyo Normal University Physical Education Symposium Series.[139]

Not every Chinese physical educator was this enthralled with Japan, however. Anhui elementary *tiyu* instructor Yu Zizhen in 1932 outlined a calisthenics routine performed to the song "Stab at Japan," the first verse of which went as follows,

Comrades, take your guns and swords,
Prepare them well, prepare them well.
Stab at Japan, stab at Japan,
Thrash and destroy the den of the dwarf slaves.
Capture the Japanese, get them alive,
And kill the thieves down to the last dog.
Don't fear the dwarf slaves, as proud and arrogant as they may be,
Don't fear the dwarf slaves, as proud and arrogant as they may be.[140]

Hu Tong, an instructor at Dongtanxiang Elementary School in Nanchang, Jiangxi, designed ten "patriotic games," the main theme of which was armed anti-Japanese resistance. Hu hoped that these games could allow students "to keep [this resistance] firmly in mind, by combining recreation with the stimulation of the children's determination to wipe away the shame and save the nation." Games like "Defeat Japan," "Boycott Japanese Goods," "Root out the Traitor," and "The People of Shanghai Flee Calamity," allowed Hu's students, by throwing balls and swinging sticks, to act out and come to share their teacher's generation's dreams of using physical culture to create a nation that could finally repel the Japanese imperialists.[141]

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[139] "Da Changsha gaozhong Sun Zhongda jun" [A reply to Mr. Sun Zhongda of Changsha High School], and "Da Nanjing Wuzhou zhongxue Zhou Tongxuan" [A reply to Zhou Tongxuan of Nanjing's Wuzhou Middle School], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.11 (August 1935), p. 750.

[140] Yu Zizhen, "Kang Ri de biaoqingcao" [An anti-Japanese expressive calisthenics routine], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 44 (3 December 1932), p. 22.

[141] Hu Tong, "Xiaoxue aiguo youxi jiaocai" [Patriotic games for elementary school instruction], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.4 (10 January 1934), pp. 46-52.

Overall, however, the Japanese creation, through a scientific and thorough physical training, of a strong nation-race - even if it was the same nation-race that threatened the territorial, economic and very national integrity of China - was still an example seen as extremely relevant to the workings of the Chinese *tiyu* community.

The Militarization of Chinese Physical Culture: Implementation

Above I have mentioned how the Guomindang, after its ascension to national supremacy in 1928, moved to bring out again the martial dimension of Chinese physical culture. If this movement did not catch on at first, the wave of Japanese imperialist activity from 1931 to 1933, the presence of a new qualified and committed cadre of fascist-leaning *tiyu* experts, and the Guomindang's further consolidation of national rule were the stimuli that brought "militarized *tiyu*" to the forefront of national *tiyu* debate. This category, narrow and constraining though it might seem, actually included many different imaginations of the connections between war and military necessities, and modern physical culture. No matter how they conceived these relationships however, the different programs for a militarized *tiyu* all shared a similar goal - strength, and a *minzu*, unified by a Han martial spirit, to protect the borders of the nation-race.

In 1930s China, it was never too soon to begin physically training children for the inevitable prospects of war. Above Cheng Dengke wrote on German programs for elementary school physical education; he concluded that "the foundations of [concepts of] strengthening the nation and strengthening the race, guarding against humiliation and wiping away the nation's shame, have to be laid in elementary education."[142] Chen

[142] Cheng Dengke, "Deguo xiaoxue tiyu shishi gaikuang ji ganyan," p. 1.

Kuisheng, P.E. Director at the Hunan Provincial First Normal School, wrote in 1933 that in this era, China needed a elementary school physical education curriculum that was "completely martialized (*wuhua*)," incorporating all the movements that would be needed in time of war - running, jumping, climbing, throwing, wrestling, swimming, policing and scouting.[143]

Most of the attention in this program for militarized *tiyu* was paid to Chinese youth of middle school through university age; I discuss this below. However, adults were not exempt from this militarized *tiyu* training either. In December 1934, the Executive Yuan approved a plan, drawn up by none other than Cheng Dengke, for "The Use of Military and Police Force to Assist in Mass Physical Culture Programs to *Tiyu*-ize the People."[144] Under this program, all citizens would be divided into groups by age (15 to 25 years old, 25 to 35, 35 and up), and once a week would receive training for two hours in one or more of the following: martial arts, calisthenics for health (*jianshencao*), basketball, volleyball, target practice, and gymnastics. Besides *tiyu*-izing the people and working towards Sun Yat-sen's goal of a military power of the masses, this program would also allow the public to "connect emotionally" (*ganqing lianluo*) with the military personnel who enforced this mandatory sport.[145] As in other cultural, economic, social and political realms, fascist state-run *tiyu*

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[143] Chen Kuisheng, "Woguo xiaoxue tiyu mubiao gaige wenti" [The question of reforming the goals of our nation's elementary school physical education], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.3 (10 December 1933), p. 8.

[144] "Shixian xian Zongli zhuzhang shi quanmin tiyuhua" [Bring about the late Sun Yat-sen's proposal for the *tiyu*-ization of the people], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Educational Review)* 25.2 (10 February 1935), pp. 140-141.

[145] "Shixian xian Zongli zhuzhang shi quanmin tiyuhua," p. 140.

programs were implemented quite thoroughly in Jiangxi Province, where the Chinese Communist Party posed such a grave threat to Guomindang rule. By 1934, a one-year Citizen Training program had been instituted in Nanchang, with mandatory participation for one individual from each of the provincial capital's 51,105 households (*hu*). Held every Sunday, the program featured basic military training, as well as study and musical cultivation.[146] Pictures in *Sweat and Blood Monthly* from the Yaohua, Jiangxi *Tiyu* Experimental Center show adults in military uniforms, scholarly gowns and padded work clothes all participating in mass morning calisthenics.[147]

Another genre of militarized *tiyu* was that of military-themed variations on the standard Anglo-American sports model, that could then be integrated into existing sports and physical education programs. For example, in 1936, the Jiangxi Province Party-Government-Military-Scholastic *Tiyu* Promotion Society[148] proudly unveiled its new "fully-armed pentathlon" (*wuzhuang wu xiang yundong*). This new event, using standard track and field scoring methods, consisted of five events - 200 meter dash, long jump, 175 meter obstacle course, grenade throw and 3.5 kilometer run - all performed while in full military uniform and strapped with a rifle and bayonet. 120

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[146] 34.9% of the 9282 actual participants were workers, 34.3% were merchants, and 16.1% were unemployed. Only 1.2% were farmers. Cheng Shikui, "Jiangxi shenghui de gongmin xunlian" [Citizen training in the Jiangxi provincial capital], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Educational Review)* 25.1 (10 January 1935), pp. 121-126.

[147] "Guomin tiyu zhi yiban" [Scenes from the citizens' physical culture], *Hanxue yuekan* 5.2 (1 May 1935).

[148] The *Dang zheng jun xue tiyu cujinhui*, a New Life-affiliated organization was one chief agent of the spread of militarized *tiyu*. The first such organization seems to have been the Hubei Provincial Society, established in 1935. Other locales that followed included Meixian County (Western Shaanxi) in 1935, Jiangxi Province, and in 1937 Nanjing with the Capital Society. Baoji shi tiyu yundong weiyuanhui, ed., *Baoji shi tiyu zhi* [Chronicle of Baoji municipal physical culture] (Shaanxi: 1990), p. 7; Hao Gengsheng and Hou Shaowen, "Liang nian lai zhi tiyu" [Physical culture over the last two years], *Zhongguo xinlun* 3.4-5 (25 April 1937), p. 274.

bullets and two grenades.[149] This new pentathlon would have pleased critic Edward Y. K. Kwong, who wrote in 1936,

> Where the present [competitive sports] system is a purposeless and often useless luxury, [militarized sports] is a necessity for the moment and has a definite purpose to perform, which is the development of sports and athletics in such a way that people who participate in them in peace time will *ipso facto* become good soldiers in war....
>
> If it is expected that the new system of sports will train men to be at the same time sportsmen and soldiers, then the only sensible thing is to include in the list of sporting events items found in military training. Now military education includes training for discipline, intelligence, endurance, mobility (especially in mass formation) and the art of killing. All these things can be learned in the sport or athletic field.[150]

Representatives of the 18th Army weighed in with their own suggestions for activities that brought the fun of team sports to the art of killing, publishing detailed rules for military *tiyu* competitions in the obstacle course, stealth movement, bicycle races, fencing, grenade throw, footraces, and target shooting.[151] And in 1937, an author from the Guangzhou Branch of the Central Military Institute published the rules of a game called "military-ball" (*junshiqiu*), a combination of basketball, rugby and American football that was easy and economical to teach, and was said to "cultivate military virtues of courage, agility, activity and cooperation."[152]

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[149] The obstacle course required that the competitor jump over hurdles and ditches, scale walls, crawl under barbed wire and climb a wooden pole. Deng Kanshun, "Wuzhuang wu xiang yundong bisai fangfa" [Rules of competition for the fully-armed pentathlon], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.5 (February 1936), p. 419.

[150] Edward Y. K. Kwong, "Militarizing Sports," *The China Critic* 14.8 (20 August 1936), pp. 177-178.

[151] Lujun di shiba jun quanjun yundong dahui, ed., "Gezhong junshi tiyu bisai guize" [Rules for several types of militarized *tiyu* competitions], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.8 (May 1936), pp. 773-779.

[152] Military-ball was featured as a demonstration event at the 14th Guangdong Provincial Games of 1936. Yu Jie, "Junshiqiu - yi zhong xin de qiuxi" [Military-ball: A new type of ballgame], *Tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 3.2 (June 1937), pp. 178-182.

A militarized *tiyu* program also included the founding of more lively and diverse *tiyu* activities for China's military. Liu Shenzhan, author of the 1933 book on the *tiyu* revolution, also served as *Tiyu* Director for Yang Sen's 20th Army in Sichuan. He described the importance of wholesome sporting activities for China's army men:

> Military life is monotonous and regimented, a life which quickly becomes dry and uninteresting. And in this boredom, the activities of the officers and troops naturally turn to smoking, gambling, whoring and drinking as pastime and entertainment - all means to give vent to their unspent energy. Thus, the sense of military discipline is destroyed and the army's reputation sullied; if cultivated still further it brings disaster to the nation and calamity to the people.[153]

Liu's solution was a program consisting of 70% sports *tiyu* and only 30% traditional military training. Under Liu's leadership, the 20th Army also organized traveling soccer, basketball, volleyball and tennis teams, which in late 1932 participated in more than 30 games in Yichang, Hankou, Nanjing and Shanghai.[154] Cheng Dengke also wrote about team sports as a "symbol of cooperation and struggle" that needed to be included in military *tiyu* programs; he suggested team sports and also team competitions in new military-styled triathlon and pentathlon events.[155]

The area of most contention over the prospects of a militarization of *tiyu* was that of physical education for middle school and university students. This push was led by the dedicated student of German youth training, Cheng Dengke, whose trademark

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[153] Liu Shenzhan, "'Junshi tiyuhua' de lilun yu shiji" [Theory and practice of *tiyu*-izing military training], *Guoshu, tiyu, junshi* 4 (9 November 1933) [Weekly feature in *Zhongguo ribao*], p. 8.

[154] Xiao Chong, "Sichuan jiu jundui tiyu chutan" [A preliminary investigation into the *tiyu* activities of the old Sichuan armies], *Sichuan tiyu shiliao* 17 (August 1986), p. 42.

[155] Cheng Dengke, "Zai tan junjing tiyu de tuanti bisai" [More on team competitions in military and police *tiyu* programs], *Guoshu, tiyu, junshi* 3 (2 November 1933) [Weekly feature in *Zhongguo ribao*], p. 8.

tight prose, always punctuated with extremely detailed lists, tables and charts, could be found in virtually every journal under the Chinese educational publishing sun. Cheng wrote that Chinese youth were "the treasures of the nation, the lifeline of the *minzu*," and saw their militarized *tiyu* training as essential in this age of struggle. He wrote often on youth training in other nations, describing to Chinese readers the utility of training as designed by the English and American Boy Scouts, the Hitler Youth in Germany, French labor service organizations, the Italian Balila, the Soviet Young Pioneers and Japanese youth groups such as those organized by Tanaka Giichi.[156] His conclusion was that the Chinese youth training should be a mixture of four components: (1) competitive sports, which would breed organization, bravery, and a sense of dealing with the enemy; (2) Boy Scout training, which would provide education in military, citizenship, and Party affairs; (3) military training; and (4) political training to train in Chinese youth a spirit like that of the Ottoman iron-blood-ism or Japanese *bushido*.[157] This four-pronged plan designed by Cheng, incorporating as it did the seemingly opposing visions of Anglo-American team sports and fascist-style political and martial training,[158] soon became the standard formulation for a

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[156] Cheng Dengke, "Geguo qingnian tiyu xunlian zhi shixiao ji wuguo jinhou qingnian tiyu yingyou zhi dongxiang" [The results of youth *tiyu* training in other countries and the directions our nation's youth *tiyu* training should take from this day on], *Jiaoyu congkan (The Educational Research)* 3.1 (December 1935), pp. 215-221.

Cheng also praised the Soviet Union's standardized physical education testing in these militarized events, like the grenade throw and the 1000 meter gas mask race. Cheng Dengke, "Zai tan Su-E de guomin tiyu" [More on citizens' *tiyu* in Soviet Russia], *Guoshu, tiyu, junshi* 21 (22 March 1934) [Weekly feature in *Zhongguo ribao*], p. 8.

[157] Cheng Dengke, "Geguo qingnian tiyu xunlian zhi shixiao," pp. 213-214.

[158] The idea that Anglo-American sports provided a unique type of cultivation that paramilitary training could not, was actually quite common. At the National Boy Scout Inspection held at Nanjing in April 1930, a violent brawl broke out between Scouts from Hubei province and the Jinan University (Shanghai) Scout troop over the awarding of prizes. Over three hundred Scouts, many armed with clubs and knives, were involved in the brawl, and three Hubei Scouts died in the fighting. Two days

militarized *tiyu* training for the youth of China.

In one of his most important articles, Cheng prefaced his discussion of a militarized *tiyu* training by tracing the "true *tiyu* spirit" of the Chinese nation and people from the prehistoric figures Huang Di and Chi You through loyal and heroic servants of Chinese dynasties like Yue Fei and Shi Kefa.[159] It was this true spirit that China needed to recover now. It would not be enough, as some advised, to merely "strengthen the body to save the nation (*jianshen jiuguo*)." As was his style, Cheng provided a simple list of the ten directions which a successful militarized *tiyu* would have to take; they are summarized below:

> 1. Simplicity and economy.
> 2. The use of all *tiyu* programs and facilities to supplement military training.
> 3. The increase in efficiency of *tiyu* programs via a militarized program.
> 4. "The use of a military management style and military spirit on the athletic field, in order to forcefully correct the bad habits of shrinking from difficulty, lethargy, carelessness, shunning obligations, and inaction."
> 5. Strengthening the body and mind of each student to be at the

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later, upon the Scouts' return to Shanghai, several standout athletes from Jinan University were recruited to lecture the Scouts on competition and morality. "Quanguo Tongzijun jianyue hou zhi xiedou" [The armed battle after the National Boy Scout Inspection], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Educational Review)* 22.5 (20 May 1930), p. 136.

[159] Cheng Dengke, "Tiyu junshihua de jiaoxue chuyi" [My humble opinions on pedagogy for a militarized physical education], *Jiao yu xue* 1.7 (1 January 1936), p. 280.

Cheng also published an article on the physical culture of China before the unifying Qin dynasty of the third century B.C.E., emphasizing the military and Zhou Dynasty-era roots of Chinese soccer, archery, boxing, wrestling, fencing, martial dance and military drill. Also included was a four-page timeline of Chinese and Western physical culture, beginning with the discovery of archery by Huang Di in year 2697 BCE to China's planned Seventh National Games of 1937. Cheng Dengke narration, transcribed by Zhou Shouzang, "Zhongguo xian Qin tiyu" [Chinese physical culture of the pre-Qin era], *Tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 3.2 (June 1937), pp. 127-138.

Other writers also used images of imperial-era martial customs to justify the need for a militarized *tiyu* program. Chen Boqing, Zhejiang Provincial *Tiyu* Czar (*Duxue*), wrote an article on a "Militarized *Tiyu* School" established in Hangzhou during the Southern Song. Chen Boqing, "Nan Song shidai zhi Hangzhou Junshi tiyu xuexiao" [The Militarized *Tiyu* School of Hangzhou at the time of the Southern Song dynasty], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.1 (10 October 1934), pp. 52-53.

vanguard of the people.
6. Imbibing the values of obedience to superiors, progress, and love for nation and race.
7. "Cultivating the virtues of cooperation, mutual aid, struggle, sacrifice, knowledge of the race and nation, and the idea of a greater self (*dawo*), not a smaller self or narrow concepts of selfishness and self-interest."
8. "Promotion of the *tiyu*-ization of military training and of the militarization of *tiyu*, producing a single entity from military training and *tiyu*, and creating a new *tiyu* system and pedagogy to revive the *minzu*."
9. Teaching students that the benefits of *tiyu* are not just those of the individual.
10. "Teaching students to see the sports field as a playground and as a battlefield."[160]

These goals could all be accomplished with Cheng's program, divided into basic and advanced sections. The basic *tiyu* training for Chinese youth would consist of 12 activities: martial arts, calisthenics, gymnastics, militarized ball sports, wrestling, weightlifting, mat exercises, boxing, track and field, swimming, target shooting and singing. Advanced training had 16 parts: footraces and swimming in full military gear, jumping over ditches, hauling ammunition, target shooting, hand grenade throwing, gymnastics, mat exercise, obstacle course, ball sports and martial arts, bicycling, map reading, surveying, equestrian training, applied surveying and statistics, and rowing.[161]

This type of militarized *tiyu* training seems to have been implemented in many areas of China by the time full-scale war broke out in the 1930s. In 1933, the central government passed a regulation requiring each school to register their military training curriculum with local military authorities, and to invite military authorities to inspect their student troops monthly.[162] A 1937 issue of *The Educational Review* included

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[160] Cheng Dengke, "Tiyu junshihua de jiaoxue chuyi," p. 282.

[161] Cheng Dengke, "Tiyu junshihua de jiaoxue chuyi," pp. 288-289.

[162] Qiao Keqin and Guan Wenming, *Zhongguo tiyu sixiangshi* [The history of Chinese physical education philosophy] (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1993), pp. 248-249.

pictures of youth training activities in Zhejiang and Jiangxi. Students in the Provincial Chuzhou Junior High School Youth League (Zhejiang) took part in archery, marching band, bicycling, anti-poison gas training, target shooting and wrestling. Students in the "Emergency Period Physical Training" program at the Provincial Nanchang First Middle School trained in archery, rope- and wall-climbing, and weightlifting (using large rocks).[163] In 1933, the Provincial Education Department in remote Qinghai sponsored a "Summer Military Training Camp," where hundreds of students trained in Boy Scout and calisthenics drills.[164] In 1937, two authors published their suggestions for a Zhejiang Provincial Youth Summer Camp with a curriculum devoting equal time to politics and education, *tiyu*, and military training. The program would be guided by eight principles, presented in another list:

> 1. Cultivate a profound *minzu* consciousness in youth.
> 2. Cultivate ethically superior youth-citizens.
> 3. Cultivate youths' patriotic hearts, strong will and spirit of defending the leaders of the nation.
> 4. Construct healthy and strong physiques.
> 5. Cultivate all types of athletic skills, especially swimming, hiking and long-distance running.
> 6. Cultivate order-respecting, disciplined martial-citizens who study the military skills of shooting and bayoneting and who are prepared and determined to kill the enemy.
> 7. Cultivate generosity, passion and enthusiasm in youth.
> 8. Supplement basic practical knowledge.[165]

Many of China's universities had provided military training since the early

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[163] "Jiaoyu huabao" [Education pictorial], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Educational Review)* 27.4 (10 April 1937).

[164] Fang Xiebang, "Jindai tiyu zai Qinghai" [Modern physical culture in Qinghai province], *Qinghai tiyu shiliao* 2 (December 1987), p. 14.

[165] Gao Shangzhi and Zhang Xianglin, "Jianyi bensheng dangju juban dingqi 'Qingnian xialing ying'" [A suggestion that the governmental authorities of this province sponsor a regular "Youth Summer Camp"], *Tushu zhanwang* 2.7 (May 1937), p. 87.

1930s. In 1931 at National Qingdao University, of 62 basic credits mandatory for all students, eight were in *Tiyu* class and six were in Military Training (*junxun*). *Tiyu* and Military Training Sections were administered by the Educational Affairs Office, each with three faculty.[166] In 1935, the Henan Provincial University student body was organized into a Henan Provincial University Military Training Squad with three levels of command. Military-style orders or commands were used all day long at the university, to mark the beginning and end of classes, study hall and rest periods, "in order to militarize student life and disciplinize [students'] actions and movements." This military discipline included mandatory calisthenics every morning at 6:35. Physical inspections (*tige jiancha*) were held twice a year, and the university reserved the right to expel any students with "malignant diseases."[167] And in 1936, of Guangxi University's 52 faculty members, seven were military training instructors, and 15 of 81 "Life Snapshots" in the school yearbook were of students' military training.[168]

With the growing realization that a war would have to be fought soon against the ever-encroaching Japanese imperialists, it is easy to understand how this mode of militarized *tiyu* training won such currency in China. However, there still many in the *tiyu* world who still saw great problems in these militaristic models, and who were simply unabashed in their appreciation of Western bourgeois and cosmopolitan sporting

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[166] The three *tiyu* instructors were from Anhui, while the military instructors hailed from Guizhou, Yunnan and Sichuan, and were all graduates of the Central Military Institute in Nanjing. *Guoli Qingdao daxue yilan* [Tour of National Qingdao University] (1931), pp. 11-12, 15, 157-167.

[167] *Henan shengli Henan daxue xianxing zhangze huibian* [Current consitution and other data from Henan Provincial University] (1935), pp. 83, 86, 98-99.

[168] *Guangxi daxue min er wu ji biye jiniance* [Guangxi University Class of 1936 yearbook] (Wuzhou: 1936).

traditions. For example, in 1935 top sports bureaucrat Song Ruhai was effusive in praise of the YMCA's past contributions to Chinese physical culture;[169] this essay was written on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of this institution representing the exact opposite of the Guomindang's fascist and *minzu*-centric programs.

One of the first challenges to Cheng Dengke and the militarized *tiyu* line came in 1935 from Central University P.E. Professor Fang Wanbang. Fang, a native of Minhou County, Fujian, graduated from the Beijing Normal University P.E. Department in 1919 at age 26. After teaching for several years in Taiyuan, Shenyang, Changsha, Fuzhou and Xiamen, Fang began graduate study in physical education at Columbia University.[170] After returning to China in the early 1930s, his Columbia master's degree and the publication of his 271-page book *Principles of Physical Education*[171] made him an instant player in the national *tiyu* community.

Fang's critique came within the context of his discussion, published in *The Educational Review*, of the ten greatest problems facing the Chinese *tiyu* community at the time. In the article, he used ideas, likely absorbed at Columbia, to explain how a *tiyu* curriculum should allow youth to experiment, to be socialized and to pick up lessons about life in general. He opposed the militarization of *tiyu* for four reasons: (1)

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[169] Song Ruhai, "Qingnianhui duiyu tiyu zhi gongxian" [The contributions of the YMCA to physical culture], in Zhonghua Jidujiao qingnianhui quanguo xiehui, eds., *Zhonghua Jidujiao qingnianhui wushi zhounian jiniance, 1885-1935* [Commemorative volume on the Chinese YMCA's fiftieth anniversary, 1885-1935] (Shanghai: Zhonghua Jidujiao qingnianhui quanguo xiehui, 1935), pp. 59-62.

[170] Xu Longrui, "Fang Wanbang tiyu sixiang chulun" [A rudimentary treatise on Fang Wanbang's physical education philosophy], *Tiyu wenshi* 35 (January 1989), p. 8.

[171] The book's frontispiece photograph showed Fang in his Columbia University graduation cap and gown. Fang Wanbang, *Tiyu yuanli* [Principles of physical education] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933; reprint 1935).

the scientific nature of modern warfare made skills learned in military-style *tiyu* training obsolete; (2) just as chemistry and history education should not be militarized because they are of use in military affairs, it was not necessary for *tiyu* to be militarized; (3) the true goals of physical education were the health of the individual and the revival of the nation-race, and not military strength; and (4) judging by the condition of China's military, it would be more useful if its military was *tiyu*-ized than vice versa.[172]

Although this question of the militarization of *tiyu* only ranked sixth in Fang's diagnosis of Chinese *tiyu* problems, this challenge to the militaristic *tiyu* line brought a nine-page rebuttal by Cheng Dengke in the pages of *Physical Education Quarterly*. In a polite but forceful piece, Cheng described how the militarization of *tiyu* was simply necessary for a China "riddled with so many hundreds of holes and so many thousands of sores, it is hard to know where to begin treatment." Cheng covered all his bases, justifying the militaristic *tiyu* program by way of brief descriptions of similar preparations in 18 European nations, but also reminding readers that it was the inherently (*guyou*) Chinese *tiyu* and not the European-American sports (often unsuitable to the Chinese national condition) that should serve as the basis of *tiyu* programs in China.[173]

Despite Cheng's attempt to nip this debate in the bud, Fang's critique of the

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[172] Fang Wanbang, "Woguo xianxing tiyu zhi shi da wenti jiqi jiejue tujing" [The ten greatest problems with our nation's current physical education programs and the paths we should take to solve them], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Educational Review)* 25.3 (10 March 1933), pp. 32-33.

[173] Cheng did agree with Fang's point that a *tiyu*-ization of the Chinese military was necessary as well. Cheng Dengke, "Du Fang Wanbang xiansheng 'Woguo xianxing tiyu zhi shi da wenti jiqi jiejue tujing' zhong suo chi dui tiyu junshihua buqie shiyong de jiantao" [A discussion of the unrealistic and impractical notions held in Mr. Fang Wanbang's 'The ten greatest problems with our nation's current physical education programs and the paths we should take to solve them'], *Tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 1.3 (July 1935), pp. 358-361.

militarized *tiyu* line seemed to embolden other *tiyu* activists to question the superiority of the militaristic position over the Anglo-American sports *tiyu*. Zhang Jiwu of Nankai University offered his own analysis of the Cheng-Fang debate, characterizing the conflict as inevitable, with Fang taking the perspective of a scientist and logician in the debate, to Cheng's historian- and sociologist-like stance.[174] Zhang made it clear where he stood, citing a 1934 Columbia University doctoral dissertation by W. L. Nash on the subject in advising readers, "do not bow to authoritarianism, and do not worship military force and this narrow patriotism."[175] Lin Liru, writing in *The Educational Review*, expressed his doubts about militarized *tiyu* and its "superstitious faith in a strict-training-ism," pointing out that "militarized *tiyu*" by its very nature was un-*tiyu* (*fei tiyu*) and counter to the principles of *tiyu* (*fan tiyu*).[176] Wu Yunrui, educated in anatomy and physiology at the University of Chicago and in physical education at Columbia University,[177] in 1937 contributed a piece on the military training question to the *Physical Education Quarterly*. Wu stressed the psychological uses of physical education in training the individual's "emotional control, improvement and strengthening, in order to serve as a good element (*lianghao fenzi*) in society," and opposed the teaching of "autocratic" "military training which only upholds imperialism

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[174] Zhang Jiwu, "Dule Fang Wanbang Cheng Dengke liang xiansheng de dazhu zhihou" [Upon reading Messrs. Fang Wanbang's and Cheng Dengke's important works], *Tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 2.3 (September 1936), pp. 348-349, quoted in Hsu Yuan-ming, *Zhanqian shinian Zhongguo tiyu sixiang zhi yanjiu*, pp. 60-61.

[175] Zhang Jiwu, "Dule Fang Wanbang Cheng Dengke," quoted in Hsu Yuan-ming, *Zhanqian shinian Zhongguo tiyu sixiang zhi yanjiu*, p. 61.

[176] Lin Liru, "Duiyu zhongxue kecheng zhong junshi xunlian di yi ge jianyi" [A suggestion regarding military training in the middle school curriculum], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Educational Review)* 26.1 (10 January 1936), pp. 35-36.

[177] Zhong Ruiqiu, "Jindai zhuming tiyujia: Wu Yunrui zhuanlüe" [An outstanding modern *tiyu* expert: A biographical sketch of Wu Yunrui], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 4 (July 1983), p. 3.

and the plundering of others' land."[178]

In this debate of largely American-educated physical experts versus Cheng Dengke and his German model of militarized *tiyu*, perhaps the most ironic volley came from Bishan County, Sichuan native Liu Xuesong. Liu first studied physical education at the West China Union University in Chengdu in the early 1920s. Liu was a varsity standout in soccer and track and field, but never emerged from the shadow of West China Union's most famous athlete, Cheng Dengke, at the time a dentistry major. For decades, Cheng's and Liu's *tiyu* careers would shadow each other in telling ways. Cheng was offered a scholarship to study physical education at Springfield College in Massachusetts, on the condition that he teach P.E. at West China Union upon graduation, but Cheng refused the scholarship and in 1920 tested into the Southeastern University P.E. Department in Nanjing.[179] Liu left Chengdu soon after Cheng, receiving a YMCA scholarship to study at Soochow University.[180] Cheng graduated from Southeastern in 1925 and taught physical education at Shanghai's East Asia P.E. School and the Patriotic Girls' School before leaving for Berlin in 1929. Liu graduated from Soochow in 1927, and taught at the YMCA-run Qingxin Girls' Middle School in Shanghai before leaving for the United States courtesy of a YMCA scholarship in 1929. In 1933, the same year that Cheng returned from Berlin, Snowpine Liu (his

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[178] Wu Yunrui, "Junshi xunlian yu tiyu" [Military training and physical education], *Tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 3.1 (March 1937), pp. 2-3.

[179] Han Chunling, "Renwu jieshao: Cheng Dengke" [Introducing Cheng Dengke], *Tiyu wenshi (Sport History)* 54 (March 1992), pp. 68-69.

[180] Zhang Zengyuan, "Sichuan zui zao huode tiyu shuoshi xuewei de liuxuesheng Liu Xuesong" [Sichuan's first foreign exchange student to earn a master's degree in physical education, Liu Xuesong], *Sichuan tiyu shiliao* 14 (August 1985), p. 29.

English name a direct translation of the Chinese), returned to China with master's degrees in P.E. and general education from Springfield College and USC.

Liu was never as proficient a physical education activist as Cheng, but in this debate on militarized *tiyu*, there was little doubt where this ex-Trojan varsity man would stand. In the same issue of *Physical Education Quarterly* as the Wu Yunrui article mentioned above, Liu also came down against the Cheng plan to "unite as one" *tiyu*, Boy Scout paramilitary training and martial arts.[181] Liu was not optimistic about the hope of successfully combining traditions of Greco-Roman sport, English Scouting and Chinese martial arts. He allowed that all three disciplines were meant to train the body-mind (*shenxin*), but found their methods of training, administration and organization so dissimilar as to make the effort utterly impractical. Finally, Liu doubted the possibility that martial arts, which had always been practiced towards a goal of personal self-defense, could be meaningfully combined with *tiyu*, "the finest tool for training human socialization (*qunxing*)."[182]

This debate over the role of military training in physical education programs in 1930s China thus highlights the divisions in China's *tiyu* community at this time.[183] On one side were the German-trained and Guomindang faithful, like Cheng Dengke, Liu Shenzhan and Wu Cheng, who saw hope for China in the order and discipline of the

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[181] Liu Xuesong, "Kefou jiang tiyu tongjun guoshu dacheng yipian" [Would it be possible to unite as one *tiyu*, Boy Scout training and guoshu?], *Tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 3.1 (March 1937), pp. 7-10.

[182] Liu Xuesong, "Kefou jiang tiyu tongjun guoshu dacheng yipian," pp. 8-9.

[183] These exchanges echoed what became known as the "*yang-tu* (foreign vs. Chinese) debate," which posed the uses of Western-style sports *tiyu* against those of traditional Chinese martial arts, and illustrated clearly the divisions in the *tiyu* community of the time.

Nazi youth training regimen. The Teutonic race's ascent to greatness in the 1930s only proved for these *tiyu* specialists the utility to a Chinese nation-race of using physical culture to recover and fine-tune once again the "national condition." On the other side were the American-educated P.E. specialists like Fang Wanbang, Wu Yunrui and Liu Xuesong, who in times of national crisis, saw more truth in "scientific" or "democratic" models of a strong nation based on strong and self-disciplining individual citizens. For them, *tiyu* remained a "body-cultivation," providing a spectrum of psychological and socializing impetuses to the growing minds of youth of any nationality.

Similar debates marked other social and political realms during the Nanjing Decade, as Chinese writers, artists, educators and progressive political figures attempted to present more liberal models of the society and nation which questioned the totalizing "New Life" or "Sunist" visions propagated by the Guomindang state. However, where many of these movements were brutally suppressed, the liberals of the *tiyu* world enjoyed a unique space from which they could criticize official fascist models. The power of international ideals of the Olympic movement, teamwork, fair play and free competition demanded that Chinese *tiyu* experts defending these forms be given space from which to work toward these designs. Chapter Six describes the competitive sports movement that became the most powerful expression of these cosmopolitan sporting objectives.

Conclusion: The Seventh National Games, 1937

In the beginning of this chapter, I described the tangle of clashing visions and ideals that made up 1930s Chinese *tiyu*. While the mass *tiyu* and militarized *tiyu* lines posed themselves as polar opposites of the elitist and materialist Anglo-American

sports *tiyu*, and enthusiasts of Western physical education theory scoffed at militaristic and authoritarian training regimens, these *tiyu* philosophies did not clash nearly as much as participants in these crucial debates imagined. For even the most militaristic of the militarized *tiyu* programs saw the utility of team sports in building a national spirit of teamwork and sacrifice. And the most liberal and trusting advocates of American-style physical education saw their goal as a strong and disciplined nation-race that would finally have the strength to fight off imperialist enemies.

A fine example of the ties between these physical culture lines comes with the planning of the Seventh National Games. If not for the eruption of all-out war in July, these Games were to have been held at the Central Stadium in Nanjing beginning on 10 October 1937. There was much pressure to make these National Games something more than just another exercise in Western-style sports and "trophy-ism." In 1933, the Fifth National Games had been blasted for being too "aristocratized and Westernized," and not sufficiently "*minzu*-ized, solidarized and militarized."[184] This disgruntled author cited Cheng Dengke on the link between *tiyu* and a strong military, and mentioned that the Soviet Union's national competitions were not even called "meets" but instead "National Defense and Production Tests," as Soviet physical culture was geared toward inculcating labor and military skills in their nation's youth.[185]

Shao Rugan, editor of the influential *Chin Fen Sports Monthly*, opined that the Seventh National Games Planning Committee should hold a National Defense Exposition at the site of the games, as well as "energetically promoting" this year's

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[184] Zhang Yuanruo, "Guofang yu tiyu" [National defense and physical culture], *Fuxing yuekan* 2.3 (1 November 1933), p. 4.

[185] Zhang Yuanruo, "Guofang yu tiyu," p. 5.

martial-themed new demonstration events, the modern pentathlon, cycling and polo.[186] Shao did not even mention here the other scheduled demonstration events new to the National Games, like the fully-armed five kilometer race, the grenade throw, Western-style boxing and even glider flying.[187]

This attempt to accent the military flavor of the doomed Seventh National Games of 1937 brings us back to the contradictions posed by the Fourth National Games put on by the Guomindang at the beginning of the decade. Although an unprecedented turnout was projected for these Seventh Games - final plans included 42 teams from all over and outside of China[188] - martial arts was the only one of 15 men's and 11 women's medal events that did not belong to the much-maligned "Westernized" or "aristocratic" *tiyu*.[189] And the fact that 300,000 *yuan* were budgeted for these Games must have seemed a supreme insult to China's many agents of "mass *tiyu*" who

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[186] Shao Rugan, "Jingxian yu Qijie quanyunhui choubei weiyuanhui" [Respectful suggestions to the Seventh National Games Planning Committee], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 4.6 (March 1937), p. 415.

[187] "Di qi jie Quanguo yundong dahui zuzhi guicheng" [Organization and regulations of the Seventh National Games], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 4.9 (June 1937), p. 710; Xie Zuoyu, "Shizhi huaxiang xingguo, yinghun yongzhu changkong -- ji Zhongguo huaxiang yundong chuangshiren Wei Chao" [An oath to revive the nation via the glider, his spirit lives forever in the sky - On the founder of China's glider movement, Wei Chao], *Tiyu wenshi (Sport History)* 60 (March 1993), p. 53.

[188] There were to be 28 provincial teams, five teams representing municipalities (Nanjing, Shanghai, Beiping, Tianjin, Qingdao), three teams from special zones (Weihaiwei, Harbin, Hong Kong), two teams from special localities (Mongolia, Tibet), and four overseas Chinese contingents (Philippines, Honolulu, Malaya, Dutch Indies). Dong Qijun, "Quanguo yundong dahui xiaoshi" [A short history of the National Games], *Tushu zhanwang* 2.7 (May 1937), p. 55.

[189] The 15 men's events were to be: martial arts, track, field, all-around (pentathlon and decathlon), relays, swimming, diving, weightlifting, soccer, basketball, tennis singles and doubles, volleyball, baseball and ping-pong. The women's 11 events were to be: martial arts, track, field, swimming, diving, basketball, tennis singles and doubles, volleyball, softball and ping-pong. Dong Qijun, "Quanguo yundong dahui xiaoshi," pp. 55-56.

were hoping to strengthen China by managing public athletic grounds in inland China on five or ten *yuan* a year.[190]

Again, this was the fundamental contradiction of Chinese physical culture of the 1930s. The international weight carried by the Olympics,[191] and the international omnipresence of notions of competition and progress, simply dictated that the Chinese *tiyu* community continue in the direction laid down by the Anglo-American sports. Yet the material conditions of a China facing imminent war with a Japanese imperialist enemy also dictated that *tiyu* activists look to paths blazed by other once-endangered nations like Germany. And the national and sporting successes of China's "eastern neighbors" also demanded that concerned Chinese learn from the Japanese model of strengthening the nation-race via modern physical culture. The constraints placed on 1930s China guaranteed that these multiple and contradicting directions in physical culture would arise. In fact, one could see events like the doomed Seventh National Games as efforts by the Guomindang bureaucracy to find a sporting medium between these fascist/racial and liberal/cosmopolitan models. The next chapter, on the Chinese competitive sports world of the 1930s, illustrates from a different angle the contradictions and ultimate connections between these forms of modern physical culture.

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[190] "Di qi jie quanyunhui choubei weiyunahui de wenjian" [Documents from the Seventh National Games Planning Committee], File 587 (10), Folder 10, Second Historical Archives, Nanjing, China.

[191] The Olympic influence reached to these National Games as well: Shao Rugan suggested that the Games incorporate all the Olympic events so as to be able to "step into the international woods," and also that the Games borrow from the Olympics in having the referees lead competing athletes on and off the field before and after each event. Shao Rugan, "Duiyu benjie Quanguo yundong dahui zhi jianyi" [Suggestions regarding these National Games], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 4.7 (April 1937), p. 495; Shao Rugan, "Tantan choubei quanyunhui" [A chat on National Games planning], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 4.8 (May 1937), p. 575.

CHAPTER 6

How the Warriors Run and Dance: Competitive Sport in 1930s China

During the 1930s, many knowledgeable in *tiyu* ways distinguished an "elite" sphere of competitive sports from the "mass *tiyu*" described in the previous chapter. Competitive sport was marked, and correctly so, as a form of sport less accessible to the masses, and requiring specialized training and the luxuries of free time and money to practice and to buy the uniforms, equipment and technical literature so necessary for success in this field. However, none could deny that it was success in this realm, more than in the mass *tiyu* programs spread at the local level, that could ultimately produce the images of a strong and healthy China that belonged in the world of modern nations.

There surely are more points of intersection between these realms than a dichotomy of "mass" vs. "elite" sport seems to allow. The national quality of high-level competitive sports depended on the presence of a large crowd representing the "masses" in whose name these spectacles were produced. This realm also was premised on the familiar myth that any athlete, whether on the hardwood floors of Shanghai's finest gyms, or on ramshackle athletic grounds in backward Guizhou, could get there with enough skill and effort. The relationship between "mass" and "elite" modes actually represented a type of feedback system, where the interest and participation of the "masses" validated competitive sports, and images of "elite" athletes and teams helped to shape mass forms of *tiyu*. But again, only participation in international competitions like the Far Eastern Championship Games and the Olympics, the ultimate goal of any young athlete training in the provinces, could bring the possibility of representing and bringing glory to China on an international stage.

This was the factor that allowed competitive sports, criticized throughout the 1930s as "trophy-ism" and "moneybag sports," to maintain its status as a crucial aspect of Chinese physical culture during the Nanjing Decade. High-level competitive sports were an option for only a small minority of China's population. As politically incorrect as they were, however, these forms clearly had more potential to win the respect of the world's powers than did a "fully-armed 200 meter dash" competition or any other aspect of the "mass *tiyu*" programs so fashionable in the 1930s. State planners and physical culture activists had no choice but to promote the uneasy marriage of "mass" and "elite" modes of *tiyu* described in Chapter Five. This chapter will describe this field of elite-level competitive sports, from provincial-level, regional and national meets to international competitions like the Olympics. as I show how each level of competition and participation in this enterprise was invested with swelling levels of significance for the fate of the sporting Chinese nation.

The Winds of Sport: Provincial-Level Meets

> Guizhou, besides having transformed itself into a feudal tribe (*fengjian buluo*), has no real politics of which to speak. As a result, [Guizhou] education has been made into a realm of the living dead, ever gripped in the throes of death ... Under these sorts of conditions, no one ever cares if this tribe has any sort of duty at all to perform for the nation and race. Fortunately, today our chance to rise from the dead and come back to life has begun to take shape.[1]
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> - "On the Closing of the Provincial Games," *Guizhou Morning Post*, 17 September 1935

One important development in 1930s *tiyu* was the regularization of the

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[1] "Quanyun bimu zhi ci" [On the closing of the Provincial Games], *Guizhou chenbao yundonghui tekan*, 17 September 1935. reprinted in Guizhou sheng di yi jie quansheng yundonghui choubei weiyuanhui, eds., *Guizhou sheng di yi jie quansheng yundonghui zongbaogao* [Official report of the First Guizhou Provincial Games] (Guiyang: Guizhou sheng zhengfu jiaoyuting, 1935), p. 115.

provincial-level athletic meet virtually all over China. Several of China's more modern provinces put on large provincial meets in the early years of the Republic or even the late Qing.[2] Like so many other aspects of physical culture and society at large, however, this institution was standardized during the 1930s, as provincial meets became simultaneously more inclusive and more subject to national schedules, norms and agendas.

Province-level meets of the 1930s heralded a new level of inclusion of the Chinese people in the national and nationizing enterprise of competitive sport. Meets became larger in scope. Women's events were now included, and meets were now able to attract teams from locales in farther reaches of the provinces than ever before. Perhaps most significantly, by the mid-1930s many provincial meets were now theoretically extended beyond student-athletes to the "average citizen," as teams were drawn up to represent counties and cities rather than schools of that province.

Zhejiang's third provincial meet, held in Hangzhou in 1930, featured 49 teams representing cities and specific schools and 518 athletes. Competitions were held in track and field, soccer, basketball, volleyball and tennis, with women's teams taking part in all but soccer. Promoters of the meet were sufficiently impressed with the modern, inclusive nature of these games to bill them as the "First Zhejiang Provincial Games," to be distinguished from earlier efforts sponsored by previous regimes.[3]

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[2] Months before these Guizhou Provincial Games, Guangdong held its 13th Provincial Games, continuing a tradition that began in 1906. In 1935 Jiangsu held its tenth provincial meet and Zhejiang its sixth, their first such meets dating back to 1914 and 1916, respectively. The Hunan Games of 1934 were that province's fourteenth; its first, China's earliest province-wide games, were held in 1905.

[3] Zhiyun, *Zhejiang quansheng yundong dahui xiaoshi* [A short history of the Zhejiang Provincial Games] (Hangzhou: Tushu zhanwang yuekan, 1937), pp. 2-3. Zhejiang's second provincial meet, held in 1917, included teams from 39 schools, but few sports competitions were held, its program crowded with competitions and demonstrations of mass calisthenics and martial arts. Zhao Shanxing,

Jiangsu's 1930 provincial meet was likewise labeled the "First Jiangsu Provincial Games," marking the meet as an altogether different enterprise from the six provincial meets held between 1914 and 1921.[4] The Guizhou Games of 1935, seen as such a great step for that province, were not its first such meet either. But the two provincial meets held in 1927 and 1928 during the reign of warlord Zhou Xicheng, a time when the "winds of sport had not yet blown over the entire province,"[5] were now dismissed as being "who knows how many thousands and thousands of miles away from the true meaning of the athletic meet, its rules and regulations."[6]

The 1930s saw the spread of this institution to other poor inland provinces where the state and capitalist institutions necessary to the spread of the modern *tiyu* now were being put into place. In 1931 Chahar Province (today part of Inner Mongolia) held a small-scale Provincial Games at the new Provincial Athletic Grounds at Zhangjiakou. Three years later, Chahar Province held its 1934 High School Autumn Games at these same grounds featuring track and field, tennis, basketball and volleyball competitions. A total of 182 athletes, 133 male and 49 female, represented nine high schools, normal schools and vocational schools from Zhangjiakou, Zhangbei, Xuanhua and Saibei. In addition to these student contests, track and field competitions were

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"Jiu Zhongguo Zhejiang sheng yundonghui gaikuang" [The Zhejiang Provincial Games of old China], *Tiyu yundong jiaoxue cankao ziliao* 13 (August 1981), pp. 10-11.

[4] Yuan Zongze and Zhu Lin, "1914 nian - 1937 nian Jiangsu sheng yundonghui jianjie" [An introduction to Jiangsu province-wide meets, 1914-1937], *Jiangsu tiyu wenshi* 1 (October 1984), pp. 27-39.

[5] Ye Yuanlong, "Ye xu" [Ye's preface], in *Guizhou sheng di yi jie quansheng yundonghui zongbaogao*, p. 2.

[6] "Guoqu de he xianzai de yundonghui" [Athletic meets past and present], *Guizhou chenbao yundonghui tekan*, 8 September 1935, reprinted in *Guizhou sheng di yi jie quansheng yundonghui zongbaogao*, p. 108.

held in a "Society Division," which included 19 athletes from the 29th Army, the Provincial Construction Department and the Xiahuayuan Train Station.[7] The Publicity Section, one of eight divisions of this meet's Planning Committee, publicized these Games using 18 different slogans, many of which emphasized a new "mass" orientation in the physical culture enterprise:

> "Our citizens' lack of vigor and fitness is an omen heralding the extinction of the nation-race!"
> "Only by advocating *tiyu* can we carefully root out the old customs of weakness!"
> "To achieve male-female equality, men's and women's *tiyu* must first be made equal!"
> "Overthrow the corrupt thinking that sees beauty in those too weak to stand up in the wind!"[8]

The same autumn, a Southern Jiangxi Military-Citizenry United Athletic Meet was held in Dayu in the Jiangxi-Hunan-Guangdong border region. This site was an important one, as it was located just to the southwest of the Jiangxi Provincial Soviet Government. The timing of the meet was notable too; it was held in October 1934, just following the Jiangxi climax of Chiang Kai-shek's fifth (and most successful) communist extermination campaign. This celebratory meet brought together 370 civilian athletes from six southern Jiangxi counties and 554 soldier-athletes from seven different divisions and brigades stationed there. Meet planners hoped that this sporting engagement would "allow the military and the citizenry to be together forever, never leaving one another, forever united as one under a single cause - completing our

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[7] These last three cities were all within 30 miles of the provincial capital at Zhangjiakou. Chahar sheng ershisan nian zhongdeng xuexiao qiuji yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, eds., *Chahar sheng ershisan nian zhongdeng xuexiao qiuji yundong dahui zongbaogao* [Chahar Province 1934 High School Autumn Games Official Report] (Zhangjiakou: Chahar sheng jiaoyuting mishushi, 1934), pp. 1, 19.

[8] *Chahar sheng ershisan nian zhongdeng xuexiao qiuji yundong dahui zongbaogao*, p. 4.

present tasks of reconstruction and exterminating the [communist] bandits."[9]

This meet featured a spectacular demonstration by famed strongman Tan Wenbiao and the South Asia Acrobatic Squad, whose feats of strength were captured in photographs published in the official meet report. In one scene, one performer rides a bicycle over another's stomach. In another scene, four performers, two per side, hang from a bent bar that rests atop the head of the star of this event. Another picture shows four of the performers standing on the sideboards of an automobile being pulled by shirtless strongman Tan, the rope clenched tightly between his teeth. And in the most breathtaking of all the demonstrations, this same auto, weighted down even more by the four acrobats standing on its sideboards, drives over a wooden ramp which balances only on Tan's torso. Tan and his squad seem truly to have earned the large banner reading "Extraordinary, Unlike Any Other" (*chulei bacui*) presented to them by Yu Hanmou, Meet Chairman and Commanding Officer of the First Guangdong Army.[10]

The spectacle provided by these demonstrations and the crack planning of the other competitions, provided by a team of 24 *tiyu* experts from Guangdong Province, could hardly hide the fact that these Southern Jiangxi Games, like many other provincial-level athletic meets, were designed with explicitly political significances in mind. Chen Jitang, Guangdong warlord and Co-Honorary Chairman of the Southern Jiangxi Games, explained his views of the importance of physical culture:

> Today we must use bloody warfare and hand-to-hand combat to resist humiliation at the hands of the foreigners, while using material and spiritual force to wipe out the bandit scourge (*suqing feihuo*). If we do not have strong and healthy physiques and a firm and resolute spirit,

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[9] *Gannan junmin lianhe er ci yundong dahui tekan* [Special Publication of the Second Southern Jiangxi Military-Citizenry United Athletic Meet] (1934), p. 2.

[10] *Gannan junmin lianhe er ci yundong dahui tekan*, photos before p. 1.

> then I ask, how will we be able to perform our responsibilities of national salvation?[11]

These Southern Jiangxi Games were clearly seen as part of the Guomindang's communist extermination campaigns. Chiang Kai-shek characterized this fifth suppression campaign as "70% politics plus 30% military affairs." This meet likely seemed one of the rare forms which could be useful in both of these realms, as well as in the anti-communist New Cultural Movement being promoted in Jiangxi.[12] As such, the Games were quite important in the eyes of the Guomindang elites - no other provincial-level meet was blessed with prizes donated by Chiang, Hu Hanmin, and Li Zongren, who sent two large silver *ding* cauldrons and a scroll hand-painted by Li himself, to be presented to deserving champions.[13]

Other provincial meets were part of this same general program of consolidating a nationalizing Nationalist-izing culture to maintain a Guomindang peace in areas rocked by rebellion and unrest. Months after Chiang's fifth communist suppression campaign was extended into Guizhou, the Guizhou Games mentioned above were held

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[11] *Gannan junmin lianhe er ci yundong dahui tekan*, p. 2.

[12] Benjamin Yang, *From Revolution to Politics: Chinese Communists on the Long March* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), pp. 69-70.

[13] *Gannan junmin lianhe er ci yundong dahui tekan, Jiangpin* [Prizes] Section, pp. 1-4.

Besides this heavy anti-communist flavor, this meet also illustrates conflicts within the Guomindang itself. The Guangdong influence in this meet was quite thick, as both Honorary Meet Co-Chairmen were major Guangdong political figures - Lin Yungai, Guangdong Provincial Chairman, and Chen Jitang, Guangdong warlord and famous anti-Nanjing element. Also, many of the meet's prizes were donated by Guangdong provincial-level and Guangzhou municipal officials. It seems likely that this Guangdong faction hoped to use these Games as part of a plan to influence the Guomindang's plans for South China, only months after Chen Jitang's difficult decision not to join with the Fujian rebel government in its fight against Nanjing. *Gannan junmin lianhe er ci yundong dahui tekan, Jiangpin* [Prizes] Section, pp. 1-4; Lloyd E. Eastman, *The Abortive Revolution: China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1974), pp. 113-118.

in this bandit-infested land. Provincial Education Department Director Ye Yuanlong praised Provincial Chairman Wu Zhongxin's decision to hold this meet and "bestow rest and recreation on the people, as we handle the remnants of the bandits' uprisings."[14] Shortly after, a hastily-arranged "Yunnan Provincial Games" was held simultaneously in Kunming and 10 other areas around the province, including Zhaotong in the northeast, Qujing in the far east, Pu'er in the south, Baoshan in the west, and Lijiang in the northwest, on 25 December 1935. The official reason given for the meet was to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the 1915 Yunnan Uprising (or *Huguo yundong*) against Yuan Shikai. However, it was likely that the recent extension of Chiang's fifth suppression campaign into Yunnan was another motivation for holding this provincial meet.[15] Hung-Mao Tien has described how Guomindang anti-Communist campaigns also allowed for the extension of Nanjing-designed administrative reforms, political education programs, and plans for inter-provincial cooperation into these "Bandit Suppression Zones."[16] The same is clearly true here as well, as the extension of the central state into these provinces also had great implications for the modernizing and nationalizing realm of *tiyu*.

This model also could be applied to other Guomindang campaigns against northern warlords. Months after Feng Yuxiang's failed rebellion in Chahar, the

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[14] Ye Yuanlong, "Ye xu," p. 2.

[15] Li Lixian, "Yunnan quansheng yundong dahui jixiang" [Record of the Yunnan Provincial Games], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.5 (February 1936), pp. 438-441; "1900 nian - 1949 nian Yunnan sheng tiyu dashi" [Chronicle of physical culture in Yunnan province, 1900-1949], *Yunnan tiyu wenshi* 10 (December 1988), p. 43.

[16] Hung-Mao Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China, 1927-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), pp. 97-103.

Director of the Chahar Provincial Education Department was effusive in his praise of Chahar Provincial Chairman Song Zheyuan's wisdom in staging that province's 1934 meet:

> Our Chahar is a land on the far frontier, and our provincial government was established later than others. As for the field of physical culture, everyone has waited for someone else to begin planning. Now, Chairman Song has taken charge of the administration of this land, working to deal with the accumulated ravages of warlords and their troops. [These games are] an act of government to bestow rest and recreation on the people, as we work to look after and allow people rest from their hardships.[17]

Chahar's participation in national affairs like *tiyu* under the rule of Song Zheyuan also reflects the extent to which this warlord was willing to submit to Nanjing authority, especially after Chiang Kai-shek's courtship and financial subsidy of his loyalty.[18]

Besides explicit political motivations for engaging the populations of each Chinese province in the participation and consumption of competitive sports, there were also more *tiyu*-specific factors behind the planning of province-level meets. By the 1930s, these competitions were almost always timed to be held shortly before National Games, and functioned as selection meets for the national meet. For example, at the Guizhou Games mentioned above, held on 7-9 September 1935, eight men out of the 343 participating athletes were selected to represent Guizhou at the National Games scheduled to begin on 10 October.[19] That same week, Xinjiang held its first

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[17] Zhao Botao, "Shengsili zhongdeng xuexiao qiuji yundonghui xu" [Preface for the Provincial and Private High School Autumn Games], in *Chahar sheng ershisan nian zhongdeng xuexiao qiuji yundong dahui zongbaogao*, p. 1.

[18] Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, p. 156.

[19] Each of these eight won at least one of the 16 men's track and field events. They would be joined on the Guizhou Province Team by eight Guizhou natives studying in Shanghai. *Guizhou sheng di yi jie quansheng yundonghui zongbaogao*, pp. 95-96.

Provincial Games on 9 September at the Anti-Imperialist Military School Field in Dihua (Urumqi). Nearly one thousand students participated in these Games, and eleven of these were selected to take part in track and field, swimming and *guoshu* events at the National Games the next month.[20] Fujian's Fifth Provincial Games began two days later,[21] and the Jiangsu Games were also held this week at the Zhenjiang Provincial Athletic Grounds.[22]

Not only were athletes all over Yunnan province moving in unison on the day of their 11-site Provincial Games, but athletes from all over the nation must have exulted in the knowledge that they were engaging in similar quests, moving their bodies in the same strenuous and sporting tasks, at the same time as their fellow Chinese athletes from corners of the nation as distant as Xinjiang, Guizhou and Fujian. And they quite literally were the same motions, as the different provincial games consisted of virtually the same exact set of competitions - men's track and field (19 events), women's track and field (11 events), men's and women's volleyball, basketball, martial arts, tennis and baseball/softball, and men's swimming and soccer - for this was the official set of

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[20] Hand-picked Xinjiang athletes were sent to the Fifth National Games, originally scheduled for 1931 and eventually held in 1933, but this was the first time that a meet was used to select the provincial representatives. Xiao Guipei, "Jianguo qian Xinjiang sheng di yi jie yundonghui ji bufen tiyu huodong gaikuang" [The first pre-PRC Xinjiang Provincial Games and general information on sports of the time], *Xinjiang tiyu shiliao* 1 (1985), p. 44; "Jianguo qian Xinjiang canjia di wu, liu, qi jie Quanguo yundonghui jianjie" [Xinjiang's participation in the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh pre-PRC National Games], *Xinjiang tiyu shiliao* 2 (1985), p. 10.

[21] This meet was held at the Xiamen Zhongshan Park Athletic Grounds. Seventeen Fujian cities and counties sent 589 athletes to these Games, of which 101 (66 men, 35 women) were selected to represent Fujian at the National Games. Fujian sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Fujian shengzhi: Tiyu zhi* [Fujian provincial gazetteer: Chronicle of physical culture] (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1993), pp. 246, 286.

[22] Here, 670 athletes (475 men, 195 women) represented 61 counties (divided into eight zones) in competing for provincial bragging rights and spots on the Jiangsu team at the National Games. Yuan Zongze and Zhu Lin, "1914 nian - 1937 nian Jiangsu sheng yundonghui jianjie," p. 43.

competitions that made up the National Games, that all-important center around which the universe of Chinese *tiyu* now revolved.

These provincial meets, by the 1930s part of the physical culture of most of China's provinces, thus played a special role in the Chinese *tiyu* world. They were the only real point of intersection between the realms of mass *tiyu* and high-level competitive sport. These provincial meets were too inclusive to provide the thrills of elite competition, and at the same time too reliant on exclusive bourgeois forms to be truly popular. However, they still served as an arena where athletic competitions could be seen to have real correlations with the health and fitness of local populations. Many understood provincial meets as a way of addressing local concerns and particularities, while still remaining relevant to national and nationizing enterprises in ways that no other types of competition could. Even the choices of Honorary Meet Chairmen, nearly always the Chairman of that provincial government, accomplished this same end. Each of these figures brought to the meets prestige owing to his association with the national, but likely hoped to profit in specifically local arenas from his proud sponsorship of the games. Most provincial meets received little national publicity, but it clear that these meets were an important support in the national architecture that was competitive sport in the 1930s.

Regional Games

For the provinces that did not hold provincial games, this level of competition was replaced by the regional meet. The largest of these was the North China Games (*Huabei yundonghui*), convened 18 times between 1913 and 1934. Where the first 14 Huabei Games (1913-1929) were run by YMCA organizations and warlord

governments, and participation restricted to student teams, the last four (1931-1934) were held in ways that symbolized the importance of Northern China in Nationalist affairs.[23] Many Northern locales held provincial or municipal games of their own, and used the regional meet as a intermediate step between local and national competitions. However, for others these games took the place of the provincial meets in representing local sentiments and needs within the national enterprise of physical culture.

The first highly publicized North China meet was the 14th Games, held in Shenyang in 1929, in a new state-of-the-art 30,000-seat stadium built on the Northeastern University campus by militarist, sports enthusiast and new Guomindang team player Zhang Xueliang. Zhang was well-known for his love for sport, and for his patronage of the realm,[24] but he charmed and thrilled all present by personally entering the long jump competition at these North China Games![25] It was also at these Games

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[23] In the 1930s, these Huabei Games were joined by teams representing Shandong, Henan, Hebei, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gansu, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Rehe, Suiyuan, Chahar, Beiping, Tianjin, Qingdao, Harbin and Weihaiwei.

[24] Following his ascent to power upon his father's death in 1928, Zhang quickly began moving to spread modern physical culture to the Liaoning people. He began his first address to students at his Northeastern University by proclaiming, "The first thing I want to say to you today is to work for the cause of physical fitness," and going on to address the problem of "soft and weak" students and their negligence of *tiyu*. That same year, Zhang established a Department of Physical Education at Northeastern, staffing it with top names like Wu Yunrui, Song Junfu and Shen Guoquan. *Shengjing shibao*, 18 September 1928, reprinted in Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Liaoning sheng weiyuanhui and Wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui, eds., *Zhang Xueliang jiangjun ziliaoxuan: Liaoning wenshi ziliao di shiba ji* [Selected historical materials on General Zhang Xueliang: Liaoning Historical Materials, Volume 18] (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1986), p. 158; Zhao Shouren, "Zhang Xueliang jiangjun yu Dongbei xiandai tiyu de xingqi" [General Zhang Xueliang and the rise of modern physical culture in the Northeast], *Tiyu wenshi* 25 (June 1987), p. 51.

In 1928 he also sponsored an international meet in Shenyang, inviting top Japanese and French track and field teams to join the competition, and carefully filming these foreign experts' skills and techniques for use in training Chinese athletes. Then, in 1929 he took the Northeastern soccer team to Japan, where they played teams in Tokyo, Osaka and Kobe. Wang Zhenya, *Jiu Zhongguo tiyu jianwen* [Glimpses of physical culture in the old China] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1987), p. 11; Shenyang shi renmin zhengfu difangzhi bianzuan bangongshi, ed., *Shenyang shi zhi* [Shenyang municipal gazetteer] (Shenyang chubanshe, 1990), p. 86.

[25] Zhao Shouren, "Zhang Xueliang jiangjun yu Dongbei xiandai tiyu de xingqi," p. 51.

that a young Dong Hanwen, then a star player on the Northeastern University High School soccer team, fell in love with the glory and the beauty of track and field. Sitting in the living room of Li Shiming's rest home apartment in June 1996, Dong remembered attending this meet with a group of curious fellow students. Dalian sprinter Liu Changchun's triple gold medal performance (including new national records in the 100 and 400 meter dashes) so inspired Dong and his friends that they all immediately went out and bought new track spikes. He and his friends began regular training - but at night, so that no one would laugh at their irregular running forms. The famed Liu was a student at Northeastern University, but Dong did not dare to bother this national figure with his questions on track technicalities. Li, a lesser-known member of the Liaoning provincial team and also a Northeastern student-athlete, seemed more approachable. Dong asked the 22-year-old Li to be his track mentor, beginning a sporting friendship that has lasted for nearly 70 years.[26]

These games, like provincial meets in other parts of China, allowed fans from this region of the country to imagine and form relationships based on local ties, but which could be seen as having national consequence. This local-national equilibrium was just as important in these regional games as it was in the provincial meets described earlier. The 15th Huabei Games, held in Ji'nan in May 1931 with 990 competing athletes from 16 northern provinces and cities, featured all the trappings of a fully Nationalist enterprise. Inscriptions were sent to the meet by dozens of Guomindang figures like Chiang Kai-shek, He Yingqin and Song Ziwen. The Games' Opening Ceremonies featured the playing of the Party anthem, bows to the

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[26] Interview with Dong Hanwen and Li Shiming. Beitou, Taiwan. 13 June 1996.

Guomindang flag and Sun Yat-sen's portrait, the reading of Sun's last will and testament, a speech by a personal envoy sent by Chiang, the chant "Long live the North China Games! Long live the Chinese Nationalist Party! Long live the Republic of China! Long live the Chinese *minzu*!" and the swearing of an "Athlete's Oath" (*yundongyuan shici*) pledging respect to the late Sun's writings on physical culture and the rules of the meet.[27] However, the Meet Chairman (and reader of Sun's will) was Shandong warlord Han Fuju, said to be "loyal to the Nationalist government only when the government was careful not to interfere in local affairs," and who came very close to rebelling against Nanjing just two years later.[28] If political forces worked to keep some symbols of local autonomy alive in these meets, outside observers still could take these regional games as opportunities to express national concerns. One author saw hope in the sporting progress exhibited at these 15th Games in Ji'nan in terms of training the "three powers" - physical power, mental power and the power of solidarity - that were the "marrow of the nation-race."[29] A Beiping commentator writing on the 18th Huabei Games, held in 1934 in Tianjin, was critical of the current status of North China *tiyu* - its narrow scope and its monopoly in the hands of the "leisured, moneyed" (*youxian youqian*) classes - and saw this as possibly having serious consequences with regard to the health of China and its ability to finally wash away the old "Sick Man of East Asia" tag.[30]

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[27] *Di shiwu jie Huabei yundonghui* [The 15th North China Games] (Ji'nan: 1931), *Tici* [Inscriptions] Section, pp. 1-2, *Dahui* [Meet] Section, pp. 75-79.

[28] Eastman, *The Abortive Revolution*, p. 120.

[29] "Huabei yundong chengji jinbu zhi kexi" [Joy at the progress seen in the North China Games], *Shenghuo zhoukan (The Life Weekly)* 6.24 (6 June 1931), p. 485.

[30] Chunsheng, "Huabei yundonghui yu tichang tiyu zhong zhi cuowu guannian" [The North China

Participation in the Huabei Games even could be understood as a resolute and meaningful protest against the Japanese presence in northern China, by both the nationalist athlete and Japanese imperialist agent alike. Dong Hanwen and Li Shiming shared stories of their trip from Dalian to Tianjin to join these 18th Huabei Games. These Games have gone down in Chinese *tiyu* history for the movingly anti-Japanese nationalist content of the Opening Ceremonies, especially the performances by the Nankai University cheer squad.[31] But these athletes experienced this Japanese oppression firsthand on their way to the Games, as they and their teammates Xia Shufu and Guo Jie were arrested in Dalian and then in Shenyang. Their crime? Being standout members of the Liaoning Province track team, whose participation in the upcoming Huabei Games threatened to upstage Japanese dominance in that province. Fortunately for these four athletes and their team, Li's connections in the Japanese sports community in Liaoning were extensive enough that the athletes were able to gain release and continue on their way to Tianjin.[32]

Another regional meet was the Northwest Games (*Xibei yundonghui*), held once in Yinchuan, Ningxia in September 1933. This meet was sponsored by Ningxia Provincial Chairman Ma Hongkui, a great advocate of physical fitness for his people.[33]

Games and some incorrect notions that exist within the promotion of physical culture], *Beifang gonglun* 83 (1 November 1934), pp. 11-12.

[31] Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Quanguo tizong wenshi ziliao bianshen weiyuanhui, eds., *Tiyu shiliao di 15 ji: Huabei yundonghui (1913-1934 nian)* [Historical materials on physical education, Volume 15: The North China Games (1913-1934)] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1989), p. 214; Liu Shipan, "Zaoqi Nankai tiyu shihua" [Stories from early Nankai School physical education], *Tianjin tiyu shiliao* 6 (December 1985), p. 12.

[32] Interview with Li Shiming and Dong Hanwen, 14 June 1996.

[33] Fifteen years later, A. Doak Barnett wrote about Ma's strict physical training programs for soldiers and civilians alike. *China On the Eve of Communist Takeover* (New York: Praeger, 1963), pp. 188-193.

These Games featured teams from seven northwest provinces - Ningxia, Qinghai, Gansu, Xinjiang, Suiyuan, Shaanxi and Shanxi - and it is likely that Ma and other Ningxia planners saw this meet as a way of asserting their province's influence in the northwest region. The Northwest Games also seem to have followed very orthodox Nationalist formulae for the planning of official meets. Several figures from the Beiping and Tianjin sporting communities were recruited to help plan the Games.[34] Meet planning followed official Nationalist calendars, as the games were held on 10-14 September, the same week as provincial meets in Jiangsu, Hebei, Shandong, Fujian, Henan, Anhui, Sichuan and Hunan, municipal meets in Nanjing, Shanghai, Beiping and Qingdao, and a Northeastern Provinces meet of refugee athletes from the Northeast now living in Beiping.[35] The meet, like all these other provincial meets, served as an official selection meet to winnow out the finest athletes to be sent to the National Games the next month, and followed all National Games regulations.[36]

The Central China Games (*Huazhong yundonghui*) were convened six times between 1923 and 1936, with teams coming from Anhui, Hubei, Hunan and Jiangxi provinces. A 1936 film made by the Central Military Commission on the 6th Huazhong Games made similar points about the regional character and national importance of this meet. After showing shots of several newspaper headlines on the Games, the camera focused on a map of these four central China provinces, the roughly square area

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[34] "Xibei yundonghui jianzhang ji jingsai guicheng" [Northwest Games constitution and rules of competition], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 2.24 (22 July 1933), p. 2.

[35] Ruan Weicun, "Ge shengshi yuxuan chengji yilan" [A look at scores from the selection meets of each province and municipality], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.1 (10 October 1933), pp. 60-80.

[36] "Xibei yundonghui jianzhang ji jingsai guicheng," p. 3.

covered by these provinces set in white against a black background that was the rest of China - this central China unit interrupted only by provincial boundaries, railroad lines and the path of the Yangtze. The camera then zoomed slowly toward the center of the region, bringing the viewer to Changsha, Hunan, host city of the 6th Huazhong Games and now symbolic center of this region.[37] After several scenes of the rolling Yangtze and a close-up shot of the Central China Games flag fluttering in the Changsha breeze, the camera then moved to the Opening Ceremonies of the Games, and Hunan Provincial Chairman He Jian, joined by Central Martial Arts Academy Chairman Zhang Zhijiang, leading the athletes in their procession around the stadium.[38] Over these scenes, a narrator reminded the viewer about the importance of physical fitness to the fate of China, noting that China's past defeats at the hands of the foreign imperialists were due to the simple fact that Chinese bodies were weaker than those of the foreigners. The footage of group military calisthenics, men's and women's boxing, and an exciting track and field action montage only served to reinforce the notion that what went on in this Changsha meet was indeed of vital importance to the health of the Chinese nation.

Regional athletic meets such as the North China Games, the Northwest Games and the Central China Games, provided locales outside of the modern *tiyu*'s main stomping grounds in the cosmopolitan coastal provinces with rare opportunities to bring together competitors from specific regions of China, and to make statements about the vitality of the local while addressing and conforming to national concerns and

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[37] Junshi weiyuanhui zhengxun chu dianying gu production, *Huazhong yundonghui di liu jie* [The Sixth Central China Games], 1936 film.

[38] Chairman He was later shown performing a demonstration of "Feet-Sweeping Fists" (*saotuiquan*).

standards. Some of these meets attracted great attention, particularly the Huabei Games of the 1930s; one observer wrote,

> during the week of July 12-16 when the 17th annual North China Athletic Meet was in progress at Tsingtao, the reported imminent outbreak of warfare in Chahar, the predicted failure of the World Economic Conference and even the scorching heat were all forgotten; and instead readers in North China, especially Tientsin and Peiping, turned their eyes to the sports pages. Papers with sport supplements sold like 'hot cakes.'[39]

The record-setting performances of nationally-known stars like Liu Changchun and Sun Guiyun, the influence of famed figures like Zhang Xueliang and Zhang Boling, and the tremendous amounts of money spent to put on these meets[40] made the North China Games into gala events of national "significance." But in Yinchuan, Ningxia and Changsha, Hunan, where large regional meets were held without this national spotlight, these same connections of the regional with the national could still be made, if only in less celebrated and controversial form.

The Star-Crossed 1931 National Games

In the 1930s, the National Games became the center of the ever-expanding universe of China's physical culture. These spectacles, planned as biennial events, were

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[39] This author took this phenomenon as proof that sport was "a necessary part of the national life." Richard L. Jen, "The Changing Sports Page in the Chinese Press," *The Chinese Republic* 3.15 (12 August 1933), pp. 347, 353.

[40] For example, some 325,000 *yuan* were spent to hold the 18th Huabei Games in Tianjin in 1934, the majority of this sum going to pay for the new 50-acre athletic grounds at Beining Park. The Hebei Provincial Treasury contributed 193,976.16 *yuan* and the Tianjin Municipal Government 95,343 *yuan* toward these expenses. Yu Henian, "Di shiba jie Huabei yundonghui jiyao" [Report on the 18th North China Games], *Hebei yuekan* 2.11 (November 1934), p. 3; Dai Shizeng and Zhao Yafu, "Hebei sheng tiyuchang - Tianjin shi Beizhan tiyuchang xiujian shimo" [The Hebei Provincial Athletic Grounds - The story of the construction of the Tianjin North Station Athletic Grounds], *Tianjin tiyu shiliao* 5 (July 1985), pp. 8-9.

strange brews of celebratory nationalism, KMT political hype and swagger, media overkill, lavish commercialism in advertising and the awarding of fine prizes, and the combustible tensions that existed between *tiyu* cliques of different regions or even of different types of sports. Starting with the fifth national meet, scheduled to begin on 10 October 1931, the *tiyu* world stopped for 11 days in October every two years and watched the joy, excitement, team play and individual dramas that turned these meets into truly national happenings.

In Chapter 5, I described the Fourth National Games, held in Hangzhou in 1930. The Guomindang *tiyu* establishment was unsatisfied by these Games, seeing them as an inaccurate representation of what the Party had to offer the physical culture world. (This was no doubt true, the Fourth Games having been hijacked from the hands of the Guangdong Provincial *Tiyu* Federation months before their commencement.) As early as April 1930, just days after the completion of the Fourth Games, a Planning Committee met to organize the 1931 National Games, to be held at Nanjing.[41]

Chief among these plans was the decision, handed down in April 1930 by the National Affairs Conference (*Guowu huiyi*), to build a Central Stadium (*Zhongyang tiyuchang*) on some 165 acres (1000 *mu*) in Nanjing's Purple Mountains, just four miles southeast of the new and majestic Sun Yat-sen Memorial.[42] Liping Wang has

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[41] A letter written by Lin Sen, Vice Chairman of the Legislative Yuan, on 23 April referred to the "Second National Games to be held at Lingyuan," continuing the notation which saw the 1930 Games, the first KMT-managed national meet, as the First National Games. The 1931 Games were most often simply referred to as the "1931 National Games." "Yijiusanyi nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui zuzhi zhangcheng" [1931 National Games Planning Committee Constitution], File 587 (10), Folder 7, Second Historical Archives, Nanjing, China.

[42] Chen Xiping, "Zhongyang tiyuchang choubei shimo ji" [A record of the entire process of the planning and construction of Central Stadium], *Zhongguo jianzhu (The Chinese Architect)* 1.3

described the Guomindang's work to nationalize this large eastern suburb, and to transform it into a sacred Nationalist space with the Sun Memorial. Designed to become a focal point of the capital, this new Nationalist center also was a direct spatial expression of Chiang Kai-shek's will to capture Sun's loaded revolutionary legacy for his own use.[43] And in this competitive age, what better way to commemorate the father of the Chinese nation-state than with a grand stadium, a monument to the productive promise and consumptive excesses of modern sport? Central Stadium was built by the Jitai Engineering Firm at an expense of 1,433,900 *yuan*,[44] and on a southwest cornerstone is engraved Chiang Kai-shek's dedication of the facility on its May 1931 completion. This monument to sport, Sun Yat-sen, and Guomindang grandeur included seven separate facilities for track and field, soccer, *guoshu*, swimming, baseball, basketball, tennis and volleyball competitions, which could seat a combined total of 64,000 spectators, as well as a horse-race track and a polo field. The facility even included dormitories, built under the stands, to accommodate up to 2700 visiting athletes and coaches.[45]

Today this structure is a practice facility for the Nanjing Institute of Physical

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(September 1933), p. 1; Xia Xingshi, "Zhongyang tiyuchang gaikuang" [A Look at Central Stadium], *Zhongguo jianzhu (The Chinese Architect)* 1.3 (September 1933), p. 8.

[43] Liping Wang, "Creating a National Symbol: The Sun Yatsen Memorial in Nanjing," *Republican China* 21.2 (April 1996), pp. 40-48.

[44] Chu Minyi, "Quanguo yundong dahui choubei jingguo" [The process of planning the National Games], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.2 (10 November 1933), p. 19.

Some 800,000 *yuan* was spent on the stadium itself, and the remaining 600,000 *yuan* on surrounding roads, bridges, culverts, parking lots, and power and water lines. Chen Xiping, "Zhongyang tiyuchang choubei shimo ji," p. 1.

[45] The track stadium alone was built to accommodate 35,000 spectators. Xia Xingshi, "Zhongyang tiyuchang gaikuang," pp. 17-24; Chu Minyi, "Quanguo yundong dahui choubei jingguo," p. 20.

Education, the campus of which takes up the entire grounds of the old stadium. Its front is now freckled with signs proclaiming the College as a "Civilized Work Unit," and recognizing the stadium's new status as an official Nanjing historical relic. The track stadium houses a new synthetic track, built in 1995 at a cost of one million *renminbi*, but its grandstands now have their views partially blocked by large trees growing inside the stadium. Other facilities built in 1931 decay in various stages of neglect. At the time, however, there was nothing like the Central Stadium in China, or even in the whole of East Asia. One architecture critic of the era wrote that stadium construction was

> Tremendous in scale, imposing in its layout, and works to incorporate the Chinese architectural spirit while at the same time meeting the needs of the present era. It will wake up our citizenry, preserving the national essence while it transforms old into new. There is no doubt that it will carry out the new mission of Chinese architecture, an original form that will lead to the revitalization of Oriental architecture.[46]

However, the Games Planning Committee had more on their minds than the new Central Stadium, devoting almost as much effort to the composition of an official meet anthem. In February 1931, Committee member Du Tingxiu went to the Education Department to ask for assistance in the matter. The Education Department responded by placing an advertisement in Nanjing's *Central Daily* and Shanghai's *Republican Daily News*, asking readers and budding songwriters to submit lyrics of 60-100 words, "composed so that they can encourage citizens' physical culture, bring out the sporting spirit and elaborate on the significance of competition." The ad announced that a winning meet song would be selected in April, with the winning composer

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[46] Quoted in Pan Guxi, ed., *Nanjing de jianzhu* [Nanjing architecture] (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 1995), p. 115.

receiving prizes of 100 *yuan* and selected National Games souvenirs.[47] Some 61 or 62 entries were received by the deadline, of which 17 were selected for "serious consideration," other lyrics being eliminated because "they show the limits of this time and place, and thus would not be suitable for permanent use." The final decision was to combine pieces of lyrics submitted by budding composers Liu Qingxu and Zhan Tianlang, who were awarded 100 and 30 *yuan* prizes respectively. The lyrics, approved in August by the Planning Committee, would be sung as follows:

How beautiful, brilliant the Games, how the warriors run and dance!
Those who capture the trophies, also win the hearts of the multitudes.
Soldiers! Going all out, all the way, exhibiting your vitality and your strength,
We all march forward! March on! March on!
On this day the games are won and lost, but we must live this spirit every day.

The dignity, the composure, the spirit and elation!
Joy for the winners, but not a regret for the defeated.
Soldiers! Have courage and virtue, know ritual and bearing.
Jubilation for all! Jubilation! Jubilation!
Exalting the martial spirit, improving the health of the *minzu*.[48]

Planning for these 1931 National Games continued smoothly into September, just weeks before the grand opening of the meet, until rumors began to circulate that flooding in several provinces that fall might force the postponement of the meet. One author hoped that this would not be the case, taking issue with those who would see the National Games as mere "hopping and skipping tricks" unimportant in a time of national crisis. He answered,

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[47] "Youguan zhengqiu Yijiusanyi nian Quanguo yundong dahui geci de wenjian" [Documents on the search for 1931 National Games Official Song lyrics], File 587 (10), Folder 5, Document 160, Second Historical Archives, Nanjing, China.

[48] The Committee later asked Zhao Yuanren, Tang Xueyong and Du Tingxiu to compose scores to match these lyrics, and selected Zhao's entry. File 587 (10), Folder 5, Documents 252 and 473, Second Historical Archives, Nanjing, China.

> Rescuing people from flooding is one mission, but strengthening the nation and the race is another mission. On the surface it might seem as though flood rescue work is an emergency now. But who is to say that strengthening the nation is not even more important than flood rescue? ... Here's a naughty suggestion: "Let those who are enthusiastic and sincere about flood rescue go do their flood rescue work, and let those enthusiastic and sincere about hopping and skipping hop and skip to their hearts' content"... China is a great land with rich resources and an abundant population, and there are enough people to carry out all types of enterprise. If we can distribute the work load and cooperate, then don't worry about having to choose between strengthening the nation and rescuing flood victims. And the might of this nation might even succeed in scaring off a few red empires as well.[49]

Despite the flooding, the Games were still on, as athletes started to make their way to Nanjing. After two months on the road, traveling from Tacheng in northwestern Xinjiang through Kazakhstan and Siberia, Xinjiang's three-man delegation to the Games reached Manzhouli in September, and were preparing to make the trip south to Nanjing.[50] The Singapore delegation was already in Hong Kong.[51] Indeed, anticipation was building for this celebration to be held in the most auspicious of conditions in the National calendar - the coming together of healthy athletes from all corners of China,[52]

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[49] Min, "Quanyun yu shuizai" [The National Games and the flooding], *Tiyu xinsheng (Athletic China)* 1 (October 1931), p. 25.

[50] The three, Cai Zongxian, Zhang Yuying and Zhang Yufang, were accomplished martial arts experts from Dihua (Urumqi), two of whom had been praised personally by Education Department head Chu Minyi on his 1928 trip to Xinjiang. They were to have participated in the first martial arts competition in National Games history. Cai Zongxian narration, transcribed by An Yongxin and Fang Ruji, "Xinjiang di yi ci pai ren canjia Quanguo yundonghui" [The first Xinjiang delegation sent to the National Games], *Xinjiang tiyu shiliao* 1 (1985), pp. 42-43.

[51] Ma Chonggan, "Di wu jie Quanguo yundonghui zhi huigu" [A look back at the Fifth National Games], *Shenbao yuekan* 2.11 (15 November 1933), p. 77.

[52] Planners expected delegations from all 30 provinces (including Mongolia and Tibet) and seven municipalities (Nanjing, Shanghai, Qingdao, Tianjin, Hankou, Hong Kong, Harbin), and Overseas Chinese contingents from Java, Honolulu, Singapore and the Philippines. "Minguo ershi nian Quanguo yundong dahui jingsai guicheng" [Competition rules and regulations for the 1931 National Games], *Jiaoyubu gongbao* 3.12 (29 March 1931), p. 59.

at the stadium at Zijinshan, nestled in the heart of Guomindang China's most sacred suburb, on the 20th anniversary of the Wuchang uprising. Seldom would the stars ever be aligned for the Chinese physical culture world as they were to be for these Games.

The machinery of Japanese imperialism, however, would render all this work, travel and hope for naught. The September 18th Incident at Mukden and the beginning of full-scale Japanese invasion of the Northeast meant, among other things, that these star-crossed 1931 Games would never be. The sporting bureaucracy recovered from this stunning attack quickly. At a National *Tiyu* Conference held in 1932, it was decided that the Fifth Games would be rescheduled for 1933, same National-time (October 10), same National-place (Nanjing Central Stadium). A 1933 National Games Planning Committee was established, and the equipment prizes, signs, furniture, office supplies and printed materials meant for the 1931 Games were all inventoried and handed over to the new committee. China's *tiyu* planners likely hoped that there would still be some of that Nationalist magic left at the bottom of the prize cauldron and silver cup donated by Chiang Kai-shek and Chen Guofu, included in this handover, when the 1933 Games rolled around next time.[53]

The *Minzu* is Still United: The 1933 National Games

> Since the September 18th Incident at Shenyang two years back, Manchuria and Rehe have fallen in turn into the hands of the enemy. 30 million of our compatriots have lost the protection of the motherland, and now groan under the enemy's iron heel. Many are killed, others are trampled, living a life not meant for humans, tasting the suffering of the extinct nation. Think back to two years ago - at the time of the September 18 Incident, weren't we all shouting, vowing to wipe away

[53] "Yijiusanyi nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui jieshu yijiao de wenjian" [Documents relating to the closing and handover of the 1931 National Games Planning Committee], File 587 (10), Folder 9. Second Historical Archives, Nanjing, China.

> the national shame and recover our lost territory? Well, what now? The golden goblet of the nation has been broken, riddled with cracks and scars. The national shame has not been washed away, and our territory has not been recovered.... If we want to have a people to fight national humiliation and save the *minzu* from extinction, we must first have strong and fit bodies. But in what kind of shape are our population's bodies? Our vitality extinguished, the streets full of the ill, in this vast universe, who will beckon the soul of *tiyu*?[54]

Shao Rugan, *Tiyu* Director of the Shanghai Education Department, captured in this passage the importance placed by so many observers on the Fifth National Games, held in Nanjing in October 1933. This fifth national meet was arguably the most significant of the seven pre-1949 national competitions. Not only was it the first national meet planned by Guomindang agents from beginning to end, the first competition held at Nanjing's famed Central Stadium, and the first meet to attract substantial delegations from the majority of China's provinces, but its staging so soon after the Japanese invasion of Shenyang in September 1931 and attack on Shanghai in January 1932, represented a cherished statement of the Chinese will to stand up to the Japanese enemy.

The long-awaited Opening Ceremonies, held on 10 October, packed Central Stadium with 50,000 fans (15,000 over capacity) by 9:00 am with spectators crammed in any possible cranny, including the press box, to the dismay of many reporters. Crowds of some 60,000 milled around outside, and many tried repeatedly to jump fences and outrun Boy Scout guards to gain access to the spectacle.[55] Spectators who

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[54] Shao Rugan, "Di wu jie Quanguo yundong dahui yu minzu fuxing" [The Fifth National Games and the revitalization of the nation-race], *Xin Zhonghua (The New China Magazine)* 1.19 (10 October 1933), p. 25.

[55] The biggest rush at the fences came with the Chu Minyi-led mass *Taijicao* calisthenics demonstration given at noon, when Boy Scouts had to save several would-be spectators who were trampled by the crowds. "Nanking Games Stampede," *The North-China Daily News*, 11 October 1933, p. 12; Peng Zhou, "Di wu jie Quanguo yundong dahui ji" [Diary of the Fifth National Games],

ventured out to the Purple Mountain area for this meet became stars in their own right, as the other subjects of this great Nationalist undertaking. As long as they behaved themselves, they served as the "masses" whose presence was required to justify this endeavor - at the same time both the fount from which China's athletic talent came forth, and the less-talented average Zhou who could only watch and dream of skills like those possessed by the national-class athletes. They were the subject of the national project training Chinese citizens how to be good consumers and disciplined spectators, how to take in, understand, and become reasonably if emotionally involved in the nationalizing enterprise taking place before them.

The Opening Ceremonies (carrying on the tradition that goes to the heart of this project of seeing the nation in its parts) provided national *tiyu* thrills and chills that would never be surpassed in the Republican era. Stilted speeches given by Games Chairman Wang Shijie and Honorary Vice Chairmen like Wang Jingwei, Sun Ke and Dai Jitao,[56] however, provided few of them. Nor did the telegram from Chiang Kai-shek, read by Military Aide Xiao Qin, which read in part,

> All types of sporting competitions require a type of discipline. Cultivating our nation's virtues of propriety, justice, honesty and shame, while at the same time setting a good example for the younger generation, has much to do with sport as well. Zhongzheng [referring to himself] is now engaged in battle in Jiangxi Province, and so does not

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Xin Zhonghua (The New China Magazine) 1.21 (10 November 1933), p. 34.

[56] Consuls from Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Germany, Belgium, Poland and Japan joined these Nanjing bigshots in attendance at the meet. Peng Zhou, "Di wu jie Quanguo yundong dahui ji," p. 34.

Lin Sen, Chairman of the National Government, was Honorary Chairman of these Games, assisted in his duties by 11 Honorary Vice Chairmen, including Wang, Chiang, Dai, Sun, Yu Youren, Song Ziwen, and other Guomindang luminaries. Cai Yuanpei, Chen Guofu, He Yingqin, Zhu Jiahua, Hu Hanmin, Chen Lifu, Yan Xishan, Kong Xiangxi, Feng Yuxiang and 173 other Party and government figures who did not make Honorary Vice Chair were listed in the official Games program as "honorary advisors." Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao shu*, Section 1, p. 97.

> have the opportunity to attend the Games. I hope that our National Games athletes understand these principles.[57]

Chiang's attempt to position the Games as part of his vendetta against communist "bandit" bases in Jiangxi was at sharp odds with the anti-Japanese sentiments on the minds of the 50,000 people in Central Stadium that day.

The moving moments of that morning came not with ideologically top-heavy speeches, but with the visual spectacles that allowed the crowd to envision the making of the nation right there before them. Following the now-customary airplane flyover and colored leaflet drop into the stadium, teams from each province and locale, marching behind their own banners, began their procession around the track. First out of the tunnel and on to the track was the Xinjiang delegation, who sent nine men to participate in track and field, swimming and martial arts.[58]

The inclusion for the first time of Xinjiang athletes in the National Games served as an appropriate symbol for the new Nationalist inclusiveness of the meet. This far-off frontier province had long been imagined as simply incompatible with the modern realm of sport. In 1931, an author passed on a story testifying to the impossibility of promoting modern sports in Xinjiang. He reported that suspicious postal authorities there, ignorant of what "tennis rackets" and "tennis balls" in a bill of lading for a shipment from Harbin were, and assuming that this notation must have

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[57] In his speech, Dai Jitao thanked Chiang for his message from the "bandit extermination battlefields." Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao shu* [1933 National Games Official Report] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1934), Section 2, pp. 3-4.

[58] Among the nine were Cai Zongxian and Zhang Yuying, who both made the two-month journey to the Games for naught in 1931. Cai Zongxian, "Xinjiang di yi ci pai ren canjia Quanguo yundonghui," p. 43.

been "the secret code of some reactionary clique," seized the shipment and interrogated the intended addressee as to the true contents of his sporting goods cache.[59] Thus, Xinjiang's participation in these National Games likely said much about the efforts of the people of this region to work toward National goals.

Other distant locales sending teams to the National Games for the first time included Qinghai Province, who sent one coach and four track athletes to the Games. Among these athletes was Wang Tingzhang, a star sprinter who also planned to stay in Nanjing after the Games to enroll in the Academia Sinica Meteorology Training Institute. The Qinghai squad left Xining on 11 September, but were delayed by rain for several days. The team's decision to walk one leg of the journey was an unfortunate one, as they were robbed by bandits apparently unaware of the prestige of their victims. The Qinghai delegation's slot in the athletes' procession remained unfilled, as the team only arrived in Nanjing on 9 November, three weeks after the Games were over![60]

Some 2259 athletes represented 25 provinces, 6 municipalities, and Philippines and Indonesian overseas Chinese communities in the meet,[61] making the National Games one of the few sites where healthy, nationalist-minded youth from all over China could meet and mingle in a truly national environment. The greatest cheers came for

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[59] Zhao, "Bianqu tichang tiyu zhi kunnan" [The difficulty of promoting sports in the border areas], in *Baihong tianjingsaidui jiniankan* [Commemorative publication of the White Rainbow Track and Field Club] (Shanghai: Baihong tianjingdui, 1931), p. 87.

[60] Games Official Liu Ya took the unlucky quintet on a personal tour of Central Stadium, and the four returning to Qinghai were given free train tickets for their trouble. "Yi yue lai zhi tiyu jie" [The *tiyu* community this past month], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.3 (10 December 1933), p. 75; Fang Xiebang, "Qinghai jinxiandai tiyu fengyun renwu lu" [A record of famous Qinghai athletes of the modern and contemporary eras], *Qinghai tiyu shiliao* 1 (June 1987), pp. 106-107.

[61] A list of team sizes is provided in Table 6-1. Only Guangxi, Chahar, and Xikang provinces did not send teams. Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao shu*, Section 2, p. 22.

the athletes representing the northeastern provinces now occupied by the Japanese invaders. These "athletes-in exile" (*liuwang xuanshou*), most of whom now studied in Beiping, marched last in the opening procession. When they emerged from the tunnel, many "in tears, feeling deeply moved," and joined the procession, the response from the crowd was deafening. As they marched with their banners, the name of their respective provinces stenciled over outline maps of each province in dramatic black and white, many in the stands joined them in crying tears of tragedy and joy. No less a figure than General Li Du, Commanding General of the Northeast National Salvation Army, was noted as "weeping silently" as his fellow exiled Northeasterners filed solemnly past the VIP section.[62] Another eyewitness was moved to write, "Is the Northeast done for (*wang le*)? No, the Northeast is not done for!"[63] After the emotional procession, a representative of the Northeastern athletes read an appeal to the crowd,

> Entering this august and majestic stadium brings to our minds the horseshoe-shaped stadium at Beiling [the Zhang Xueliang-built Northeastern University stadium in Shenyang] ... We sincerely declare, the trophy we in our hearts most want to struggle for is the recovery of our five Northeastern provinces and their colors on the map! ... After the closing ceremonies, everyone here has homes to which they can return, while we must drift from place to place ... Finally, we ardently hope and sincerely pray that the next National Games of the Republic of China will be held at Shenyang's Beiling Stadium, and that the next trophy of the National Games of the Republic of China will be the recovery of the Northeast territories![64]

This moving appearance by Chinese sons and daughters of the occupied Northeast was

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[62] Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao shu*, Section 2, p. 180.

[63] Ma Chonggan, "Di wu jie Quanguo yundonghui zhi huigu," p. 78.

[64] Ma Chonggan, "Di wu jie Quanguo yundonghui zhi huigu," p. 78.

the highlight of these Games, assuring many patriots, more than any Guomindang bigwigs' speeches could, that there was a strong and united China with whom the Japanese would have to contend. As one observer later wrote, "Our nation's territory has been shattered, but at these National Games we could see that China is still whole and is still ours. With representatives from the occupied Northeast, from Xinjiang in the northwest and Yunnan in the far southwest, China is still whole, and the *minzu* is still united!"[65] Chiang Kai-shek may have envisioned these Games as part and parcel of his latest communist-suppression scheme. However, it was clear to anyone actually at Central Stadium that the Japanese were the true enemy to fear and fight. The anti-Japanese nationalism brought to the Games by the Northeast athletes and quickly spread among the Nanjing fans, marked an amazing, effective and safe way for China's *tiyu* community to register its discontent with Nanjing's muddled policies toward the Japanese imperialist machine.

The Games themselves provided no letdown to the rousing Opening Ceremonies. The mass *Taijicao* (*Taiji*-calisthenics, a simple routine based on basic motions of *Taijiquan*) demonstration, led by Chu Minyi (Secretary of the Executive Yuan, National Games Vice Chairman, and inventor of the *Taijicao*) and performed by some 2000 children from 41 Nanjing elementary schools, was a fantastic hit with the crowd. Every track and field and swimming mark from the last national meet of 1930 was broken in Nanjing. Including martial arts, basketball, soccer, volleyball, tennis, baseball and softball, 263 competitions were held over 10 days, with the Shanghai men's and women's teams taking home the overall championships.[66] Fan favorite Liu

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[65] Ma Chonggan, "Di wu jie Quanguo yundonghui zhi huigu," p. 77.

[66] The top four teams in each of the men's nine and women's seven events are listed in Table 6-2.

Changchun, the Liaoning sprinter, won two gold medals, broke two national records, and continued to please longtime fans. New national stars were born as well. Qian Xingsu, a sprinter from Jiading, Jiangsu, was well-known in Shanghai sports circles, having burst onto the scene with a surprising second-place finish to her "blue-eyed blond-hair" opponent in the 1931 Shanghai International Meet.[67] Here in Nanjing, running for the Shanghai squad,[68] Qian gained national attention for the first time by winning three gold medals and a silver and capturing women's overall track and field honors.[69] The brightest of all new stars, however, known as "The Beautiful Mermaid," or "Miss China," was 15-year-old Hong Kong swimmer Yang Xiuqiong, who attained superstar status with her record-setting sweep of all four women's swim events in Nanjing. Few were immune to Yang's demure beauty and charm; Chu Minyi scandalized the political and sports worlds when he personally served Yang as carriage driver on a scenic tour for two around the capital.[70] And the first National Games

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Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao shu*, Section 2, pp. 61-135.

[67] *Quanguo nü yundongyuan mingjiang lu* [Roll of the nation's women athletes] (Shanghai: Qinfen shuju, 1936), p. 4.

[68] Qian was a student at Shanghai's East Asia Physical Education School, and thus was obligated to represent Shanghai.

[69] Qian's sporting efforts for her nation were repaid in cruel fashion. In 1950, she began coaching physical education at Fudan University in Shanghai, but in April 1968, during the havoc of the Cultural Revolution, she was killed for having been a star in this bourgeois realm of sport. Gemin, "Yidai tianjing nüjie - Qian Xingsu" [Qian Xingsu, the track and field heroine of her time], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 12 (December 1985), p. 42.

[70] Wang Zhenya, *Jiu Zhongguo tiyu jianwen*, pp. 159-160.

This was the beginning of a public life that made young Yang by far the best-known athlete in 1930s China. Her youthful charm and beauty put her on the covers of dozes of magazines, and also made her the subject of endless marriage rumors. Just days after her triumph at Nanjing, the Hong Kong press was reporting that Yang would soon become the eighth wife of Chen Baiyuan, Chief Consultant of the Guangxi Bank. Yang also soon became an unofficial government spokeswoman of sorts, putting on swimming demonstrations at New Life Movement-related events in Nanchang,

appearance of *guoshu* martial arts, featuring 18 men's and two women's events, as well as several demonstrations by the omnipresent Chu Minyi, was heralded as a great success.

Games planners attempted to meet high ideological standards as well. On the morning of the sixth day of the meet, 15 October, all athletes not competing that morning were required to gather at 6:00 am to walk, led by - who else - Chu Minyi, to the Sun Yat-sen Memorial north of Central Stadium. Turnout was disappointing, however; organizers had to resort to making noisy loudspeaker announcements to rouse the sleepy heirs of Sun's last will. Finally leaving the stadium at 7:00 am, some 600 athletes followed Chu up Zijinshan to the Memorial. There, athletes laid wreaths, sang the Guomindang party anthem, recited Sun's final testament, inspected the inner chamber of the memorial, and posed for photos on the memorial steps.[71]

Xiamen and Nanjing, as the Guomindang attempted to break down the boundaries between elite competitive sport and mass physical fitness programs. In 1936, she was the star attraction at a Shanghai Aviation Association Swim Meet held to raise money to buy warplanes in honor of Chiang Kai-shek's birthday. In 1937, Yang married star Shanghai jockey Tao Bolin, and the couple left for Hong Kong at the outbreak of war soon after. Cheng Jinguan, a classmate of Tao's at Fudan University High School, visited the couple in Hong Kong during and after the war, and remembered Tao's violence that prompted Yang to divorce him after ten years of abuse and emigrate to Canada in 1947. "Yang Xiuqiong zuo pingqi de yaochuan" [Rumors that Yang Xiuqiong will be wed], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.3 (10 December 1933), p. 75; Yiru, "Jiangxi shuishang yundonghui" [Jiangxi Aquatic Meet], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.11 (10 August 1934), pp. 26-29; Fujian sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Fujian shengzhi: Tiyu zhi*, p. 134; Wu Ningxing and Gu Qingfang, "'Meirenyu' quanjia Jinling yongtan xianji ji" [A record of the performances presented on the Nanjing swimming stage by "The Mermaid" and her entire family], *Jiangsu tiyu wenshi* 6 (January 1988), pp. 49-50; "Yi yue lai zhi yundong bisai" [Competitive sports this past month], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.10 (July 1936), p. 949; Feng Shaoer, "'Meirenyu' Yang Xiuqiong zai Shanghai" ["The Mermaid" Yang Xiuqiong in Shanghai], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 24 (September 1989), p. 48; Interview with Cheng Jinguan, 3 March 1997, Suzhou, China.

[71] The Hunan delegation boasted the highest turnout of loyal participants. Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao shu*, Section 2, p. 176.

The Games also served as a coming-out for the new sports media. In all, 679 media passes were distributed to reporters and photographers (including eight for the American Associated Press, and one for Tokyo's *Nichinichi Shinbun*).[72] After the completion of the 10-day meet, the Publicity Department of the Games Planning Committee did a survey of newspapers in eight cities around China - Nanjing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Xuzhou, Zhengzhou, Jiujiang, Anqing and Hankou - and found 1281 articles totaling 219,595 characters in length written on the Games at the capital.[73] The written word was not the only medium thriving with this meet, as photography was an equally important aspect of the National Games media blitz. Photos of national leaders in attendance, posed male and female champions and action shots were part of any Games publication worth purchasing. National Games pictorials flourished as well. One number, published by Shanghai's Era Books, featured a foldout page of shots of Hong Kong swimming darling Yang Xiuqiong. One photo taken from Yang's back showed her standing in her swimsuit before a male media horde. Similar shots were taken of sprinter extraordinaire Liu Changchun standing before the media, and of Li Lili - who was not even a real athlete, but who would soon play one in the film *Sports Queen* (*Tiyu huanghou*) - being photographed by another pack of reporters as she trained with coach Wang Jingxi. This same pictorial took the primacy of the photographic to an extreme, even featuring several snapshots of photographers taking pictures of unseen subjects![74]

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[72] Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao shu*, Section 3, pp. 55-60.

[73] Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao shu*, Section 3, pp. 29-30.

[74] *Minguo ershier nian Quanguo yundonghui tekan (National Athletic Meet Special 1933)* (Shanghai:

However, not all observers were satisfied with these National Games. The mainstream media, which had celebrated the meet while salivating over swelling circulations, soon cast the Games aside and moved on to more recent developments. However, the specialized *tiyu* press continued to mull over the meet, fleshing out aspects of the enterprise which would have to be embellished the next time around. Instances of unsportsmanlike conduct by Games participants were the main target of criticism. Several incidents in particular gave many pause about the condition of sports in China. The Guangdong basketball team refused to finish, thus forfeiting, its game versus Shanghai after their reserves and coaching staff crashed onto the floor, fighting with opposition players and officials, after several questionable calls by a Shanghai-based referee went against them.[75] Liaoning soccer left wing Li Bailian, losing his quarterfinal match to the Shanghai side 6-0, came up swinging when Shanghai fullback Jiang Shanjing slide-tackled Li after a whistle. A referee tried to restrain Li, but the angry Liaoninger had to be hauled off by military police as fans poured onto the Central Stadium field to join the fighting.[76] Other brawls took place between the Guangdong and Hebei baseball teams, and even between groundskeepers and meet officials over the condition of the track for the men's 200 meter dash finals![77] The "savage beating" given a Central Political Academy student by a platoon commander of the 88th

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Shidai tushu gongsi, 1933).

[75] Peng Zhou, "Di wu jie Quanguo yundong dahui ji," p. 38.

[76] Referee Zhou Jiaqi, fearing for his own safety in the midst of the riot, called the game over and awarded the victory to Shanghai. Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao shu*, Section 2, p. 80.

[77] Ma Chonggan, "Di wu jie Quanguo yundonghui zhi huigu," p. 80; Peng Zhou, "Di wu jie Quanguo yundong dahui ji," pp. 35-36.

Division in the stands at a *guoshu* competition also attracted much attention.[78] And Jiangsu long-distance runner Jin Zhongkang was criticized for not coming clean after he "won" the 10 kilometer race after only running 19 laps around the Central Stadium track, one short of the required 20 circuits.[79] One author took these events as proof of unhealthy trends in the Chinese sports world, and took the chance to write at length on the difference between sportsmanship and "dirty play."[80] Another offered a psychological analysis, sprinkled with English terminology like "Latent attention" and "Psychology of testimony," to identify these unsportsmanlike incidents as signs of a Chinese *minzu* "drowning in disillusionment."[81]

Other *tiyu* commentators weighed in with critiques of the spectacular new Central Stadium itself. Wu Yunrui cited German sports engineer Diem in taking Stadium architects to task for technical problems like bleacher and track dimensions, or the layout and design of sandpits.[82] Others, like Chu Minyi, tackled much larger issues:

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[78] Chen Jianxiao, "Quanguo yundonghui de jiaoxun" [Lessons from the National Games], *Xiandai xuesheng (The Modern Student)* 3.2 (November 1933), p. 6.

[79] Shanxi runner Gu Desheng, the second-place finisher, was later awarded the championship, but on the Jiangsu delegation leader's request, an unofficial "rematch" was held on the last day of the meet between the top three finishers. Before an over-capacity crowd of some 50,000 fans, Jin won the rematch and with it the "Sportsmanlike Struggle" (*junzi zhi zheng*) cup donated specifically for this race by the *Xinwenbao* press. Yan Duhe, "Junzi zhi zheng" [Sportsmanlike struggle], *Xinwenbao*, 19 October 1933, reprinted in Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao shu*, Section 4, p. 189; Wang Zhenya, *Jiu Zhongguo tiyu jianwen*, p. 160.

[80] Shu Sheng-min, "Sportsmanship and Playing the Game," *The Chinese Republic* 4.4 (14 April 1934), pp. 81, 94-95.

[81] Chen Jianxiao, "Quanguo yundonghui de jiaoxun," pp. 6-8.

[82] Wu Yunrui, "Duiyu Zhongyang tiyuchang jianzhu fangmian zhi piping" [Criticisms of Central Stadium construction], in Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao shu*, Section 4, pp. 176-177. Surprisingly, no one commented on faults of Stadium construction that led to the collapse of one section of bleachers during the Opening Ceremonies, injuring many and killing from two to four fans. Nanking Games Stampede," p.

> There are very few public athletic grounds in Nanjing now - just one municipal athletic grounds and the Central Stadium. But Central Stadium, at the Sun Yat-sen Memorial, is so far away, and we hear that Central Stadium construction cost upwards of 1.4 million *yuan*. On the surface it is certainly grand and imposing, the greatest in East Asia. But speaking practically and directly, no one goes there to exercise. Foreigners might see this stadium, and praise its magnificence and the great amount of money spent on it. But what if a foreigner were to ask for statistics on how many athletes trained at this stadium every year? There would be nothing we could say. A stadium this big, and no one going to exercise there - it is just an embellishment, truly a fine joke. Only wanting the superficial, ignoring the practical - having this stadium is just the same as not having one at all.
>
> Let's make a comparison with eating ... We all know that eating is done to replenish the energy our body uses, so there is no need to spend lots of money - vegetables and tofu are fine, and provide just as much nourishment as anything else.[83]

The resonances between Chu's metaphors of mass physical fitness and individual nutrition, and the popular Guomindang images of "national physiques," ring clear. The contradictions between Chu's position as Vice Chairman of the National Games and his role as the chief Guomindang spokesman for a mass *tiyu* seem to emerge here, as we see practical concerns for a physical training available to the masses coming in sharp conflict with the material and symbolic needs of elite events like the National Games.[84] Others followed this line of critique as well. One author scorched the Guomindang *tiyu* establishment for spending "gargantuan sums" (*juzi*) on this meet, writing that "the means of the people have been squandered by government spending, as this autumn,

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12: Wang Zhenya, *Jiu Zhongguo tiyu jianwen*, p. 159.

[83] Chu Minyi, "Fuxing minzu yu tichang tiyu" [Revitalizing the nation-race and promoting physical culture], *Hubei jiaoyu yuekan* 5 (January 1934), p. 15.

[84] Chu's vigorous promotion of a newly-scientized martial arts, and in particular his *Taiji*-calisthenics, will be covered in Chapter Seven.

the bodies of the starved clog the avenues."[85] Another wrote,

> "There was one thing most regrettable about these Games, something that laid the greatest possible shame on our nation's *tiyu* community! And this is that looking at the Games program, one had doubts as to whether this was actually a meet run by foreigners! Where has our national-racial spirit, the sport of our national essence, gone?! ... It's all the leisured, moneyed people's favorite 'games of a subjugated nation' (*wangguo wanyi*)!"[86]

This concern for the health of the Chinese masses and nation, and these Fifth National Games' failure to address it, burned for months after the Games were adjourned. Some looked to epistemological factors, hoping to correct possibly inauspicious terminology that might curse the nation's future. Intellectual Luo Jialun, who served as a Vice Chairman of the Games, hoped that when describing the breaking of national records, sportswriters would abstain from using the unlucky-sounding abbreviated phrase "*po quanguo*" (literally, "break the entire nation"), instead using the more propitious expression "*quanguo xin*" (literally, "new for the entire nation").[87]

Others, like the critics above, had more substantial critiques of just what was supposed to be "national" about these National Games. The modern sporting narrative, picked up handily by Guomindang bureaucrats, emphasized the national inclusiveness of a meet that attracted Chinese athletes from thousands of miles in all directions to this

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[85] Zhang Yuanruo, "Guofang yu tiyu" [National defense and physical culture], *Fuxing yuekan* 2.3 (1 November 1933): p. 1.

The gargantuan sums to which Zhang referred amounted to 123,434 *yuan*, in addition to the 1.4 million *yuan* originally spent on erecting Central Stadium. Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zongbaogao shu*, Section 3, p. 47.

[86] Shi Nong, "Shijie tiyu de xin qushi" [The new trend in international physical culture], *Guoshu, tiyu, junshi* 3 (2 November 1933) [Weekly feature in *Zhongguo ribao*], p. 8.

[87] "Po quanguo? Quanguo xin? Luo Jialun tanhua, Xiaozu de yijian" [Breaking the entire nation? New for the entire nation? Luo Jialun speaks, and Xiaozu's opinion], *Tiyu pinglun (The Sports Review)* 54 (21 October 1933), p. 161.

hallowed Nationalist shrine in the Purple Mountains. Wide media coverage and appearances by all the top Guomindang leaders only confirmed, for this narrative at least, the unifying and empowering spectacle of these healthy Chinese youth engaging in healthy competition in Western sports and also in the national-essence martial arts. And the numerous records set in Nanjing signified much more about national progress than could a day's worth of speeches by Sun Ke and Wang Jingwei.

Try as they did to assert that national competitions like these would, in a trickle-down Darwinist fashion, spur Chinese on to greater and greater heights in health and hygiene, Games publicists and Guomindang mouthpieces could hardly help but forfeit this ground of truly mass *tiyu* to the activists described above and in Chapter Five. The National Games, now meant to be a biennial affair,[88] were in many ways a brilliant creation of national drama and will. But the hollowness at the center of their national constitution, revealed with the repeated thumping by critics of a mass *tiyu* bent, made them in some ways as tragic as the Games of 1931 that were never played.

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[88] It is for reasons of space that I do not provide details on the Sixth National Games, held in Shanghai, 10-20 October 1935. In July 1935 the Games Planning Committee took out a 3.5 million *yuan* loan from the Central Government, this sum including the costs of building Jiangwan Stadium at what was to be the new civic center in the northeast reaches of Shanghai. This immense stadium, built to hold 60,000 spectators, still functions today, and in 1993 hosted the First East Asian Games.

Some 2285 athletes (1649 male, 636 female) represented 38 provinces at this meet, with teams representing Guangxi, Xikang, Chahar, Mongolia, Tibet and Malaya joining for the first time. This new competition could not stop the Shanghai men's and women's teams, who again took home the overall championships. Several new men's demonstration events were added for these Games as well: polo, speedwalking, weightlifting, diving, mini-soccer, cycling, ping-pong and Mongolian wrestling. Results for the regulation events are compiled in Table 6-3. These would be the last National Games held until 1948. (As was mentioned in Chapter Five, the Seventh National Games, scheduled for Nanjing 1937, were canceled with the outbreak of total war with Japan.) Xing, "Di liu jie Quanguo yundonghui jilüe" [Brief record of the Sixth National Games], *Shenbao yuekan* 4.11 (15 November 1935), p. 123; "Di liu jie Quanguo yundonghui jiyao" [Outline of the Sixth National Games], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Educational Review)* 25.12 (10 December 1935), pp. 109-118; "Gezhong biaoyan" [The demonstration events], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.2 (November 1935), pp. 209-212; Wang Zhenya, *Jiu Zhongguo tiyu jianwen*, pp. 161-175.

The international meets in which Chinese athletes participated in the 1930s - namely the Far East Championship Games and the Olympics - never provided the pure drama that China's National Games did during the 1930s. However, these international meets were exactly the ones which were able to resolve (or at least render moot) the barbed contradictions between a mass *tiyu* that could strengthen the Chinese people, and an elite competitive sports that perhaps only distracted the masses while emptying their wallets.

Disagreeing With the New Environment: The Far Eastern Championship Games

The Far Eastern Championship Games (FECG) provided, after the National Games, an even higher level of competition and national significance. The site of Chinese athletes' first ever participation in international sport (in 1913), these Far Eastern Games presented a bittersweet opportunity for Chinese athletes to show their sporting stuff against the best of East Asia every four years. For two decades, these Games had allowed China to ascend the venerated stage of international sporting competition, doing its proud part to contribute to what one author in 1930 called a "foundation of the friendship between the 500 million people of East Asia."[89] Unfortunately, participation in these international competitions was a Janus-faced honor, as it usually resulted in the Chinese varsity champions getting their clocks cleaned by the Olympic-caliber Japanese athletes whom the Chinese hoped so passionately to defeat each time.[90]

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[89] "Di jiu jie Yuandong yundonghui zhi huigu" [A look back at the Ninth Far Eastern Championship Games], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Educational Review)* 22.6 (20 June 1930), p. 233.

[90] The one exception to this trend was in soccer, where Chinese teams, almost always made up of Hong Kong all-stars, won nine of the ten FECG titles from 1913 to 1934.

The first Far Eastern Games of the 1930s came just weeks after the Fourth National Games at Hangzhou in April 1930. In fact, it was at these National Games where, on the basis of their scores and performances, some 150 athletes were selected to try out for the Chinese FECG team later that month in Shanghai. (They were joined by the Honolulu Chinese Baseball Team, who paid their own way to Shanghai to make their regular appearance representing China in the Games.)[91] In Shanghai, athletes trained for a month, competed in exhibitions against top foreign YMCA and police teams, and were feted in banquets sponsored by newspapers and government officials.[92] Finally, on 15 May the squad of 115 athletes boarded the Japanese postal ship *Daiakan* setting sail for Kobe, and eventually, the Ninth Far Eastern Championship Games at Tokyo.[93] For Cheng Jinguan, then an 18-year-old studying at Dongwu High School in Suzhou, this trip was an unbelievable chance to represent his country before the eyes of China's Asian neighbors.

The Games got underway on 24 May in Tokyo's Meiji Shrine Outer Garden before 60,000 fans. Minister of Education Tanaka Ryûzô read a speech on behalf of Games Chairman Prince Chichibu, welcoming athletes from China, the Philippines and India to the Games. This four-man Indian team, the first Indian delegation sent to the Far Eastern Games, was the focus of the most noteworthy event of this meet. Before

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[91] The Honolulu Chinese had clinched a strong second-place finish in the 1927 Games at Shanghai. Chen Xianming, Liang Youde and Du Kehe, *Zhongguo bangqiu yundongshi* [The history of baseball in China] (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1990), p. 30.

[92] Extra Public Security officers were hired for one reception, after it was rumored that Communists were plotting a disturbance of some sort for the evening. "Chinese Athletes in Shanghai," *The North-China Daily News*, 14 April 1930, p. 16; "Athletics," *The North-China Daily News*, 9 May 1930, p. 16.

[93] "Chinese Team Off for Japan," *The North-China Daily News*, 16 May 1930, p. 18; Interview with Cheng Jinguan, 2 March 1997, Suzhou, China.

the meet began, the British Embassy in Tokyo filed an official complaint with Japanese athletic authorities after learning that the Indian athletes would be marching behind the red, green and white banner of the Indian National Congress. Indian representatives then threatened to withdraw from the meet when Japanese authorities decided to fly the British flag over Meiji Stadium. What happened next is somewhat murky. The official story given in the Chinese official Games program is that: FECG representatives went in a panic to the British ambassador, who reportedly agreed to let the Indian athletes march behind their own flag - until the Indian community in Tokyo expressed their "tremendous dissatisfaction, together as one disavowing that these four Indian athletes had the right to represent India." Whatever the true course of events, the Indians marched in the Opening Ceremonies behind a Union Jack, nonetheless winning praise from Chinese observers for their nationalist spirit.[94]

When the Games began, however, it was more of the same. Of the eight competitions held before the eight-day total of 520,000 fans, Japan won five outright and tied for the soccer championship with the Chinese, who previously had always counted on taking home this title.[95] The Honolulu Chinese Baseball Team's threat to take gold was neutralized by the Japanese, who countered with their own Hawaiian ringer, a star pitcher named Kobayashi. The Chinese delegation took home only one

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[94] As was their habit with popular resistance in China, *The North-China Daily News* claimed that the Indian athletes' push to use their own flag was the result of "pressure from local Indian communists." "Trouble-Makers in Japan," *The North-China Daily News*, 23 May 1930, p. 11; "Di jiu jie Yuandong yundonghui zhi huigu," pp. 233, 241; *Di jiu jie Yuandong yundonghui* [The Ninth Far Eastern Championship Games] (Shanghai: Liangyou tushu yinhua youxian gongsi, 1930), pp. 3, 54.

[95] After the China-Japan title game ended in a tie, the Chinese wanted to play into overtime to determine a true champion, but the Japanese team and Japanese referees maintained that the game was over, no doubt pleased to get out with a tie with the traditionally strong Chinese footballers.

outright championship, in volleyball.[96] The Chinese losses were not even close - in the track and field category, Japanese athletes earned 131.5 points, to 32.5 points for the Filipino team, to one point for the Chinese and zero for the four-man Indian team.[97]

When remembering these Ninth Far Eastern Games, this is what remains foremost in 86-year-old Cheng Jinguan's mind today - the humiliation of "having a population of 400 million people, and winning only one bronze medal in track and field."[98] When the Chinese team returned home, few heroes' welcomes were accorded them. Some face was saved for the athletes, as observers blasted the unfairness of Japanese referees, and the dirty play of Japanese athletes that left their Chinese and Filipino opponents "grasping their wrists in anger."[99] However, many critics wanted answers for the Chinese squad's poor performance. One author demanded to know how "the Republic of China, with its 3000 years of culture and history, 34,403,740 square miles of fertile land, and population of 474 millions, could be defeated, sent sobbing and crying away, by a tiny nation of three islands! This is not only a shame - it is pathetic!"[100] Even the normally staid *Educational Review* joined in, commenting that the team's failure was due to "individual selfishness and the lack of any cooperative

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[96] This title was won after the Chinese, in order to combat the height advantage of the taller Philippine team, moved the left and right players of the middle line (this was nine-man volleyball) to the net for a five-man front line. Qu Zhengzhong and Zhang Xizhen, *Paiqiu* [Volleyball] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1993), p. 21.

[97] The only Chinese point was earned by Situ Guang's fourth-place finish in the triple jump. *Di jiu jie Yuandong yundonghui*, pp. 10, 45.

[98] Interview with Cheng Jinguan, 2 March 1997, Suzhou, China.

[99] "Di jiu jie Yuandong yundonghui zhi huigu," p. 241; *Di jiu jie Yuandong yundonghui*, p. 52.

[100] Qin Jin, quoted in Yuri, "Zhong-Ri Yuandong juesui shi" [The history of the Chinese-Japanese struggle for dominance in the Far East], *Tiyu wenshi* 42 (March 1990), p. 48.

effort - it is due to this fault that [the team] managed to finish even behind Sun Shan [the legendary last-place finisher on the imperial exam]."[101]

Few observers on the *tiyu* scene could have been pleased with the Chinese performance at the Games. The official goal of participation in these international competitions was to drink of the international waters of sportsmanship and fair play, and by doing so, to stimulate an interest in sports and fitness among the Chinese masses. But no one wanted to be the nice guy who finished last, especially when it was the Japanese making off with all the honors. In 1930, the "mass *tiyu*" critique was not developed enough to capitalize on this FECG failure, and blast the sports system that spent a small fortune to send 115 college students abroad for weeks of fun and travel. But it was disastrous performances like these that allowed those who favored *tiyu* for the masses to win quick currency for their arguments in following years.

The next Far Eastern meet, the tenth such affair, was planned for May 1934 in Manila. This switch to a quadrennial schedule posed the Far Eastern Games as a junior-level Olympics - in fact it was decided in the late 1920s to adopt Olympic rules for all FECG competitions. The Far Eastern Games were able to stay true to Olympic tradition in other ways as well; by that spring, ugly political rumblings threatened to derail the meet altogether. On 13 March, Japanese representatives led by Waseda University Professor Yamamoto Tadaoki paid a visit to Wang Zhengting, Far Eastern Athletic Association Vice Chairman and Chinese FECG Team Leader, in his office in Shanghai's French Concession. There, they floated the idea of participation in these Tenth Games by Manzhouguo, the recently established Japanese puppet regime in

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[101] "Di jiu jie Yuandong yundonghui zhi huigu," p. 241.

Manchuria. Wang declared there was "no room for discussion and nothing to discuss, and Yamamoto silently departed."[102] The issue was far from resolved, however. On 9 April, the Manzhouguo question was brought up again by Yamamoto at the scheduled Standing Committee meeting in Shanghai, and the struggle continued the next morning in the Huamao Hotel on Nanjing Road. The Japanese proposal to allow Manzhouguo athletes to participate in an unofficial "demonstration" capacity got nowhere, and both Chinese and Japanese delegations threatened to pull out of the Games. Ultimately, Dr. Tan, the Filipino representative to this meeting, concluded that a strict reading of Article 3 of the FECG Constitution, which required unanimous approval for the admittance of new members, did not allow for the entry of Manzhouguo over Chinese objections. The meeting finally broke up on the 11th, with the Japanese threat to withdraw still valid, as was the Philippine Amateur Athletic Federation's constitutional stand.[103]

Tryouts for the Chinese delegation to the Manila meet began in mid-April, with athletes coming from Beiping, Tianjin, Shanxi, Hubei, Hebei, Nanjing, Guangdong, Hong Kong and even Singapore and Indonesia to Shanghai for the chance to make the Chinese squad. Competition was fierce, as selected government *tiyu* officials warred

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[102] "Yuandong yundong dahui Zhong-Ri-Fei choubei qingxing" [The status of Chinese, Japanese and Filipino preparations for the Far Eastern Championship Games], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.7 (10 April 1934), p. 52.

[103] Earlier in the meeting on 9 April, Indonesia and Vietnam were both unanimously admitted to the Far Eastern Athletic Association. Zhou Dingchang, "Yuandong yundonghui Zhong-Ri-Fei changhui jingguo" [Happenings at the Chinese-Japanese-Filipino Far Eastern Championship Games Standing Committee meeting], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.8 (10 May 1934), pp. 13-14; "Dispute Over Olympics," *The New York Times*, 10 April 1934, p. 16; "Japanese Ultimatum is Expected in Manchukuoan Issue - Manila Firm in Olympics Row," *The New York Times*, 15 April 1934, p. 24.

over the composition of each team.[104] Some star athletes worked out ways of dealing with this unreliable bureaucratic system, and ensuring they would be selected. Shanghai native Cheng Jinguan related to me, with a boyish grin, such a plan designed by him and Liaoning star Liu Changchun, the two top Chinese sprinters of the time.[105] The two friendly rivals simply agreed before the selection meet that Liu would let Cheng win the 100 meter dash, and Cheng would let Liu win the 200 meter dash - this way both stars, sure to finish 1-2 in the sprints anyway, would be sure to secure a spot on the track team and transcend the notorious regional favoritism of the selection officials.[106] For these athletes who understood their efforts in explicitly national terms, it was easy to solve the problems of regionalism that threatened to rent China asunder.

But the normally joyous atmosphere of these national tryouts was soon dampened. Sun Che, a 25-year-old assistant squad leader in the military, came to Shanghai for a chance to become the first Shanxi athlete to make the FECG team. He was a clear favorite to win the 10 kilometer race, having recently set a new Chinese 10K record at the North China FECG selection meet. Sun's march to Manila would be hard to stop - on the night of 13 April, Sun was hit by a car on the Shanghai streets, injuring his head and foot, but still managed to run the very next day, even breaking his

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[104] The only teams not selected based on direct competition were the swim team, the selection of whose members was simply entrusted to the Hong Kong Swimming Federation, which boasted the finest stable of swimmers in China, and the tennis team, to which Shanghai's Qiu Feihai, Singapore's Lin Wangsu and Indonesia's Xu Chengji were directly selected by CNAAF officials. Guo Yungong, "Yuandong yundonghui Quanguo yuxuan ji" [Record of the National Selection Meet for the Far Eastern Championship Games], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.8 (10 May 1934), pp. 19-20.

[105] A saying in 1930s sports circles used to describe the state of sprinting in China was "Cheng in the south, and Liu in the north" (*nan Cheng bei Liu*).

[106] Interview with Cheng Jinguan, 2 March 1997, Suzhou, China.

own national record with a time of 34:49! Sun would never race before the Manila crowds, however. One chilly Shanghai night when Sun got out of bed to urinate, he caught a cold, which brought on a recurring liver problem. Track coach Ma Yuehan took Sun to the First Red Cross Hospital, where doctors said the hardy Sun's condition was not serious - until that night, after seeing visions of his mother and wife in the hospital room with him, Sun died, sending shivers through the *tiyu* community. One sportswriter lamented, "Alas! How malevolent is the court of heaven, taking our great warrior. There is no true *tiyu*-ist whom, upon hearing word of this, would not mourn in anguish." Sun's body was laid in state at the Shandong Provincial Guild, in a coffin paid for by the CNAAF. The next afternoon, Ma Yuehan led the FECG team to pay respects to Sun, a tragic figure that many of his teammates and fans surely saw as yet another martyr to the Chinese quest for national strength and dignity.[107]

After a warm-up meet against the expatriate Western Track and Field Club, in which the Chinese athletes won all 13 events,[108] the Chinese team left Shanghai aboard the American ship *Jackson*, transferring in Hong Kong onto the *McKinley*. Cheng Jinguan, whose memories of his sporting trips abroad are rife with feelings of Chinese national humiliation, interrupted his story of this trip to emphasize the irony of a Chinese national team taking American ships to an international meet, "not like now,

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[107] "Yi yue lai zhi tiyu renshi" [Athletes in the news this past month], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.8 (10 May 1934), pp. 63-64.

The Shanxi Provincial Government later gave 300 *yuan* to Sun's family. "Yi yue lai zhi tiyu renshi" [Athletes in the news this past month], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.10 (10 July 1934), p. 55.

[108] Chen Jinguan won the 100 meter (10.9 seconds) and 200 meter (22.6)races to lead the Chinese team. Pin Chen, "Woguo Yuandong tianjing xuanshou duikang Xilian chengji" [Scores from our nation's Far Eastern athletes challenge to the Western Track and Field Club], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.8 (10 May 1934), pp. 51-52.

when we have our own airplanes."[109] But the team's arrival in Manila only chafed Cheng even more.

The team was honored by a tremendous welcome at Pier Seven by some seven or eight thousand members of Manila's Chinese population - as one observer wrote, "the activity and human tide seemed to set the entire great structure of the pier itself in motion." A procession of more than 200 cars paraded the athletes through the Manila streets in "the warmest welcome these skies have ever seen."[110] However, what remains foremost in Cheng's memory is not this welcome, but an event that took place in the Philippines customs division that day. One Chinese athlete brought in his bags a small package of Chinese soil - a common charm to help him cope with the problem of "disagreeing with the new environment" (*shuitu bufu*, literally "unease with the water and soil"). Manila customs officials, no doubt conditioned by the stories which Chinese found so ignominious, thought the packaged soil was opium and immediately detained the offending athlete. Cheng's polished English allowed him to intervene on the part of his teammate and explain this Chinese folk custom to the customs agents, who finally released the athlete. But this encounter left an impression on Cheng that the 86-year-old man still carries with him - a complicated mixture of anger, at foreigners who had such low opinions of the Chinese, and shame, for being a member of a nation and race whose lowly customs and superstitions made it so easy for foreigners to equate China with weakness and indulgence.[111]

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[109] Interview with Cheng Jinguan, 2 March 1997, Suzhou, China.

[110] You Yinzu, "Yuanyun qianjing (Ma-ni-la tongxin)" [A Far Eastern Games preview (Letter from Manila)], *Renyan zhoukan* 16 (26 May 1934), p. 324.

[111] This memory of Chinese weakness is accompanied by yet another such story. After talking for some while about these Games at Manila, Cheng offered to tell me yet another "ridiculous story"

The Games themselves, held at Manila's new Rizal Stadium, offered no tremendous surprises for Chinese observers. Again the team captured just one title,[112] in soccer, to three each for Japan and the Philippines, and none for the Indonesian squad in their inaugural FECG appearance.[113] That the soccer team beat Japan 4-3 to clinch the title was a welcome relief for Chinese fans, who were dying for victories in what *The New York Times* called the "Sino-Japanese sports 'war.'"[114] The Chinese basketball team finished in second place to the Philippines, but the 48-47 win over Japan that clinched the silver medal was as sweet as any championship; Tang Baokun was carried off on the shoulders of the exhilarated crowd after he won the contest with a last-second free throw.[115] The Games also featured their regular brawls and broils, as violence broke out at the Chinese-Filipino soccer and basketball games and during the

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(*xiaohua*) about this meet. Manuel Luis Quezon, President of the new Philippine Commonwealth, gave a long speech at the meet's Opening Ceremonies, a speech that went on so long that a Chinese marathoner fainted in the Manila heat. Cheng would not confirm the name of this runner for me, saying it was not his intention to embarrass any of his teammates, but instead to underscore just how weak Chinese bodies, even those of international-class marathoners, were at the time. Interview with Cheng Jinguan, 2-3 March 1997, Suzhou, China.

[112] The Chinese women's swim team, led by Hong Kong phenom Yang Xiuqiong, "shocked the Philippine islands" with their victory in the women's swimming demonstration event. One author wrote, "Our nation's female swimmers achieved great success overnight ... especially The Mermaid, Miss Yang Xiuqiong, who won first place in every single event, even breaking her own national records along the way. (Unfortunately, in the 200 meter breaststroke, Yang was disqualified after the Filipinos said she had committed a foul.)" Ma Chonggan, "Di shi jie Yuandong yundonghui huigu" [A look back at the Tenth Far Eastern Championship Games], *Shenbao yuekan* 3.6 (15 June 1934), p. 40.

[113] The Indonesian soccer team included five players of Chinese heritage, moving one author to describe them as "talent from our nation being employed by another (*Chu cai Jin yong*, literally "talent of the Chu kingdom being employed by the Jin") - what a pity that they cannot fight for glory for the nation!" You Yinzu, "Yuanyun qianjing (Ma-ni-la tongxin)," p. 323.

[114] "China, Japan All Even in Far East Olympics," *The New York Times*, 14 May 1934, p. 22; Wang Zhenya, *Jiu Zhongguo tiyu jianwen*, p. 218.

[115] "Rain Washes Out Olympic Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 18 May 1934, p. 14.

Japanese-Filipino demonstration boxing match.[116]

What happened after the eight days of competitions ended became the real story of these Far Eastern Games. On 19 May, regularly scheduled FECG administrative meetings to plan the next Games, scheduled for Shanghai in 1938, began. The first session of the meeting saw several routine changes made - adding the events boxing, target shooting and water polo, and making women's swimming and volleyball official competition events.[117] The good feelings ceased quickly, though, as Japanese representatives returned to the issue of Manzhouguo joining the Far Eastern Athletic Association. This time, they were better prepared. Where before they had somehow counted on persuading the Chinese to allow Manzhouguo participation, their new approach combined clever constitutional interpretation and old-fashioned imperialist intimidation. Japanese delegates proposed to use Article 10 of the FECG code, which required a 2/3 majority to alter the constitution, to remove the unanimity clause of Article 3.[118] Now, only a majority (and hence China's vote) was no longer required to achieve Manzhouguo membership. Indonesian representatives had left for home before the meetings began, leaving only China, Japan and the Philippines. The Japanese said that this qualified as a valid meeting, since a majority of participating nations were in

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[116] "New Quarrel Mars Opening of Far Eastern Olympic Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 14 May 1934, p. 12; "Victorious March of Filipinos," *The North-China Daily News*, 16 May 1934, p. 13; "Riotous Scene at Far Eastern Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 20 May 1934, p. 17.

[117] Jizhe, "Yuandong tiyu xiehui feifa jiesan zhi jingguo" [The story of the unlawful dissolution of the Far Eastern Athletic Association], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.9 (10 June 1934), pp. 71-72.

[118] Chinese observers rightfully found it very ironic that the Japanese had clung to Article 3 for dear life when it was proposed in 1930 that Korea join the Far Eastern organization. Richard L. Jen, "Japan's Manila 'Stunt' and What It Means," *The China Weekly Review* 69.3 (16 June 1934), p. 104; Wu Hongyi, "Yuandong tiyu xiehui jiesan" [The dissolution of the Far Eastern Athletic Association], *Shidai gonglun* 3.9 (25 May 1934), p. 23.

attendance, and then utilized Article 14 to prove that only a majority of these three nations' votes was needed to effect a constitutional amendment.[119]

The Japanese delegates could now be sure of Philippine cooperation after some equally convincing gunboat diplomacy during the course of the Games. The Japanese Consul to Manila changed the mood of a banquet held for Japanese and Filipino officials when he thundered at the hosts, "Japan has sent some 170-plus athletes to join these Games, and this is a joyous occasion. But if we were to send 170-plus battleships, how would you feel then? ... If the Philippines want to remain independent it had best maintain friendly relations with its Japanese neighbor!"[120] When it seemed that the Filipino delegates were still unwilling to side with Japan on the issue, even more realistic threats were provided. The Japanese delegates then threatened to file the ultimate sporting protest by committing mass *harakiri* in the lobby of the Manila Hotel, if their requests went unheeded by the hosts.[121] Thus, against the wishes of the Manila sporting public and press,[122] Filipino delegates went along with the nefarious Japanese scheme. When Chinese delegates walked out of the meeting, the two remaining Far

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[119] Jizhe, "Yuandong tiyu xiehui feifa jiesan," p. 72; "The Passing of the F. E. Olympic Association," *Chinese Affairs* 5.24 (30 May 1934), p. 392.

[120] "Chuxi Yuanyunhui ge daibiao tanhua" [Speeches by each Far Eastern Games delegate], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.9 (10 June 1934), p. 9.

After Japan had gotten its way, Consul Kimura received a note written in Chinese reading, "You deserve death for taking part in the meeting which brought about the dissolution of the FEAA," and informing him that he would be killed in Cervantes Plaza in front of the Consulate. "Threat to Assassinate Japanese Consul at Manila," *The China Weekly Review* 69.1 (2 June 1934), p. 7.

[121] Hao Gengsheng, *Hao Gengsheng huiyilu* [Memoirs of Hao Gengsheng], (Taibei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1969), p. 36.

[122] Philippines President Quezon offered a personal apology to Wang Zhengting, and the *Manila Daily* opined that the decision was "cowardly and devoid of faith." "Chuxi Yuanyunhui ge daibiao tanhua," pp. 8-9; "Manchukuo Recognized - Public is Critical," *The New York Times*, 22 May 1934, p. 41; Jizhe, "Yuandong tiyu xiehui feifa jiesan," p. 74.

Eastern members declared the Far Eastern Athletic Association dissolved, and instantly founded a new Amateur Athletic Association of the Orient.[123]

The Chinese delegates returned to Shanghai to explain their side of the story to a sympathetic public, beginning with a large press conference at the New Asia Hotel. The delegates maintained the sportsmanlike high road, explaining that they only withdrew from the offensive meetings in order to "preserve the glorious and pure traditions of athletic competition."[124] It was announced that China would still prepare as usual for the next FECG meet, scheduled for Shanghai in 1938, and that CNAAF Secretary William Sung had already filed an appeal with the International Olympic Committee over the incident.[125] Chinese observers also saw chance to contrast the independent, high-minded Chinese diplomatic spirit with the weaker-willed approach of the Philippine delegation. One author scorned the Philippine decision to use the Far Eastern Games as "a tool to win Japanese favors."[126] Another wrote, "It is true that the Philippines are about to get their independence, but after all they are a weak nation and should side with China instead of serving as a vassal of Japan whose ambition

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[123] This new Association was to include Japan, the Philippines, Manzhouguo, Indonesia, India, Vietnam, Malaya, and an invitation was extended to China as well. The new AAAO constitution was exactly the same as the FEAA document, except for the controversial Article 3, which now required only a 2/3 majority to vote in new members. The first AAAO Games were planned for Tokyo 1938, and Philippines President Quezon was nominated to serve as AAAO Honorary Chairman. "A Dramatic Move Concludes Olympic Games," *The North-China Daily News*, 22 May 1934, p. 12; Jizhe, "Yuandong tiyu xiehui feifa jiesan," p. 74; Jen, "Japan's Manila 'Stunt,'" p. 104.

[124] Hao Gengsheng, *Hao Gengsheng huiyilu*, p. 37.

[125] "Dr. C. T. Wang Says Dissolution of Far Eastern Athletic Association Is Illegal," *The China Weekly Review* 69.1 (2 June 1934), p. 7; "F. E. Games Quarrel Not Yet Over," *The North-China Daily News*, 24 May 1934, p. 13; Wu Hongyi, "Yuandong tiyu xiehui jiesan," p. 23.

[126] Wu Hongyi, "Yuandong tiyu xiehui jiesan," p. 23.

knows no bounds."[127]

Many saw in these events darker consequences, however. One author wailed, "Weak nations have no foreign diplomacy! We have even failed in sports diplomacy!"[128] Many hoped for ways to keep the Chinese chin up in the face of this latest humiliation. A *Shenbao* article cried out for May 20th, anniversary of this treacherous Japanese-Philippine conspiracy, to be formally observed in the future. Suggesting that this violation of Chinese sovereignty ranked with those of May Fourths and May Thirtieths past, the author hoped that all public athletic grounds in China would hang their flags at half mast on this day, and that all sporting activities would be suspended to commemorate this "humiliation of the *tiyu* community." He hoped that future National Games could be held on the same day as the "so-called East Asia Meet," awarding special prizes to athletes who managed to surpass East Asian marks, and even subsidizing participation by China's smaller Asian allies! Finally, he asked that one sentence be added to the official National Games oath - "I vow to wipe away the humiliation suffered by our elders on 20 May of the twenty-third year of the Republic of China."[129]

The Far Eastern Games of 1930 and 1934, the final acts of a ten-round production that had run since 1913, occupy an important place in Republican-era *tiyu* history. Like the earlier Far Eastern meetings, the Games provided the Chinese *tiyu*

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[127] "The Passing of the F. E. Olympic Association," p. 392.

[128] Ma Chonggan, "Di shi jie Yuandong yundonghui huigu," p. 41.

[129] Zhuang Zexuan, "Yuandong tixie de jiesan shi Zhongguo de qichi daru" [The dissolution of the Far Eastern Athletic Association is an unprecedented insult to China], *Shenbao*, 25 May 1934, reprinted in *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 1.9 (10 June 1934), p. 13.

community with the international perspective so valuable to forming conceptions of a sporting Chinese nation. With the Japanese presence growing daily in the affairs of the Chinese nation and in the minds of its people, these 1930s meets also provided rare opportunities for the Chinese underdog to slap the Japanese imperialists off their high horse. Unfortunately for the Chinese *tiyu* community, Japanese sporting superiority and years of world-class experience in Olympic competition assured that this did not happen often.

That Cheng Jinguan experienced and remembered his participation in the Far Eastern meets as a amalgam of pride in his role as a pathbreaker for Chinese sport, grief at the affronts suffered by his countrymen abroad, and shame at the mediocre performances consistently turned in by his team, is likely not unique among athletes and interested spectators of his day. Each time the Far Eastern Games were held, ships carried proud and optimistic delegations to Tokyo or Manila, only to return to Chinese shores weighted down much more by heavy nationalist shame and guilt than by any championship cargo of medals or trophies.[130] As Chinese sportsmen's first connection to the thrills and complexities (and - we should be honest - the national and racial hatred and violence) of international competition, the Far Eastern Games holds a special place in the history of modern Chinese *tiyu*. But the Games' legacy as a promising investment that always disappointed, never paying the expected dividends of sporting superiority in East Asia, is what lives on in the hearts of elderly athletes and observers who understood *tiyu* as an important part of the twentieth-century Chinese national narrative.

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[130] Only once, at the Second Games held in Shanghai in 1915, did the Chinese team win the overall championship.

Like a Fisherman in a Peach-Blossom Haven: The 1932 Olympic Games

The earliest Chinese official representative to the Olympic Games was Song Ruhai, the CNAAF official representative who participated as an observer at the Amsterdam Olympiad of 1928. Two years after his trip, Shanghai's Commercial Press published a volume written by Song on these and past Olympics, introducing Chinese sports fans to the customs, symbolism and history of the modern Olympic Games. A preface to the book written by Wang Zhengting explained the significance of the Olympic Games - "If a *minzu* wants to pursue freedom and equality in today's world where the weak serve as meat on which the strong can dine, they first must train strong and fit bodies."[131] The contribution of Song's volume is not in its content, most of which seems to have been translated and pasted together from foreign sources, but rather in the ingenious transliterative device with which he introduced the Olympics to Chinese readers. He rendered "Olympiad" as "*Wo neng bi ya*" (literally, "I can compete!"), a transliteration which he felt "carries great significance. It means that we can all participate in these events and competitions."[132]

Two years later, China made its inaugural Olympic appearance in the 1932 Games at Los Angeles. By this, their tenth incarnation, the modern Olympics had become a powerful symbol of national accomplishment, strength and the will to participate in the international community which Games founder Pierre de Coubertin

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[131] Song Ruhai, *Wo neng bi ya: Shijie yundonghui conglu (Records of Olympic Meetings)* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1930), preface p. 1.

[132] Song Ruhai, *Wo neng bi ya*.

called the "republic of muscles."[133] China's entry into this grand company of nations was made by a single pioneer venturing out West - a 22-year-old Dalian native and fruitpicker's son, sprinter Liu Changchun.

Liu's rise to national fame began at age 14, when he won the 100 and 400 meter sprints at a Japanese-run "Kantôshû (Guandongzhou) Track Meet." As a youth, Liu was a soccer enthusiast, joining games with Japanese youngsters in his spare time from his work as an apprentice in a glass factory and as a city bus ticket-taker. The Northeastern University soccer team, touring Dalian in 1927, discovered the 17-year-old talent. Liu returned with the team to Shenyang, where he was enrolled in the Northeastern Prep School, and provided with free tuition and board courtesy of famed sportsman and university president Zhang Xueliang. Liu flourished at Northeastern, entering university in 1929, and profiting greatly from the school's commitment to sports excellence. As a favorite of Zhang's, Liu enjoyed a 30 *yuan* a month stipend from the president. Zhang's hiring of a German ex-world champion to coach track at Northeastern, and frequent Zhang-sponsored meets against Japanese, French and German track stars only allowed Liu to progress further. In a stretch of six months, Liu made his name in the Chinese sports world, winning two silver medals at an October 1929 Japanese-German-Chinese meet in Shenyang, and then winning three golds in his historic performance at the 1930 National Games in Hangzhou.[134]

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[133] John J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 137.

[134] Li Sheng, "Di yi ge daibiao Zhongguo canjia Aoyunhui bisai de Liu Changchun" [Liu Changchun, the first to represent China in Olympic competition], *Tiyu wenshi* 5 (February 1984), p. 34; Liu Changchun, "Wo daibiao Zhongguo canjia Di shi jie Aoyunhui shimo" [The whole story of my representing China at the Tenth Olympiad], in Ji Hongmin, Yu Xingmao and Lü Changfu, eds., *Aoyunhui yu Zhongguo* [The Olympics and China] (Beijing: Wenshi ziliao chubanshe, 1985), pp. 57-88; Interview with Dong Hanwen, 4 June 1996, Taipei, Taiwan.

The CNAAF, China's official sports body, announced on 25 May 1932 that they had no plans to send a team to Los Angeles that July.[135] However, the Japanese announcement just four days later that Liu and fellow Dalian runner Yu Xiwei would be representing the puppet Manzhouguo state in the Olympics sent the Chinese *tiyu* community into a tizzy.[136] One commentator issued a bold challenge to the Nanjing government, linking its very credibility to this issue of Olympic participation:

> Japan, with its population of 70 millions, is able to send 200-some athletes to participate, but the great Chinese nation of 400 millions can only send one Mr. Shen [Siliang, scheduled to attend as an official observer] to go watch. Quite an interesting contrast. I think Mr. Shen would be embarrassed to say, 'I will be representing the Republic of China as an observer, so we can't send any athletes.' The Education Department says it is because of shortages of time and money. The CNAAF says there isn't any talent. These are not real reasons. They say that there is no money, hah! If the government just eliminated one of their officials-in-name-only, they could send two or three athletes. They say there is no talent, hah! The bogus [Manzhouguo] government picked the two, Yu and Liu, out of their 30 millions. Huh. What a mysterious nation we are. The people devote everything we have to the nation, but the nation sure doesn't do anything to give us people any hope at all.[137]

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[135] Jizhe, "Liu Changchun chuxi Shijiehui zhi yunniang" [The story of how Liu Changchun's participation in the Olympics came about], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 23 (9 July 1932), p. 18.

[136] The Manchurian Athletic Association cabled the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee on 24 May with their plans to enter "a sprinter and a middle-distance star of high calibre" in the Games. "Seeks to Enter Olympics: Manchuria Expresses Desire to Send Two Athletes to Games," *The New York Times*, 25 May 1932, p. 26.

The International Olympic Committee saw no problem with the participation of this puppet government, merely stating that Manzhouguo would have to wait, along with Afghanistan, for official IOC recognition of their nation. The IOC also reportedly asked Manzhouguo officials to submit their national flag and anthem for use in Los Angeles. *The New York Times*, 26 May 1932, p. 32; "Wei xuanshou chuxi Shijiehui" [Bogus athletes to participate in Olympics], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 20 (18 June 1932), p. 1; "Weiguo xuanshou chuchang wenti" [The problem of the athletes representing the bogus government in competition], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 20 (18 June 1932), p. 19.

[137] Wang Guan, "Guanyu weiguo de qianpai Yu Liu ji qita" [On the bogus government's sending Yu and Liu, among other things], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 20 (18 June 1932), pp. 18-19.

The galling prospect of China's most famed sports star running for Olympic gold under the flag of the Manzhouguo puppet government was quickly resolved. Liu himself made a statement for *Dagongbao*, vowing that "I am of the Chinese race, a descendant of the Yellow Emperor. I am Chinese, and will not represent the false Manzhouguo at the Tenth Olympiad."[138] He also vowed that he had never made any contact with sporting personnel from the puppet regime, and that "my conscience is still with me, my hot blood still flows - how could I betray the nation and serve others like a horse or cow?!"[139]

Weeks later, the relief that Liu would not be representing Manzhouguo turned to pure Olympic joy. In a dramatic ceremony marking the Northeastern University Physical Education Department graduation on 1 July, Zhang Xueliang grabbed the national sporting spotlight. He announced that he would be donating 8000 *yuan* for Liu and Yu to run for China in the Olympics, with Northeastern instructor Song Junfu accompanying the two as coach and translator.[140] While national sports officials, funding now in hand, crowed about the importance of joining the sacred Olympic Games, the small Olympic team prepared to depart for California. After a quick meeting with Beiping Mayor Zhou Dawen, who presented Liu with a new suit for the great occasion,[141] Liu and Coach Song left Beiping for Shanghai on 2 July, while sports

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[138] Liu Changchun, "Wo daibiao Zhongguo canjia Di shi jie Aoyunhui shimo," p. 64.

[139] A rejoicing *Sporting Weekly* published a file photo of Liu over the caption, "Liu Changchun, who will not be a puppet." "Liu Changchun zishu" [Liu Changchun tells his own story], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 20 (18 June 1932), p. 20.

[140] Shi Ji, "Zhongguo canjia Di shi jie Aoyunhui jingguo" [The story of China's participation in the Tenth Olympiad], *Tiyu wenshi* 5 (February 1984), p. 16.

[141] Zhou was a former secretary to Zhang Xueliang, and his son Zhou Changxing was also a standout athlete who participated in the Berlin Olympics of 1936. Interview with Dong Hanwen, November 1995, Taipei, Taiwan.

officials tried to get in touch with Yu Xiwei in Dalian. By the 4th, Liu was in Shanghai, training in public sessions, being feted in Olympic banquets, and even making a quickie two-day film at the Chinese Stadium there.[142] Yu, on the other hand, was nowhere to be found. Japanese authorities still hoped to coax Yu to represent the puppet state. Their veiled threats, along with the policy of informal house arrest applied to Yu and other Northeastern stars they feared would join the Chinese team, convinced Yu to ignore the Chinese Olympic call and stay in Dalian for the sake of his family's safety.[143]

After a ceremony at Xinguan Pier where CNAAF Head Wang Zhengting presented Liu with the Chinese national flag, Liu and Song boarded the *President Wilson* on 8 July for two weeks at sea. In letters written while on board the ship, Song related that Liu woke up every morning at 4:00 for calisthenics, and that Liu was able to eat Chinese meals prepared especially for the Olympian. The handful of other Chinese passengers on board, all students, included a 13-year-old sports nut who impressed Liu and Song with his collection of sports pictures and clippings that he took abroad with him.[144] All was well until the ship made its first stop, in Kobe. There, a crowd of Japanese reporters boarded the *Wilson* to interview Liu, but asked if he was representing Manzhouguo. An infuriated Song wrote how he sent them away after "I declared strictly and firmly that the two of us represent the great Republic of China."

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[142] Liu Changchun, "Wo daibiao Zhongguo canjia Di shi jie Aoyunhui shimo," p. 66.

[143] Interview with Li Shiming, 17 May 1996, Taipei, Taiwan; Hu Shiliu, "Di shi jie Shijie yundong dahui ji" [Record of the Tenth Olympiad], *Shenbao yuekan* 1.3 (15 September 1932), p. 121.

[144] "Ben jie Ou-lin-pi-ke yundong dahui zhi qianzhan (xu ba)" [Preview of this Olympiad (Part 8)], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 26 (30 July 1932), p. 22.

The Japanese taunting was not over, however, as the next day Liu and Song received a telegram from the Japanese Athletic Association wishing the "Manzhouguo representatives" good luck in the Olympics![145]

Liu and Song arrived in Los Angeles on 29 July, just one day before the Games were scheduled to begin, and were greeted by dozens of excited Overseas Chinese. A car with police motorcycle escorts, sirens sounding, immediately took the Olympians to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, where the two lodged. After a morning press conference the next day, Liu was taken by police escort, and followed by five busloads of Chinese-American fans, to the Los Angeles Coliseum for the Opening Ceremonies. There, Liu and Song were joined by four Chinese sports officials already in the United States in the Olympic procession, China marching eighth of 51 nations. Despite sparkling starts in his two races, the 100 and 200 meter sprint heats, Liu placed fifth and fourth, respectively, and was quickly eliminated from competition in both events.[146]

The rest of Liu's stay was devoted to taking in many of the Olympic competitions (which he described in great detail in his diary), hobnobbing with members of the Chinese community and even Hollywood stars, and reflecting on the significance of his Olympic voyage. Liu recorded in his diary how fans would approach him at the Games or on the street, asking if he was a Japanese athlete. When Liu answered that he was Chinese,

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[145] Song told the ship telegraph operator to return the message to the sender, as there were no Manzhouguo representatives aboard their ship. "Ben jie Ou-lin-pi-ke yundong dahui zhi qianzhan (xu ba)," p. 22.

[146] Liu led after the first 50 meters in his 100 meter heat on 31 July, and led after 150 meters in his 200 meter heat on 2 August, before running out of gas at the end of both races. "Liu Changchun de riji" [Liu Changchun's diary], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 32 (10 September 1932), pp. 21-22; Hu Shiliu, "Di shi jie Shijie yundong dahui ji," p. 122.

> The people react by shouting out in surprise. Or they say, 'Here's an athlete representing the 400 million Chinese,' and then I get surrounded. It's like they have found some dirty fisherman in their peach-blossom haven - they all ask, 'You're the Chinese representative?' Then they will pat me on the shoulder, saying, "Fine, fine, just great - but it's really too bad that China couldn't send more athletes.' I have paid attention to the attitudes of Americans since I got to the States, and everywhere I go they make me feel as though they really do sympathize with China. It's the same with [athletes from] the smaller nations too - especially during meals, when there are more opportunities [to chat]. They don't say anything explicitly, but with athletes from all nations, it's in the sound of their voice when they say, "Japan ..." with a bitter laugh. As far as I can tell, almost every nation sympathizes with us - even though our political systems are different, they do sympathize with us. And I'm not alone. I am not entering into this as a politician or military expert. Have even I made some contribution?! Have even I made some contribution?![147]

Liu Changchun's failure to win any medals during his Olympic travels was treated with more leniency than earlier Far Eastern Games disappointments had been. Sports commentators were more realistic about these Olympics, explaining that Liu went to Los Angeles not with the goal of winning medals, but rather to learn from athletes of other nations so that he could spread this knowledge throughout China. Another was more realistic about his low expectations, asking how anyone expected any Olympic medals to be won competing against athletes from 50 nations, when Chinese could not even compete among three Asian nations in the Far Eastern Games.[148] But Chinese Olympic participation was seen as a great step in establishing a solid foothold in the community of modern nations. Hao Gengsheng and other officials explained earlier that a Chinese Olympic appearance was necessary to maintain a

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[147] "Liu Changchun de riji," p. 23.

[148] Hu Shiliu, "Di shi jie Shijie yundong dahui ji," p. 117; "Liu Changchun bei shou huanying" [Liu Changchun's welcome], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 27 (6 August 1932), p. 1.

respectable position in the world, and also to offset the effects of Manzhouguo possibly sending a team.[149] But the response accorded Liu in Los Angeles made the trip seem even more worthwhile:

> This was our nation's first time participating [in the Olympics], being listed as one of the 50 nations. And the flag of the white sun on the blue sky fluttered over the Coliseum, alongside the flags of the world's nations for the first time. This has profound significance for our nation ... On 31 July, when Liu Changchun ran his 100 meter heat, the audience responded with a shockingly intense welcome, with applause that roared like thunder.... The fact that our nation's participation could leave the spectators with this kind of impression is very satisfying.[150]

Training as Others Trained: The 1936 Olympic Games

With the rush that these Olympics provided the Chinese sporting community, it was certain that plans for the next Olympics would not be postponed to such a late hour. Official planning for the 1936 Olympiad at Berlin began in October 1934 as sporting officials attended the 18th North China Games in Tianjin.[151] One innovation designed to facilitate both the training and bureaucratic needs of a modern Olympic team was the two-month Qingdao Summer Training Camp, held at Shandong University in July-August 1935.[152] The CNAAF paid for transportation, room and

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[149] Jizhe, "Liu Changchun chuxi Shijiehui zhi yunniang," pp. 18-19.

[150] "Liu Changchun bei shou huanying," p. 1.

[151] "Quanguo tixiehui jihua canjia Shijie yundonghui gexiang banfa" [Chinese National Amateur Athletic Federation plans to send athletes to join all Olympic events], *Shishi xinbao*, 5 November 1934, reprinted in *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Educational Review)* 25.1 (10 January 1935), p. 423.

[152] A five-week Summer Physical Education Lecture Series and a five-day Summer Physical Education Conference were also scheduled in conjunction with the Olympic Training Camp. *Tiyu* experts in residence for the training camp taught courses and presented papers in these other programs, which were both open to physical education teachers and bureaucrats. Information was sent to provincial educational bodies that spring inviting local organizations to nominate participants. "Shuqi tiyu taolunhui guicheng" [Summer *Tiyu* Conference regulations], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.9 (June 1935), pp. 624-627; "Shuqi tiyu jiangxihui guicheng" [Summer *Tiyu* Conference

board for athletes it invited or who were recommended by regional sporting bodies. The session was also open to confident competitors able to pay their own way plus 500 *yuan* to cover the costs of training. And these were no trivial costs, as the CNAAF had enlisted the services of four top-notch German coaches to supplement the work of the top *tiyu* names in China, including Camp Director Song Junfu, Assistant Director and track coach Ma Yuehan, basketball coach Dong Shouyi, and martial arts coach Chu Minyi. This training camp seems to hold Shenyang sprinter Dong Hanwen's dearest sporting memories. Dong often reminisced about the sporting camaraderie he enjoyed with his fellow Chinese athletes at this session in Qingdao, both in training, and in outsmarting their German coaches by climbing out their dormitory windows after curfew to take in the Qingdao nightlife. For Dong, who barely missed qualifying for the Olympic track team, this training camp represented the best and worst of Chinese sport during the 1930s. He spoke to me at length about the "purity" and sportsmanship that existed in friendships between Chinese athletes of the day, answering me with quizzical or almost disbelieving looks when I asked if regionalist identity ever entered into these competitions. Once, in his Ford Telstar, after I asked if he felt the same competing against Guangzhou natives as he did running against a fellow Northeasterner, Dong lectured me on the attitude of the "sportsman" (in English), maintaining that "athletes do not worry about politics or personal business, just victory." On other occasions, however, Dong talked about the regional favoritism that plagued the whole selection process. The Olympic team was selected in a way that North and South would be evenly represented, in order to satisfy the bull-headed

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regulations]. *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.9 (June 1935), pp. 627-629; File Number 53-1-2216, Zhejiang Provincial Archives, pp. 2-26.

Olympic planners who cared about such matters. Dong remembers the "behind-the-scenes" (*neimu*) corruption of Southerners like Ma Yuehan, who worked to weight the track team more heavily in favor of Southern athletes. Other authors describe the dirty dealings of Northerner Dong Shouyi, who loaded his basketball team with Beiping and Tianjin players.[153] However, by remembering this regionalism as merely another brand of Republican-era official "corruption," Dong is able to keep intact the memories of pure and sportsmanlike conduct among athletes that he enjoys telling just as much as I enjoy hearing.

The omission of Liaoning sprinter Li Shiming is a particularly unique and egregious example of this favoritism, but is one that goes unmentioned by Dong and Li when reflecting on their sporting careers. The Qingdao training camp was designed to assemble the backbone of the Olympic delegation to Berlin without having to rely on unreliable one-time marks at the 1935 National Games. Training camp guidelines explained that athletes would be automatically selected to the Olympic track team if they: broke a national record in 1935, had broken a national record at an officially-sanctioned meet since 1933, or reached official standards listed for each track and field event.[154] Li fit this final qualification, meeting standards in two events by finishing a 400 meter trial in 53.2 seconds on 15 July, and running 800 meters in 2:03.3 on 27 July. *The Chin Fen Sports Monthly* even listed his time in the 800 meters as the "second most valuable achievement of the training camp," including a picture of Li

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[153] Interviews with Dong Hanwen, November 1995, 10 and 17 May 1996, Taipei, Taiwan; Qu Ziqing, *Zhongguo lanqiu shihua* [Stories from the history of basketball in China] (Taibei: Weihua tiyu xunkanshe, 1961), p. 17.

[154] "Shuqi tiyu xunlianhui guicheng" [Summer *Tiyu* Training Camp regulations], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.9 (June 1935), pp. 633-635.

celebrating his mark with Coaches Ma and Wilhelm Ludwig.[155] Despite achieving these fine marks, and later lowering his time in the 800 meters to a national record 2:01.9 in May 1936 at a meet in Wuxi,[156] Li was never allowed to join the Olympic team. The reason? As early as 1932, Li had joined Manzhouguo track teams organized in Liaoning, and in 1933 and 1934 represented his hometown Fengtian in the Second and Third Manzhouguo National Games held in the new capital Xinjing.[157] I discuss Manzhouguo *tiyu*, and this part of Li's sporting career that he now describes as "bad. just bad," in Chapter Eight. I mention it here, however, to illustrate the biases that went into the selection of China's 1936 Olympic team. Although I have never had this hunch confirmed, there is no other reason besides a nationalist repugnance at his Manzhouguo contamination that would keep this national-class athlete off the squad.

Final selections were made in pressure-filled training sessions in Shanghai in May and June 1936. Besides the track and field, basketball, weightlifting and *guoshu* teams, which were assembled after months of practices and competitions, other Chinese

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[155] Li broke the 2:05 standard in the 800 meters again on 3 August. However, he failed to qualify for the 200 meter dash and the javelin after several trials in each event. "Yi yue lai zhi yundong bisai" [Competitive sports this past month]. *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.12 (September 1935), pp. 839-840.

Li qualified again for the Olympics at a training camp held for Northern athletes at Beiping's Qinghua University in April-May 1936, running the 400 meters in 52.2 seconds. *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao (Official Report of The Chinese Delegation to the XIth Olympiad, Berlin, 1936)* (Shanghai: Zhonghua quanguo tiyu xiejinhui, 1937), Section 1, p. 5.

[156] "Yi yue lai zhi yundong bisai" [Competitive sports this past month]. *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.10 (July 1936), p. 948.

[157] Li, running the 400 and 800 meters, won two gold medals in 1933 and two silvers in 1934, finishing second in both events to lifelong friend and almost-Olympian Yu Xiwei. One author described these athletes, and the Xinjing crowds as "slaves of a conquered nation" (*wangguo nu*). Interview with Li Shiming, 17 May 1996, Taipei, Taiwan; Qiao Ji, "Weiguo tiyu jinkuang yi shu" [A look at sports in the bogus "nation"], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 2.20 (24 June 1933), p. 7; "Li ci wei Man yundonghui chengji" [Records from each bogus "Manzhouguo" National Games], *Jilin tiyu shiliao* 1983.2 (October 1983), p. 32.

squads came about through different circumstances. The Chinese soccer team was put together solely from Hong Kong Soccer Association teams.[158] They came to Shanghai for a 30 April game against a Nanjing-Shanghai all-star team, and a match before 20,000 fans against the Shanghai Foreign All-Stars, and then immediately left for Southeast Asia. There they played an Olympic fundraiser exhibition schedule of 27 games in 62 days in Vietnam, Singapore, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya and Thailand, before meeting the rest of the Olympic team in Bangkok in July.[159] China's four-member boxing team came from the ranks of Henan Provincial Chairman Shang Qiyu's 32nd Army. Shang paid for the boxers' Olympic trip and also five months of intensive training in Shanghai beforehand.[160] Chinese Olympic officials were also ecstatic to hear that Howard Wing (He Haohua), a Dutch cyclist of Chinese ancestry, shunned the requests of the Dutch Olympic Committee in order to be able to ride for his Chinese motherland.[161]

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[158] Many in the Shanghai sporting establishment were less than thrilled about the Hong Kong carpetbaggers' complete appropriation of the soccer entry. Several Shanghai papers published items from the European press questioning the amateur status of the Hong Kong team, whose members allegedly "were receiving 'retainers' from undisclosed sources to enable them to play football." Interestingly, the foreign press in Shanghai defended Olympic soccer team captain Li Huitang, "number one soccer player in China and idol of all football fans in this part of the world," from these charges, and criticized the Shanghai Chinese press for trying to force the CNAAF to disqualify Li and his teammates from amateur competition. "What Is An Amateur?" *The Illustrated Week-End Sporting World (Jingle huabao)* 10.43 (9 May 1936), p. 5; "Frankly Speaking," *The Illustrated Week-End Sporting World (Jingle huabao)* 10.47 (6 June 1936), p. 6.

[159] The team won 23 of the matches, tying four and losing none, and outscoring their opponents 113-27. *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*, Section 1, pp. 8-9.

[160] The boxers trained with a British coach and returned Overseas Chinese Chen Hanqiang, a former Australian champion. Their training program included fighting bouts on an "American Club smoker program" in Shanghai, and "eating foreign food in order to get the full benefit out of the calories." *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*, Section 1, p. 10; "Boxing," *The Illustrated Week-End Sporting World (Jingle huabao)* 10.41 (25 April 1936), p. 9.

[161] *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*, Section 1, p. 16.

The team's Olympic voyage began on the morning of 23 June, when all 55 athletes (not including the soccer team or Dutch-Chinese cyclist Wing) and 29 sports officials met at the Shanghai North Station in their official dress uniforms - dark suits and ties for the men and white *qipao* dresses for the women. They boarded a 6:55 train for Nanjing, arriving in the capital at 2:00 that afternoon. A bus took them first to the Sun Yat-sen Memorial, where a quick ceremony was performed, to the Officers' Moral Endeavor Association (*Lizhishe*) for tea, and then to Chiang Kai-shek's home in the Purple Mountains for a short lecture by Chiang and a flag presentation ceremony. After returning to Shanghai that night, there were two more days of banquets, the largest held by the German Consul in Shanghai at the Daguangming Theater. The athletes and officials, joined by a large "Olympic inspection group," several reporters, and a group of diehard sports fans paying their own way to cheer on their team in Berlin, boarded the Italian ship *S. S. Conte Verde* at noon of 26 June, sent off with a musical farewell performed by bands from the Shanghai Municipal Government and Shanghai Garrison Command, and a flyover by two aircraft sent by the Chinese Aviation Association.[162]

The Olympians were on board the *Conte Verde* for 25 days, making stops in Hong Kong, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, Bombay, Massawa, and Suez before reaching Venice on 20 July. Each stop in Southeast Asia brought fabulous welcomes from the Chinese populations there. In Singapore, more than 1000 Overseas Chinese

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[162] The whole Olympic trip was funded by a 170,000 *yuan* grant from the central government, and 30,568.88 *yuan* from 28 donors including Chen Jitang, Wu Tiecheng, Bai Chongxi, Li Zongren, Yang Sen, Yan Xishan, He Yingqin, Dai Jitao, Chen Yi, as well as several patriotic Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia and Austria. *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*, Section 1, pp. 2, 17-18; Interview with Cheng Jinguan, Suzhou, China, 2 March 1997.

greeted the team, taking the Olympians in ten cars on a tour of Singapore, and then to a banquet hosted by Consul Diao Zuoqian. Huge crowds also attended a basketball scrimmage between the Chinese Olympians and the Singapore All-Stars, which was followed by a demonstration by the nine-person martial arts team.[163]

But the long trip at sea was not meant to be a pleasure cruise for the lucky Olympians. Rather, a detailed regimen was designed to prepare the team physically, mentally and linguistically for their important tasks. Beginning Monday, 29 June, the athletes' day began with mandatory morning calisthenics from 7:00 to 7:30, and then specific training exercises from 8:00 to 9:00 on deck, which often gathered gawking crowds of foreign tourists. After lunch, lectures were scheduled every day from 1:00 to 2:00, followed by one hour of German class and one more hour of physical training.[164] After-dinner free time for many members was occupied by singing and dancing practice, as they prepared for a "China Night" program to be held later in the trip.[165] Unfortunately, these plans did not last long. By the first week of the trip, athletes and coaches alike became violently seasick almost daily. Sprinter Cheng Jinguan remembers the waves getting even worse on the 10-day leg of the trip from Bombay to Italy, so bad that few of the Olympians could even hold food down, let alone train or study German, by the end of the trip.[166]

After their ship finally docked in the middle of the night on 20-21 July, the

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[163] *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*, Section 1, pp. 18-19.

[164] *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*, Section 1, p. 21.

[165] Chen Yongsheng, *Ouzhou tiyu kaocha riji* [Diary of the Olympic inspection tour of European physical culture] (Shanghai: Nansheng chubanshe, 1938), p. 7.

[166] Interview with Cheng Jinguan, Suzhou, China, 2 March 1997.

weary athletes were greeted in the *Conte Verde*'s concert hall by the German Consul to Italy, a representative of the Chinese Consul to Italy, and representatives of Chinese student associations in Germany and Italy. Finally, at 3:00 am, they were allowed to get off the boat and leave for the warm and anchored beds of Venice's Continental Hotel. After a day's rest, the team left on the morning of the 22nd for München. After arriving in the "Cradle of the German Revolution" at 7:00 pm, the team was welcomed by Chinese and German representatives, and whisked off by the mayor to see the sacred site of Hitler's revolution and the Memorial to the Martyrs of the Revolution, in the four hour interval before their 11:00 train left for Berlin that same night.[167]

The team's arrival in Berlin was a memorable one for all involved. Arriving in the Olympic host city at 9:00 am on 23 July, the team was greeted by 300 exuberant Overseas Chinese and Chinese students, all chanting "Long live the Republic of China," and waving Chinese flags that Berlin restaurants had been selling in the days before the team arrived. The celebratory ceremony inside the train station included speeches by Cheng Tianfang, Chinese ambassador to Germany, German IOC member Dr. Ritter V. Hart, and Chinese Olympic delegation leader Shen Siliang, who concluded his speech with a ringing call (repeated three times), "Long live the Republic of China! Long live Germany!" Li Huitang, soccer team captain, carried the Chinese flag as the team marched smartly out of the station - so smartly that one Berlin paper noted the Chinese team as "these Olympics' most orderly delegation."[168] This was also the proudest moment of the whole Olympiad for Cheng Jinguan, who remembers the crowds of

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[167] Chen Yongsheng, *Ouzhou tiyu kaocha riji*, pp. 31-34.

[168] Chen Yongsheng, *Ouzhou tiyu kaocha riji*, p. 36; *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*. Section 1, p. 24.

foreigners who came to the Berlin train station out of great curiosity. The march out of the train station was a great victory for Cheng, as the Olympians were finally able to convince these "foreigners" of the truth about the Chinese people. As Cheng recalls it, "They thought that Chinese men wore little hats and Chinese women had little bound feet, but we came out wearing Western suits!"[169]

Historical sources and memories of the 1936 Olympics are thick with this sense of Chinese ascendancy to a new level of international recognition. Shen Siliang remarked after the Games were over,

> during the Olympics, the Chinese flag was on all the stands, and on the streets it was plainly seen, with those of other nations. The sight of our delegation, marching in orderly array, training as others trained, participating in games, was all good propaganda. At least other people are now aware we are a nation to be counted.... Before we went to Germany, I am told, anyone trying to speak well of China and the Chinese would have been laughed at. Now it is another tale.... The achievement of international recognition alone is worth millions to us as a nation, and more than justifies the amount spent on the tour.... I believe [the athletes] have accomplished more for China than several ambassadors could achieved in years.[170]

Some Chinese observers were critical of this approach, calling the government simply vain to spend 170,000 *yuan* to send "some athletes who will suffice ... just so that the flag of the white sun on the blue sky can flap above the Berlin Olympic Stadium."[171] But for many involved, a Chinese triumph, just by virtue of showing up, was a *fait accompli* by the time the Olympians reached Berlin.

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[169] Interview with Cheng Jinguan, Suzhou, China, 2 March 1997.

[170] Lin Yin-feng, "Weekly Interviews - Mr. Williams Z. L. Sung," *The China Critic* 15.1 (1 October 1936), pp. 18-19.

[171] Jiang Huaiqing, "Bo-lin mian qu ba!" [Don't just go to Berlin!], *Guomin tiyu huikan (Olympic Physical Review)* 1 (1 January 1936), p. 19.

The particular circumstances of this Olympiad contributed to this sense of victory. The Chinese athletes were well aware of recent events in Germany, and even if envying in many ways the military strength of the revitalized German *Volk*, many felt "great discomfort" at the racial policies of their Nazi hosts. Indeed, a photo taken as the team marched out of the Berlin train station on 23 July shows the athletes looking coolly straight ahead, perhaps having mixed emotions about the smart Sig Heil salutes accorded them by the workers, sailors and officials who crowded along the walkway.[172] In the Opening Ceremonies held days later, the Chinese were one of the few teams not to salute Germany's number one sports fan, Adolf Hitler, with the Sig Heil sign; a photo shows the team passing in front of Hitler's viewing stand holding their Olympic hats over their hearts with their right hands.[173] Cheng Jinguan remembers the "totally fascist" atmosphere of these Ceremonies - the *Luftwaffe* airplanes and Zeppelin soaring over the stadium, and the roaring cheers of the German audience when Hitler took his seat. Cheng told me proudly that he and his teammates never stood for the Nazi flag, although they did stand for the German national flag, as "respect for other country's flags is just part of the Olympic spirit."[174]

The accomplishments of American sports hero Jesse Owens also provided the Chinese team with the inspiration that even in the fierce modern world, the racial underdog could indeed triumph. After the Games, one Chinese progressive praised

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[172] Ambassador Cheng Tianfang seems to be returning the gesture in another photo taken at the station. *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*, Section 1, p. 25; Interview with Cheng Jinguan, Suzhou, China, 2 March 1997.

[173] *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*, Section 1, p. 33.

[174] Interview with Cheng Jinguan, Suzhou, China, 2 March 1997.

Owens' quadruple-gold efforts, proclaiming that his performance had "destroyed the poisonous myth of white supremacy."[175] Another asked defiantly, "Now who says the colored races (*youse renzhong*) are inferior to the white race?!"[176] Owens' involvement in these Games was also personally significant for Cheng Jinguan, who became friends with the American champion during training practice sessions. Cheng's smooth Soochow University English was more than sufficient to allow him to chat with Owens and ask for technical training and running tips. This Olympic friendship was captured for posterity on film, in a snapshot of Owens, clad in his USA sweat suit, with one arm around and the other clasping the hand of a stiff Cheng in sweater, tie and slacks. This photo, determinedly preserved by Cheng through the Cultural Revolution,[177] has become a treasured artifact of Chinese Olympic history. In October 1996, the Suzhou postal authorities released a limited edition commemorative envelope, featuring a reproduction of this picture, to mark the 100th anniversary of the modern Olympic movement and the 60th anniversary of China's participation in the

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[175] This author also expressed solidarity with the Jewish members of the American Olympic Committee who quit the body as a protest against Germany's ban on German Jews' participation in the Games. He also pointed out sardonically that the hurdles and other iron sports equipment used in this Olympiad was manufactured by the Kleb Corporation, who also produced the German tanks that had terrorized so many all over Europe. Suizhi, "Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui de jingguo jiqi tezhi" [Events and special qualities of the Eleventh Olympiad], *Zhongxuesheng* 67 (September 1936), p. 65.

[176] Ma Chonggan, "Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui gaishu" [A brief narrative of the Eleventh Olympiad], *Shenbao zhoukan* 1.33 (23 August 1926), p. 792.

[177] Unfortunately for the former Olympian, a substantial anti-Cheng campaign was begun in Suzhou, persecuting him for having served as a "foreign spy," the proof of course being that he had been to Japan, the Philippines, and Germany, and had seen Hitler, Goebbels, Japanese fascist and Philippine collaborationist officials with his own eyes! Before the campaign got too far, in 1969 Cheng and his wife were sent to Xiangshui County in northeast Jiangsu for two years. Cheng "regretfully" had to render incomplete his commemorative set of Olympic photo cards by burning one Hitler card, but was able to stash other photos and clippings in friends' homes. He was also able to keep his Olympic necktie - no one noticed that his son wore it for years as a belt. Interview with Cheng Jinguan, Suzhou, China, 2 March 1997.

Berlin Olympiad.[178] But this is no empty gesture fueled by aggressive 1990s PRC nationalism; Owens' Olympic conquest was an event of great significance for the Chinese sports world, among others around the world, providing the sorely needed proof that there was hope for oppressed peoples, American Blacks and Chinese alike.

It was fortunate that the Chinese athletes were able to take home with them this type of victory. There were few others, as the results of these Games showed the Chinese that their nation was still unable, as one critic put it, "to produce men like Jesse Owens."[179] The long trip aboard the *Conte Verde* sapped the Chinese athletes of their strength. Longshots for Olympic honors to begin with, they turned in yet another disappointing performance. Of the 19 track athletes in Berlin, only one, pole vaulter Fu Baolu, managed to advance past the initial trials and into actual medal competition. But even Fu, ill the day of his event, was quickly eliminated with a top mark of 3.80 meters, a full 25 centimeters off his personal best of 4.05 meters.

Cheng Jinguan's Olympic hopes were dimmed for different reasons. Cheng's best event was the 440 meter hurdles. He was well-known in China for his unorthodox hurdling style, where he folded his rear leg inside, under his groin, rather than to the outside. But when the team arrived in Berlin, team leader and CNAAF Secretary Shen Siliang pulled Cheng aside to inform him that he would not run the hurdles in Berlin. When a confused Cheng asked why, Shen answered, "Not only does no one else in

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[178] Cheng presented me with one of these collector's items. When they were released, he sat in the Suzhou October rain autographing the 900 envelopes that were sold to Olympic collectors. Suzhou shi jiyou gongsi and Suzhou shi tiyu jiyou xiehui, joint issue, "Jinian Ao-lin-pi-ke yundong yibai zhounian" [Commemorating 100 years of the Olympic movement], Commemorative envelope (Suzhou: 1996).

[179] "Editorial Commentary," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 3.2 (September 1936), p. 86.

China use your hurdling style, but no one else in the world does. When the winners cross the finish line, you will still have 30-40 meters left to go, and you will lose face for China [with your strange style and poor time]." A disheartened Cheng joined several of the sprinting competitions instead, but was quickly eliminated from all of them with disappointing times that he attributes to the rough month at sea. [180]

China's other entries provided little to cheer about either. The soccer team, even more spent after their whirlwind trip of South Asia, lost to Britain 2-0 after a gutsy performance before a crowd which included Dai Jitao, Ambassador Cheng, and 600 Chinese fans. The basketball team managed to win one game in the consolation bracket against the French, but lost decisively to Japan, Peru and Brazil.[181] China's best Olympic hope, Dutch cyclist Howard Wing, crashed on his fifth lap around the Berlin velodrome, ending his medal hopes.[182]

One of the few bright spots of this Olympiad came with the demonstrations performed by the nine-member (six men, three women) *guoshu* team, selected after extensive tryouts at Shanghai like the others. In a significant self-Orientalizing gesture, the martial arts team was sent with the official Olympic team in order to share the wonders of China's "ancient *tiyu*" with the modern sporting fans of Europe and the world.[183] During the trip to Germany, *guoshu* demonstrations were a large part of the

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[180] Interview with Cheng Jinguan, Suzhou, China. 2 March 1997.

[181] China's greatest hoops honor at Berlin was that Shu Hong, an assistant coach for the Chinese Olympic team (also a Springfield College graduate and Zhejiang University Physical Education Director), was selected to officiate the basketball gold medal contest. (The United States defeated Canada, 12-8.) Qu Ziqing, *Zhongguo lanqiu shihua*, p. 19.

[182] *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*, Section 1, pp. 34-40.

[183] As another way of accenting the Chinese native martial arts, a film (with German narration) of Chu Minyi demonstrating *Taiji*-calisthenics, *Taijiquan*, shuttlecock and archery was made especially for entry in the Olympic Sports & Physical Education Film contest to be held in Berlin during the Games.

shows put on for Overseas Chinese in Singapore, and "Olympic Evening" and "China Night" variety shows performed aboard the *Conte Verde*. In Germany before the Games began, the group performed before Hamburg audiences at an International Concert, an International Boxing Exhibition and an International Sports Carnival, and then before Berlin crowds at a military camp and an International Sports Research Camp.[184] The biggest moment came on 9 August, when the martial arts squad put on a one-hour demonstration in the Olympic stadium before some 30,000 fans, whose "applause reverberated up to the heavens."[185] This sign of approval from the German people must have come as a great relief for the entire Chinese team, although many likely wished the Olympic crowd might have afforded the same welcome to Chinese athletes participating in actual Olympic events.

Of all the indignities that the team did suffer in Berlin, the defeat of Chinese boxing standout Jin Guidi was particularly galling for the Chinese sporting community, as it captured in perfect microcosm the weakness of China's position in the 1930s world order. Middleweight Jin, fighting British Dick Shrimpton on 11 August, got off to a good start, especially punishing Shrimpton's jaw. After Jin delivered a quick left-right combination, the Briton got Jin into a clinch. As the referee separated the two boxers, Shrimpton, with a "terrifying charge," delivered a left upper-arm blow to Jin's head that put him down for the 10-count. A side judge quickly intervened, ruling that Shrimpton's charge had come too soon before the referee had finished separating them,

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"Yi yue lai zhi tiyu xingzheng" [Sports administration this past month], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.12 (September 1935), p. 837.

[184] *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*, Section 1, pp. 19, 23, 29-30.

[185] *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*, Section 1, p. 42.

disqualified Shrimpton, and awarded Jin the victory. The British manager protested the ruling. The next day, an Olympic boxing rules committee decided that Shrimpton's infraction was not serious enough to warrant disqualification, and named the Brit the winner. The Chinese delegation argued the point, but did not issue an official protest, instead electing to have Jin carry the Chinese flag during the Olympic closing ceremonies as a more understated show of objection.[186]

Commenting days later, the foreign sporting press in Shanghai, perhaps even relieved by the decision which kept Olympic gold in white fists, praised the Chinese Olympians for their conduct:

> Both Ching Kwei-ti and the Chinese delegation accepted without murmur the judges' reversal of their own earlier decision against the Briton.... Pettiness and a lack of spirit would have prompted the Chinese to protest the second decision and demand that the bout be refought.... But Ching Kwei-ti and the entire Chinese delegation chose the course of honor.
>
> This one incident has covered China's athletic representatives with glory. They are bringing back intact the laurel they wore with them to the Olympic Games - the spirit of genuine sportsmanship.[187]

Chinese observers back home, on the other hand, were hardly as delighted by the capricious discarding of one of their very few Olympic triumphs. Many compared the Chinese acceptance of this wrongful defeat with the actions of the Peruvian soccer team, which charged onto the field to argue and then withdrew from their game against Austria, after a bad call against them. One writer lamented, "Just like our territory is always being invaded, this is not anything new or curious. China is always being

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[186] *Chuxi Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui Zhonghua daibiaotuan baogao*, Section 1, pp. 37-38, 44.

[187] "Echo of Olympic Sportsmanship," *The Illustrated Week-End Sporting World (Jingle huabao)* 10.58 (22 August 1936), p. 4.

bullied, and our tolerance is even greater than that of the Peruvians! Some have said, in exaggeration, that this event illustrates the Chinese penchant for generosity - 'Oh, it doesn't matter, it's all right!' Ah Q-style Chinese are really too plentiful to count."[188]

This theme of failure dominated the post-Olympics evaluations delivered by members of the Chinese *tiyu* community. To the reader of today, it seems odd that supporters of the Chinese team could turn on the team so viciously as to write, "How badly they have failed, all the world knows."[189] Conditioned by ideologies of fair play and "it's how you play the game," it is easy for us to pretend to ignore that other strain of sporting ideology which decrees that "nice guys finish last." Few Chinese fans, desperate for any sign of success on the world stage, seem to have suffered from this sportsmanlike cognitive dissonance. They wanted to win. Any victory would have done - any true victory, that is. Disgusted with the Chinese soccer team's pride at their strong showing in their 2-0 loss to Britain, one author called this mere "Ah Q-style self-consolation."[190]

Cheng Jinguan remembers well the humiliation of representing a population of 400 millions but not being able to garner any Olympic laurels at all. He remembers Shanghai newspapers mocking the team's "goose egg" (*yadan*) in the points column, or as another wrote, their failure "to salvage even half a bronze medal!"[191] China's Olympic athletes were raked over the coals for their failure. An author in *The Sino-*

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[188] Suizhi, "Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui de jingguo jiqi tezhi," pp. 65-66.

[189] "Editorial Commentary," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 3.2 (September 1936), p. 85.

[190] Suizhi, "Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui de jingguo jiqi tezhi," p. 66.

[191] Interview with Cheng Jinguan, Suzhou, China, 2 March 1997; Suizhi, "Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui de jingguo jiqi tezhi," p. 62.

Foreign Monthly opined that not only were their techniques "lacking in scientific quality," but that they were "too corrupt and truly in need of reform (*gexin*). Some say that among students, the athletes and ballplayers mostly do not study, but enjoy making girlfriends and other bad habits. And the women [athletes], since they worship the sporting crowd, enjoy being in these same circles."[192] One educator suggested that the Chinese athletes' failure was due to their "lack of spiritual discipline."[193] An author in *The China Critic* pointed out that Chinese athletes "have not yet realized that the skillfulness or tactics of a sportsman and his 'spirit,' (or in plain words, the determination of that athlete in accomplishing his goal) .... few of the Chinese athletes have the guts or that determination to win."[194] Another simply dismissed them as "bad winners," "cajoled into thinking themselves tin gods by an indulgent public."[195]

One point on which almost all seemed to be in agreement was the idea that the still-sickly, weak Chinese body was truly to blame. Head Olympic delegate Shen Siliang, upon returning to Shanghai, simply remarked that "[Chinese] physiques are underdeveloped (*luohou*), and just not fit enough to compete with others." A Shanxi observer found several factors that contributed to the Olympic "failure" - Chinese high death rates and short lifespans, traditional anti-physical ideology, and even the legacy of the weak Qing state.[196] Another explained simply that good marks in the Olympics

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[192] Fengshen, "Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui de niaokan" [A bird's-eye view of the Eleventh Olympiad], *Zhongwai yuekan (The Sino-Foreign Monthly)* 1.9 (1 October 1936), pp. 127-130.

[193] Tong Zhixuan, "Shiyunhui Zhongguodui shibai hou guoren duiyu tiyu yingyou zhi renshi yu nuli" [On the physical culture understanding and efforts our people should have and make after the Chinese team's Olympic failure], *Jiao yu xue* 2.3 (1 September 1936), p. 13.

[194] "The Life For An Athlete," *The China Critic* 14.12 (17 September 1936), p. 274.

[195] "Editorial Commentary," pp. 85-86.

[196] Zhao Baozhong, "Jiji de jiankang jiaoyu" [An activist health education], *Shanxi minzhong jiaoyu*

would only be achieved when they accurately represented "the physiques of a healthy citizenry."[197]

The standard for comparison was clearly the hated Japanese. Even before the Olympics began, one author had warned the sporting public, "There are no Chinese among the heroes atop the international athletic stage! The success of our Eastern neighbors' heroes on the international athletic stage is a fine example of endurance of hardship and self-motivation for our Chinese athletes!"[198] After Japan's triumphs at Berlin, winning 18 medals, or eighth-most overall, Chinese sports enthusiasts were in awe of Japanese progress. One author wondered, "Their physique is no better than ours; they are usually shorter in height. There are one hundred and one things that can be said to be similar between these two nationalities. Why are they so far ahead of us?"[199] Xie Siyan proclaimed their example the most suitable for Chinese reference, citing in particular the Japanese self-discipline, deep understanding of physical education and the body, and the pride taken by Japanese P. E. instructors in their work.[200] The outstanding performance by Japanese athletes before the eyes of the sporting world clearly made the Chinese "failure" in Berlin that much more unpalatable and ominous. As a result, concerned Chinese saw no choice but to get back to the basics of building a strong Chinese body, and ideas of the "mass *tiyu*" programs

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3.5-6 (15 October 1936), pp. 1-3.

[197] Suizhi, "Di shiyi jie Shijie yundonghui de jingguo jiqi tezhi," p. 68.

[198] "Shijie yundongchang shang zhi yingjie" [Heroes atop the international athletic stage], *Zhonghua yuebao (The Central China Monthly)* 4.7 (1 July 1936), pp. 6-8.

[199] "The Life For An Athlete," *The China Critic* 14.12 (17 September 1936), p. 275.

[200] Xie Siyan, "Woguo canjia ben jie Shiyunhui shibai hou de jiaoxun" [Lessons learned after our nation's failure in this Olympiad], *Tiyu* 4.11 (30 November 1936), p. 4.

described in Chapter Five. Their goals were quite different from those who saw mass *tiyu* as the opposite of, and a solution to, the ills brought on by China's emphasis on competitive sports. But the faith in the "mass-izing" of physical education as a cure-all was the same - its use here to be the transformation of Chinese bodies so that China would finally be able to produce athletes skilled enough to win honors for their motherland on a most international of international stages.

Foreign observers in China clearly had no understanding of the national significance that the Chinese sporting public placed in this Olympic entry. In a remarkable move that erased the Western role in introducing the sports cult of victory to China, Westerners made warm and fuzzy feelings of sportsmanship and graciousness the only allowable reactions to the outcomes of the recent Olympiad. They saw the criticism of the Chinese delegation as "ignorant," explaining to Chinese fans, still unschooled in the ways of the sportsman, that the goals of the Chinese Olympic team merely were "to display the utmost sportsmanship under all circumstances, and thus impress the civilized world with the fact that in China the athletes are taught and understand what sportsmanship really is."[201] Unsurprisingly, few Chinese observers bought this defeatist line of reasoning, instead choosing to be honest about the simple failure of these pampered Olympians to give the Chinese nation a return on the considerable resources invested in their sport.

Conclusion

Perhaps the most interesting interpretation offered on this Olympic "failure"

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[201] "China and the Next Olympiad," *The Illustrated Week-End Sporting World (Jingle huabao)* 10.61 (12 September 1936), p. 3.

came in the pages of the Nanjing journal *Xikang-Tibet Vanguard*. The author, who, judging from his surname Chang, was likely not Han Chinese, was himself an athlete who competed for Xikang Province in the Sixth National Games of 1935. Chang capitalized on post-Olympic feelings of weakness and shame among the Chinese sporting public to make an incisive statement about the status of people from China's western border areas. He related the pre-Games hopes of border-area athletes that their performance in Shanghai would give the "China proper" (*neidiren*)[202] majority a "good impression" of the border areas and their people. But after they were defeated by superior athletes like Liu Changchun, "The average person's evaluation went something like, 'The border areas are making no progress; everything about them is just backward.' Their discriminating attitude was only strengthened, and our weaknesses were only proven to be true." He continued,

> If we open our eyes just a little bit wider, then we can see clearly that border athletes participating in the National Games and Chinese athletes participating in the Olympic Games are actually in identical situations. It's the same tragic one-act play, acting out the same truths and the same emotions.... Foreigners look down on Chinese as low and weak, and Chinese (*neidiren*) see people from the border regions as worthless - is there any difference here? Foreigners assume that everything in China is backward, and Chinese assume that everything in the border regions is crude and uncivilized - is there any difference here either?![203]

It is important to note that this rejection of Han majority hegemony in China did not even bring into question the field of modern competitive sport. The plateaus of

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[202] I follow James Millward's translation of "*neidi*" (literally "hinterland") as "China proper." James A. Millward, "New Perspectives on the Qing Frontier," in Gail Hershatter, Emily Honig, Jonathan N. Lipman and Randall Stross, eds., *Remapping China: Fissures in Historical Terrain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 115.

[203] Chang Bo, "Cong Shiyunhui dedao de jiaoxun" [Lessons learned from the Olympics], *Kang-Zang qianfeng* 3.12 (August 1936), pp. 13-15.

Xikang and Tibet were among the last regions to be exposed to China's modern *tiyu*, a cultural enterprise which certainly was a more accurate representation of the hopes and aspirations of the coastal urban population than of China's western border population. This author, a proud competitor for his home Xikang province, would scarcely question this mode by which he hoped to liberate Xikang and the border regions from the double oppression of Han dominance within China and imperialist dominance on an international level. For China's physical culture, from the "mass *tiyu*" of the county athletic grounds, to the provincial- and regional-level athletic meets, to China's National Games explosions of patriotic sentiment, to the pressure of international competition presented by the Far Eastern Games and the Olympics, had become a firm part of the multi-layered senses of identity shared by so many Chinese. National Games triumphs in the sacred Purple Mountains, and international defeats suffered in Manila boardrooms and on Berlin fields alike contributed to the complicated sense of nation that competitive sport created for Chinese. Provincial pride, regional rivalries, and nationalist shame and passion were all equal parts of this creation.

The mass *tiyu* so fashionable in the 1930s among party stalwarts and fascist activists manifested an important literal and practical link between physical exercise and the strong bodies needed to protect the Chinese nation from acts of invasion and denigration. Elite-level competitive sports sat on the other side of the spectrum of symbol and representation. In competitive sports, national face was ultimately much more important than the "national body" to which the mass *tiyu* aspired. Far be it for this author to question either set of motives - in 1930s the threat of war and the need for strong battleworthy bodies was every bit as real as the diplomatic need for foreign nations to see China as "a nation to be counted." The elderly ex-stars whom I have

met, and their male and female teammates to be sure, believed with their last drops of sweat and determination that their sporting efforts could bring about a better day for the Chinese nation. Mass *tiyu* activists worked on local lines to train a generation of self-respecting, clean-living, Japan-hating, patriotic Chinese. The functions of these groups were complementary, and both crucial to 1930s Chinese imaginations of their race, their nation and its global status. The flash and skill of these athletes helped make sports appealing on the popular level, making the jobs of these mass activists perhaps much easier. And the high-level meets where these athletes flourished were just as dependent on some sort of (middle-class) "mass" interest which, via ticket sales and newspaper circulations, supplied a justification and foundation for these athletes' dreams of glory.

The onset of total war with Japan just one year after the Berlin Olympiad rendered competitive sports useless for a decade. But the "hopping and skipping tricks" which made up these sports continued to be an important part of the mass *tiyu* programs which flourished during the long and lean war years. Gold and silver medals were hardly the point anymore as the Japanese invader threatened to bring the Chinese nation to its knees. But in the postwar years, and even more so in the early efforts of the People's Republic of China to gain international respect and recognition, competitive sports would make their return, and validate the efforts of the men and women athletes I have described here.

CHAPTER 7

From Martial Arts to National Skills: The Construction of a Modern Indigenous Physical Culture, 1912-1937

> It is our nation's original cultural calisthenics. It is a psychologically suitable form of specialized exercise. It brings one hundred benefits and is without a single harm. It is spread by men, not taught by spirits. Masters disseminate it via educational methods, not by blind mechanical obedience. It can be described exactly and justly by written and spoken language. It is a military force that can be used to maintain peace and order, and is an appropriate form of self-defense. It is artful and technical, not intense and based solely on power. The recent New Thought and New Tide are roaring and crashing ... How can we not begin by transforming the physiques of our countrymen?[1]
>
> - Sir Strength, Chinese *Wushu* Association of Shanghai, 1921

Up until this point in my dissertation, I have provided very little discussion of that most famed and authentic genre of Chinese physical culture, the martial arts. I have first traced the histories of what I call the "modern" modes of physical culture - namely sports, martial drill, and various combinations thereof. Martial arts' indigenous roots in China, and even more so the nationalist narratives built up around the arts of these roots and this heritage, make this family of physical exercises and skills a unique case. Thus this separate chapter, undertaken much less to segregate the martial arts out from "proper" forms of *tiyu* and *ticao*, than to treat them in a separate and anchored case study.

Though clearly "different" (in their inherent forms and ideologies, as well as in the connotations they have grown to embody in the twentieth century) from modern physical culture, the martial arts were also clearly influenced in Republican-era China

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[1] Qiang Gong, "Fakan ci" [Words to introduce this periodical], *Wushu* 1.1 (January 1921), pp. 1-2.

by many of the same factors which shaped the *tiyu* and *ticao* modes discussed in the past several chapters. Those hoping to promote these martial arts were forced to rationalize and nationalize them, shape them and explain them, and to elaborate just what in the world they had to do with the modern nation-state. If the shopping list of tasks seemed somewhat similar to those facing *tiyu* and *ticao* activists, the obstacles facing China's martial artists were much more substantial. Stigmatized as backwards, feudal and superstitious, martial arts in the early Republican period seemed as destined for the garbage bin of history as sports was for everlasting prominence. Agents of foreign physical culture ironically faced much less resistance from the forces of urban, literate, commercial China than did the martial artists of their times. Yet we all know, thanks to television reruns, Hong Kong films and strip mall academies, that these martial arts have survived. This chapter, while proceeding only into the last years of the Nationalist regime, will hopefully explain how this survival was engineered.

Partha Chatterjee makes the point that anticolonial nationalism possesses a single "most powerful, creative, and historically significant project: to fashion a 'modern' national culture that is nevertheless not Western."[2] Perhaps it was China's semi-colonial status that makes Chatterjee's observation only semi-true in the Chinese case. Though there are certainly many examples of this attempt to create a uniquely Chinese modernity - Chinese opera, the New Life Movement, Maoist communism - my previous chapters on the project to create an internationally acceptable physical culture prove that there are exceptions to the rule, that sometimes Chinese nationalism simply

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[2] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 6.

had to follow along Western and modern lines.[3] The one instance where Chatterjee's model holds, however, is the case of martial arts - if nothing else a zone of pure Chineseness that would have to be "transform[ed] in order to make it adequate for the modern world."[4] This chapter is the story of this drive, as undertaken by individual urban martial artists, private organizations, and the state itself, to make the world of martial arts safe for New China and for modernity.

Martial Arts in the Late Qing

The first two chapters of this dissertation describe the late Qing and early Republican push, coming from government officials, educators, intellectuals and foreign missionaries, for a new modern physical culture for China. Some proposed militaristic systems based on German and Japanese models, while others favored an emphasis on Anglo-American competitive sports. Whatever their differences here, however, these parties shared one thing in common - their almost complete negligence of native Chinese martial arts as a viable form in the production of a Chinese *tiyu*.

Scholar Lin Boyuan has described the rapid transformations occurring in the world of martial arts during the latter decades of the Qing. The itinerants pushed by poor economic conditions from the countryside into cities like Tianjin, Qingdao, Ji'nan and Shenyang included many martial arts performer-instructors. This movement

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[3] Chatterjee might explain the Chinese modern *tiyu* project as one belonging to the "outside" or material domain that merely needs to be imitated, as opposed to the "spiritual" or inside sovereign realm. Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, p. 6. However, I think I have explained sufficiently that *tiyu* was understood as an extremely integral element of the national "spirit," an element too important to be dismissed as a "Western skill" to be imitated.

[4] Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, p. 7.

accelerated the splitting of martial arts styles into an even greater number of schools, this being particularly the case with the *taijiquan*[5] and *baguaquan* styles. Workers moving into cities also brought with them their penchant for martial arts study and play. Lin describes how workers in dozens of Guangzhou factories set up *wuguan* martial arts schools, hiring itinerant martial arts instructors (*quanshi*) to come and teach their skills.[6] Despite this continued popular attention to martial arts, the agents of a modern *tiyu* "body-cultivation" for China had little use for this indigenous body of knowledge. Few of the new government-run academies included any martial arts in their curriculum. There were a few exceptions. Ma Liang, later a famed martial arts crusader, was likely the first to introduce modern teaching methods to martial arts when he led courses in boxing and wrestling at the Shanxi Army Academy in 1900-01. The Chongqing Physical Education Academy, the Mengyang Academy in Hejin, Shanxi, and Shanghai's Chinese *Ticao* Academy were among the few schools which offered instruction in martial arts at the very end of the Qing. Even if some were interested in including martial arts in their physical education, the 1904 decree calling for military drill to be taught in all academies simply strained schools' resources too much to allow them to provide this instruction as well.[7] The independent physical

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[5] For a history of the late nineteenth-century development of this school of *taijiquan*, see Douglas Wile, *Lost T'ai-chi Classics from the Late Ch'ing Dynasty* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), pp. 3-30.

[6] Lin Boyuan, "Zhongguo jindai qianqi wushujia xiang chengshi de yidong yiji dui wushu liupai fenhua de yingxiang" [The movement of martial artists to the cities and its influence on martial arts factionalism in early modern China], *Tiyu wenshi (Sports History)* 79 (May 1996), pp. 14-16.

[7] Lin Boyuan, "Zhongguo jindai xuexiao wushu kecheng de shezhi yu fazhan" [The design and development of martial arts curricula in modern Chinese schools], handwritten manuscript presented at Di yi jie Dongbeiya tiyu yundongshi xueshu yantaohui [First Conference on the History of Physical Education and Sport in Northeast Asia], National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan, 19-21 December 1995.

education associations founded in the late years of the Qing also ignored martial arts as an area of study. The first modern organization to emphasize training in the indigenous martial arts, Shanghai's Pure Martial School (described below), was founded only in 1910, years after dozens of physical education, sports and military drill organizations had begun popping up all over coastal urban China.[8]

There were some progressives who saw hope for a new China in their martial arts. Revolutionary Qiu Jin is famed for her love of swordfighting and solo sword-dancing. She was very interested in modern military drill, establishing a Women's Physical Education Association and a South City P.E. Association in the revolutionary hotbed that was Shaoxing. However, the sword was her first love. As part of her revolutionary legacy, Qiu Jin left behind compositions like the "Ode to my Precious Sword" and "The Sword Song."[9] Changsha native and *baquan* master Wang Runsheng was another revolutionary who left China to study in Tokyo. In 1905, the year he arrived in Japan, a Tokyo judo master named Tano Seita challenged him to a fight. Wang's use of his Changsha *baquan* technique won him the match and the title "King of Fists" among the Chinese student population in Tokyo. Wang joined the revolutionary *Tongmenghui* that same year, and went on to serve as an important martial arts teacher under the political tutelage of fellow Changsha revolutionary

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[8] Hsu I-hsiung (Xu Yixiong), "Wan Qing tiyu sixiang zhi xingcheng: yi ziqiang baozhong sixiang wei zhongxin de tantao" [The formation of a philosophy of physical culture in the late Qing: An investigation made with the philosophy of self-strengthening and racial preservation at the base], *Tiyu xuebao (Bulletin of Physical Education)* 10 (December 1988), pp. 8-9.

[9] Lin Jingping, "Qiu Jin yu jindai Zhongguo nüzi tiyu" [Qiu Jin and women's physical culture in modern China], *Guomin tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 20.3 (September 1991), pp. 158-160.

Huang Xing.[10]

Around the year 1910, some shift occurred upon the Chinese social-political landscape, however, and reversed much of the popular disregard for Chinese martial arts. It was likely a combination of several factors. The late Qing rush of anti-Manchu sentiment must have made the consciously "Chinese" martial arts seem like a useful anti-Qing weapon. Once-disparate bands of itinerant performers and teachers, suddenly exposed in China's cities to *wushu* schools and artists from other regions, began to mature and coalesce into a common "community" of martial artists. This new community, inspired by trends of patriotic concern and of a faith in the people as an agent of positive change, also partook of the late Qing movement towards public associations uniting urban residents with similar interests and concerns. These changes, coming together all at once, created a brand new institution in Chinese cities, as the public martial arts organization became a commonplace landmark in urban China in the last two years of the Qing and the early Republic - a space for mostly middle-class, concerned citizens to live out a martial vision of the nation-state. The first and most monumental of these bodies was Shanghai's Pure Martial (*Jingwu*) *Ticao* School, formed in 1910. Several others, listed in Table 7-1, followed on its footsteps, but in too short a time to suggest that they were mere copycat organizations.

The lore of the establishment of the *Jingwu* School is well-known among martial arts enthusiasts today. Martial arts expert Huo Yuanjia left Tianjin in 1907 for Shanghai, where he quickly became renowned for his penchant for flattening Japanese

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[10] Wan Tianyou, "Quanwang Wang Runsheng" [Wang Runsheng, King of Fists], *Tiyu wenshi* 10 (December 1984), pp. 46-48; *Tiyu wenshi* 11 (January 1985), pp. 33-35.

ronin, Russian rascals, and foreign rogues in general. In 1909-10, a barnstorming muscleman (Russian or English, depending on which version of the story one hears) was stirring up trouble in Shanghai's brothels and other places of vice. He publicly claimed that the whole of China could provide no competition for his strength and fighting abilities, and pledged to "flatten any Sick Man of East Asia (*Dong Ya bingfu*)" who dared challenge him. Unable to bear this display of disrespect, Tongmenghui revolutionaries Chen Qimei and Nong Jinsun urged the well-known Huo to bring an end to this humiliation. This time, Huo recruited star pupil Liu Zhensheng to fight this bully, and arranged a date for a great showdown at his new boxing arena on Jing'ansi Road. But after spying on Liu's training sessions, the Russian fled in fear of the *Jingwu* prowess he saw there. Having achieved this glorious victory, Huo and *Tongmenghui* figures like Chen and Song Jiaoren then set about to establish a school that could produce more Chinese citizens possessing the skills and the will to crush the foreign reprobates and low-lifes defiling China's cities.[11] The Pure Martial School was soon founded in the Zhabei district of Shanghai, in the extra rooms of a house belonging to a Wang family living west of the Shanghai-Nanjing Railroad water tower.[12] The final element of the *Jingwu* story came just ten weeks later when Huo died suddenly on 14 September. Although many contend Huo died of a lung ailment, likely tuberculosis,

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[11] Kuang Wennan and Hu Xiaoming, *Zhongguo tiyu shihua* [Items from the history of Chinese athletics] (Chengdu: Badu shushe, 1989), p. 219; Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo jin bai nian tiyu shi* [The history of Chinese physical culture over the last century] (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1967), p. 40; Jiang Zhihe, "Aiguo de Jingwu tiyuhui" [The patriotic Pure Martial Athletic Association], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 30 (February 1991), p. 36; Han Xizeng, "Jianping Chen Yingshi faqi chuangban Jingwuhui" [A brief evaluation of Chen Yingshi's role in launching and founding the Pure Martial School], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 29 (December 1990), p. 32.

[12] Rent was 168 silver *yuan* a year. Chen Tiesheng, "Huizhi zhi lishi" [The history of the Association's locations], in Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji* [Record of the Pure Martial] (Shanghai, 1922 reprint), p. 9.

popular *Jingwu* lore holds that Huo was poisoned by a Japanese Dr. Akino who, like many of his countrymen, feared the rise of a strong Chinese martial arts community.[13]

Regardless of how much of the *Jingwu* creation myth one believes, the founding of the Pure Martial school truly did mark the beginning of a new era for the Chinese indigenous martial arts. Chinese martial arts action films of the 1980s seem to locate this break as a moment when native *wushu* experts found the ability and inspiration to pound into submission sneering Japanese and Western bullies who somehow all spoke the same heavily-accented Mandarin. This popular theme is not totally a latter-day nationalistic invention, as records exist of such showdowns between young martial arts virtuosos and expatriate foreign fighters. As a young man in Kunming, Long Yun, later the Governor of Yunnan Province, won a great victory for the city's martial arts community in 1914 by defeating a French boxer who had the nerve to issue his at-large challenge on the grounds of the Yunnan Military Academy.[14] Liu Baichuan, a major figure in the physical culture world of the 1920s and 1930s, could boast of a similar achievement. In 1916, Liu defeated a 250-pound Russian strongman in a great bout held at the *Jingwu* Association ring in Shanghai. News of this victory was carried in Tianjin's *Dagongbao* and several Southeast Asian newspapers, and even reached Sun Yat-sen in Japan, where he penned a scroll reading "Martial Spirit" (*shangwu jingshen*) for Liu.[15]

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[13] Gu Liuxin, "Aiguo wushujia Huo Yuanjia" [Patriotic martial arts master Huo Yuanjia], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 4 (July 1983), p. 11; Huo Wenting, "Xianzu Huo Yuanjia gong shengzu niankao" [An investigation into the dates of the birth and death of my ancestor, the late Huo Yuanjia], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 30 (February 1991), p. 21.

[14] Xie Benshu, "Long Yun qiaosheng Faguo quanshi" [Long Yun's ingenious victory over the French boxing expert], *Yunnan tiyu wenshi* 9 (December 1987), pp. 63-66.

[15] Chai Weiliang, "Liu Baichuan jibai Kang-tai-er shimo" [The story of Liu Baichuan's defeat of *Kang-tai-er*], *Tiyu wenshi (Sport History)* 59 (January 1993), p. 47.

But the new era ushered in by the founding of the *Jingwu* School was more than this. In the first decade of the new Republic, the *wushu* community would begin to package their martial culture in a modern, scientific and national casing. Martial artists worked to dissociate their domain from the humiliating headache that was the legacy of the Boxer Uprising, and to integrate martial arts into modern physical education curricula as an indigenous brand of physical culture just as useful and important as the modern sports and exercises of foreign origin. New and appropriate terms were used to refer to the diverse field of martial arts as a more unified body of knowledge. The skills and arts passed on for centuries in China had previously been referred to as *quanyong* ("fists of valor"), *wuyi* ("martial arts"), *jiji* ("skills of assault"), *shoubo* ("hand combat"), or *jiyong* ("skills of valor").[16] Martial artists of the 1910s tended to use the terms *wushu* ("martial skills"), *wuyi*, *quanshu* ("skills of the fists"), or *guoji* ("national skills") as they crafted their arts and skills into forms that would make more sense in China's Republican age.

Hybrid Games: Martial Arts in the Early Republic[17]

> "Today, most of China's public figures can be divided into two factions. There are the reformers who, having bathed in the new knowledge of Europe and the West, spit on the national legacy (*guohua*). Then there are the conservatives, who hope to preserve all China's old ways and skills, and who reject Europeanization.
>
> When I look at our nation's martial arts (*guoji*), deep feelings well up inside me. Why? Boxing and wrestling both existed in ancient China, yet are also the root of [modern] physical culture.... If the conservatives were to add the new movements of the Swedish and German calisthenics to

[16] Luo Mujin, "Chuantong tiyu guoshu jiaoxue zhi wojian" [My views on traditional physical culture and martial arts pedagogy], *Guomin tiyu jikan (Physical Education Quarterly)* 23.4 (December 1994), p. 17.

[17] Parts of this section were originally published in Andrew Morris, "Mastery Without Enmity: Athletics, Modernity and the Nation in Early Republican China," *Republican China* 22.2 (April 1997), pp. 3-39.

> their boxing and wrestling, and if the reformers added the old movements of Chinese boxing and wrestling to their calisthenics, then both sides could compromise, and create a new spirit combining the old and the new....
>
> In recent times the goal of spreading martial arts is different than the original goals. In ancient times martial arts were used to kill people, while today they are used to educate people.[18]

These thoughts on martial arts, expressed by Nanjing Higher Normal School student Fan Jun in 1918, are a fine representation of the conditions facing China's martial arts community in the first decade of the Republic. "Spit on" by Western-leaning New Culture liberals, and lumped against their wishes with old-fashioned blowhards, 1910s martial artists worked tirelessly to carve out a place for this martial arts tradition that they knew someday could serve as a basis for a Chinese and modern physical culture. The *tiyu* world was going through great changes, as the Anglo-American sports moved to supplant the Swedish-German calisthenics and drill as the dominant physical mode in China. But this third party, emboldened by the new *tiyu* lingo of health and fitness, moved just as quickly to capture a space in Republican culture for modern- and nationally-minded citizens.

This was done in several ways, including attempts to type martial arts as just another type of competitive sport, or a type of martial drill. Many worked to integrate martial arts into modern school curricula, lending the authenticity of "education" to martial arts instruction. Others portrayed *wushu* as part and parcel of the new tide of modernity and science. However, this is where *wushu* met the most resistance, as New Culture modernists guarded jealously their title to the realm of new ideas and practices that would succeed in making a new and strong China.

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[18] Fan Jun, "Duiyu guoji zhi ganyan" [Thoughts on martial arts], in Nanjing gaodeng shifan xuexiao tiyu yanjiuhui, ed. *Tiyu yanjiuhui huikan* [Physical education research society journal] (Nanjing, 1918), p. 1.

There seemed to be a shared sense among members of the martial arts community that the old ways would not suffice in trying to keep their arts a vital part of a modern Chinese culture. One approach to dealing with this problem was the grouping of martial sports with competitive sports. The chief architect of this strategy was the Pure Martial School, which in April 1916 changed its name to the Pure Martial Athletic Association (*Jingwu tiyuhui*).[19] By showing Pure Martial films and putting on demonstrations at schools around the country, the Association spread quickly, with branches in Shaoxing, Guangzhou, Foshan, Shantou, Xiamen, and Hankou by 1919. Overseas Chinese also opened several overseas branches in locales like Selangor, Kuala Lumpur, Saigon, Penang, and Jakarta by 1920. But this spread was not without its price. The Pure Martial message had to be diluted before it made much sense to urban Chinese of the early Republic; this larger success was achieved only after *Jingwu* began holding classes and competitions in most un-martial sports like soccer, basketball, track and field, bicycle racing, table tennis, billiards, hiking, and roller skating![20] The Association's annual graduation day performances, a tradition which began in 1912, were called "athletic meets" (*yundonghui*).[21] And in a telling demonstration of the thin line between *Jingwu* martial arts and sports, a

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[19] This name change came at the same time as the organization's move into a new 20,000 *yuan* "Western-style" home after strong winds destroyed the previous dwelling. Chen Tiesheng, "Huizhi zhi lishi," p. 9.

The *Jingwu* Association translated their own name into English as "The Chinese Chin Woo (Athletic) Association." Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui, eds., *Zhongguo jindai tiyushi* [The history of modern Chinese sport] (Beijing: Beijing tiyu xueyuan chubanshe, 1989), picture following p. 86.

[20] The Association also held violin and piano classes, and had its own Cantonese Orchestra, Western String Orchestra, Go and Chess Clubs, and Camera Club! Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji*, pp. 107-133; Kuang Wennan and Hu Xiaoming, *Zhongguo tiyu shihua*, pp. 220-21.

[21] Chen Tiesheng, "Yundonghui ji" [Record of the athletic meets], in Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji*, pp. 21-35.

1916 National Day celebration included a "hybrid game" which was "played" with all manner of martial arts and sporting equipment, from tennis rackets and baseball mitts to spears and swords.[22]

Other activists envisioned similar strategies for creating a more popular martial arts. One author urged that martial arts (*quanyi*) be made into a sports event, with competitions of all sizes sponsored by gentry members. He also felt that a "national hero worship" could be created if China's news media were to take a page from their Japanese counterparts, who helped the growth of *sumô* wrestling with their daily tallies of standings and rankings.[23] One author even described martial arts (*wuyi*) like boxing or fencing as superior to competitive sports in cultivating a morally, intellectually and physically fit citizenry.[24] And an author writing for *New Youth* in 1916 felt that "no team sport played by students anywhere in the nation is as competitive as wrestling, judo or fencing."[25]

Forces of urban capitalism saw an investment in the coupling of martial arts with the blooming physical culture world as well. The June 1917 *Chinese Educational Review* carried a Commercial Press advertisement dominated by a drawing of happy short-haired boys in school uniforms holding signs that spelled out, "Strengthen the nation, strengthen the race." Seven books on *tiyu* (track and field, soccer, tennis, *tiyu* principles, Scout

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[22] Huang Wanxiang, "Huncheng zhi youxi" [Hybrid game], in Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji*, p. 146.

[23] Shen Shuting, "Tichang guoji chuyan" [My humble opinion of martial arts], in Nanjing gaodeng shifan xuexiao tiyu yanjiuhui, ed. *Tiyu yanjiuhui huikan*, p. 1.

[24] Taixuan, "Jiaoyuxue yu shehuixue (xu)" [Pedagogy and sociology (continued)], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 9.12 (20 December 1917), p. 48.

[25] Xiao Rulin, "Shu Jingwu tiyuhui shi" [On the Pure Martial Athletic Association], *Xin qingnian (La Jeunesse)* 1.5 (January 1916), p. 2.

training) were accompanied by four books on martial arts (*quanshu*).[26] By July 1918, the Commercial Press had enough martial arts titles in print to warrant a separate martial arts ad, this for 13 titles under the heading "national-essence physical culture" (*guocui tiyu*).[27]

A more logical, if not quite as fashionable, strategy for martial arts activists was to push their specialty as an integral part of the military-themed calisthenics and drill so popular in the late Qing and early Republic. Above student Fan Jun pushed a "hybrid" of Swedish-German drill and Chinese martial arts as the key to a new era of martial physical culture. One of Fan's Nanjing classmates advocated integrating martial arts into military drill curricula as a means of spreading these skills.[28] Another author saw martial arts of fencing and hand-to-hand combat as important elements of a new "training-ism" (*duanlian zhuyi*) to replace the more explicitly militarist education of the late Qing. This new philosophy of physical education would provide a "total and complete development of people's minds and instincts, sharpening the emotions and consciousness," while also "allowing one to adjust one's bodily movements to those used in resisting foreign encroachment."[29] Instructors' use of tough language like "You're not a real man" or "You're not a true citizen of our nation," paired with a consciousness that "if I do not kill the enemy, I will be killed by the enemy" would allow martial arts training to be an important part of this training for the

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[26] *Shangwu yinshuguan* advertisement, *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 9.6 (20 June 1917).

[27] *Shangwu yinshuguan* advertisement, *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 10.7 (20 July 1918).

[28] Shen Shuting, "Tichang guoji chuyan," p. 1.

[29] Jia Fengzhen, "Duanlian zhuyi zhi jiaoyu" [A training-ist education], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 7.6 (15 June 1915), pp. 116-117. The underlined passage here represents characters set in type four times regular size in the article.

nascent nation which had to be based on a new Chinese manhood.[30]

Others worked to craft martial arts into calisthenic-ized forms, likely in hopes of achieving this integration of martial arts regimens into more modern user-friendly patterns. As early as 1913, Jiading author Xu Yuxin published such a book on Chinese boxing (*quanshu*). A preface to the book explained how boxing techniques passed on orally from father to son in the olden days easily "died out" (*jueji*). A contrast was drawn with Japan's modern treatment of its "national (martial) arts" (*guoji*), and the integration of indigenous Japanese forms into modern military drill regimens for the sake of strengthening the nation and race.[31] Thus Xu's approach. In addition to the 100-plus pages of detailed descriptions of the stances and motions of Chinese boxing, Xu's book contained 36 photos of the author (in modern military uniform) demonstrating these movements. He provided other innovations as well, explaining,

> Our nation's boxing had no oral commands in times of old, so the order was extremely hard to remember, and the movements just as difficult to keep in proper time. So in this book, the movements and their order are noted by calisthenics-style oral commands.... Martial arts routines are not inherently divided into segments. This book follows the *ticao* convention of dividing the movements into several segments for ease of learning. When teaching this also makes it easier to isolate each segment. After one is familiar with all the segments they can be connected front to back.[32]

Other martial artists followed similar impulses. Wang Huaiqi, later to become one of the biggest names in Chinese physical education, in 1915 published a routine called "*batuanjin*

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[30] Jia Fengzhen, "Duanlian zhuyi zhi jiaoyu," pp. 117, 120.

[31] Xu Yuxin, *Quanshuxue jiaokeshu* [A textbook for the study of boxing] (Shanghai: Zhonghua tushuguan, 1913; reprint 1916), "Xu" [Preface], pp. 3-4.

[32] Xu Yuxin, *Quanshuxue jiaokeshu*, "Fanlie" [Introduction], p. 2.

calisthenics," a "simplified" version of the ancient Chinese stretching exercise (usually called *baduanjin*).[33] "Hybridizing" instincts such as these, popular during the New Culture Movement of the 1910s, were yet another approach at reforming ancient Chinese arts for urbanites concerned about getting their bodies and their nation into tip-top shape.

The move to work martial arts instruction into school curricula was an equally important means to this end. A Jiangsu educator writing in 1914 gave a defensive answer to his own rhetorical question, "Are martial arts (*jiji*) suitable for classroom instruction?"

> [Martial arts] are absolutely genuine skills, containing nothing which is faked. It is only that over the last century or so, those who have studied them have not been suited to the task, and have used all the wrong methods. So now, society has chosen to adopt an attitude that slights and despises [martial arts], seeing them as the lowest and meanest arts around. But false rumors beget still more false rumors, and the once-great national [martial] arts have become so scarce, on the edge of extinction.... Generally speaking, every school is now concerned about physical education, each one working to allow its students to have healthy bodies. So that is why they should enlist in their curricula every type of exercise and game that would strengthen and make healthy the students' bodies. Specialized [martial arts] instructors could be hired to lead the students in exercise. And the results would certainly be no other than students' bodies achieving appropriate development. Today, the effort to include our nation's ancient martial arts in classroom instruction is not unified on the surface. Still, these skills would definitely allow students to develop a true physical fitness.[34]

Xu Yibing, one of the grandfathers of China's physical education community, was less defensive than the author above, petitioning the Education Department in Beijing with his request that instruction in Chinese martial arts be added to the curricula of all of China's

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[33] Wang Huaiqi, "Batuanjin ticao" [*Batuanjin* (Eight-stretch routine) calisthenics], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Chinese Educational Review)* 7.11 (15 November 1915), pp. 11-14.

[34] Sun Shan, "Jiji shifou shiyi xuexiao jiaoshou" [Are martial arts suitable for classroom instruction?], in *Jiangsu shengli xuexiao di yi ci lianhe yundonghui huibian* [First Jiangsu Provincial Interscholastic Meet Report] (Nanjing, Jiangsu xun'anshi gongshu, 1914), *Wenyi* [Belles-lettres] section, pp. 6-7.

schools. Xu wrote that martial arts were "the most noble and lofty form of exercise ... the most ancient and finest form of calisthenics (*ticaoshu*)."[35] In April 1915, Beijing's Physical Education Research Society introduced the resolution "Requesting the Promotion of Ancient Chinese *Wushu* as a Required Course" at the First National Education Conference in Beijing. The Society's logic that martial arts was "a form proving that we do not have to imitate others" was irresistible, and the motion was approved.[36]

Ma Liang's program for a "New Chinese Martial Arts" (*Zhonghua xin wushu*), contained in his four 1911 textbooks *Wrestling*, *Boxing*, *Cudgel Arts*, and *Swordmanship*, led the way in this drive for the educationization of martial arts.[37] As early as 1912 a "Boxing Team" (their English for *Jijibu*) was formed at Nanyang University by school president Tang Weizhi. Legend has it that Tang formed the team after discovering that a student named Xiang Shaohong was able, using skills learned in the study of "southern fists" (*nanquan*), to halt an accelerating motorcycle (driven by a foreign professor) with his bare hands.[38] A picture of the club in its first year shows 24 members in black long-sleeve

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[35] Xu also asked that military drill be completely removed from the nation's physical education curriculum. Yibing, "Zhengdun quanguo xuexiao tiyu shang Jiaoyubu wen" [Text of petition to Education Department on the righting of physical education in the nation's schools], *Tiyu zazhi* 2 (July 1914), pp. 3-4.

[36] Three similar resolutions were raised at national-level educational conferences by 1919. Lin Boyuan, "Zhongguo jindai xuexiao wushu kecheng," pp. 6-9.

[37] Lin Boyuan, "Zhongguo jindai xuexiao wushu kecheng," p. 11. Ma Liang worked vigorously throughout the 1910s to promote martial arts. In 1917 he founded a Shandong Province *Wushu* Training Center in Ji'nan. By 1925, 730 students had completed the center's two-year curriculum, with tuition funds for many subsidized by their home counties. Shandong sheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Shandong shengzhi: Tiyu zhi* [Shandong provincial gazetteer: Chronicle of physical culture] (Ji'nan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 1993), p. 33.

[38] Wang Daoping, "Qingmo Minchu Jiaoda de jiji yundong" [The martial arts movement at Jiaotong University in the late Qing and early Republic], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 6 (March 1984), p. 14.

shirts reading "NY Boxer" in white English lettering across the front, each frozen in different swordsmen poses.[39] I find the use of this term "Boxer" to describe the modernizing, masculinizing influence of martial arts in the Chinese university simply fascinating, as this single term allowed these young students to conjure up universalist themes of all flavors. While on one hand appealing to the legitimacy of the Western sport of boxing, an allusion made by many *wushu* promoters, their labelling of themselves as "Boxers" also enabled these college men to take on the bleak imperial history of the rural and superstitious martial arts, and on their own terms. If arrogant foreigners wanted to label Chinese as ignorant "Boxers," here were the Boxers of the new Republic, educated, cosmopolitan and ready to engage in the world of modern men and their nations. Nanyang University's annual athletic meet featured a martial arts competition for the first time in 1915, and two years later, "endless praise" was lavished upon the twenty-odd martial arts demonstrations performed at the school's 20th anniversary celebrations.[40]

In order to make martial arts into an acceptable pastime for citizens of the new Republic, the ancient skills had to be shown to be conducive to the new modern ways. The *Jingwu* Association called the movement the "new martialization," and followed the slogan "scientize martial arts, and spread them to the millions." This scientization required purging

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[39] Fei Futao, ed., *Nanyang daxue jijibu shi zhou jiniance* [Nanyang University Boxing Team tenth anniversary commemorative volume] (Shanghai, 1922), p. 30.

[40] Zhou Renshan and Fei Futao, "Wuxiao jijibu shinian yange shi" [A history of the development of our school's Boxing Team], in Fei Futao, ed., *Nanyang daxue jijibu shi zhou jiniance*, pp. 37-38.

Similarly, Tianjin's Nankai University introduced martial arts into their curriculum in 1916, attracting the interest of a young Zhou Enlai, who took time from his basketball and volleyball pursuits to learn *baguaquan*. Dou Fengshan, "Zhou Enlai zaonian zai Jin xiwu jianshen zhuiyi" [Recalling a young Zhou Enlai's martial arts and sports exercise in Tianjin], *Tianjin tiyu shiliao* 6 (December 1985), p. 2.

the Pure Martial arts of superstitious relics like "spirit fists" (*shenquan*) or "divine swords" (*jianxian*).[41] The "new martialization" also called for other conspicuously modern touches. The *Jingwu* Association opened its own photography studio on Nanjing Road, and were thus able to include 30 photos in their 1918 book *Pure Martial*, and a whopping 440 photos in the 1920 volume *Record of the Pure Martial*.[42] The *Jingwu* also hoped to keep step with the movement for sexual equality. A Women's Department was established in 1917 with female *wushu* standout Chen Shichao as director. By the next year, *Jingwu* students were teaching martial arts in seven women's schools across Shanghai.[43]

Martial arts enthusiasts also began to explain their favorite techniques in the authoritative terms of Western science. A sports fan friend of Huang Xing, publisher of Changsha's *Tiyu Weekly*, challenged Huang's promotion of meditation as a native "Chinese" and "tranquil" (*jing*), yet valid, form of exercise:

> He said, "When discussing physical culture today, we must stick to sports. Chinese have always favored stillness over motion. If you keep promoting meditation - and don't say no one will listen, because everyone believes you - if they follow what you say and go do it, then won't we become a Daoist Buddhist nation? India, Tibet and Mongolia are all fine examples of this kind of nation. You edit *Tiyu Weekly*; I don't know if you're afraid that national extinction isn't approaching fast enough, or what?!"[44]

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[41] Zhong Ruiqiu, "Lun Jingwu tiyuhui yu Xin wenhua yundong" [On the Pure Martial Athletic Association and the New Culture Movement], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 29 (December 1990), p. 41.

[42] Cai Yangwu, "Jingwu shukan xi" [An analysis of Pure Martial Association publications], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 29 (December 1990), p. 44.

[43] Zhou Peiyu, "Lun Jingwu nüjie" [On the heroines of the Pure Martial], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 30 (February 1991), p. 32.

[44] Huang Xing, "Weishenme tichang jing de tiyu?" [Why advocate tranquil exercise?], *Tiyu zhoubao* 10 (24 February 1919), p. 2. Underlining is Huang's.

This was no small challenge, these terms that posed the threat of the Han race devolving into one like those, like India or Tibet, where debilitatingly meek religious traditions had transformed once-great peoples into the ultimate laughingstock of the modern age, the feminized non-nation. Huang explained that his advocation of meditation was merely part of his greater advocation of *tiyu* in general, part of his conviction that strong and healthy bodies were needed to live "the life of an evolved people":

> Have those with the ability to jump, run, throw and climb completely achieved all the abilities needed in life? I'm afraid that anyone with the least bit of wisdom certainly would not believe this. Just look at any tiger, any monkey, any cow, any cat, any dog - why are they kept by humans in cages? Or leashed by iron chains? Or reined to plow fields? Or raised at home to keep rats and thieves away? Why don't they evolve? Why don't they rule the animal world? ... We can see that human life is governed by something different. This something is especially developed, and what is it? In the past, Chinese doctrines spoke of the heart (*xin*); today, speaking with scientific accuracy, we know it as the brain. *Tiyu*, in the very first place, was supposed to be about helping the brain to develop. So our advocation of tranquil exercise takes as its main goal the clear and alert brain.[45]

But not everyone was buying this presentation of martial arts as an acceptable part of the new modern and scientific culture and thought. *Wushu* was far too easy of a target for the May Fourth generation, as it seemed to be everything that these modern men wanted China not to be. It had been part of the old "closed China" and could trace no heritage to the modern West. Despite the recent attempt to tailor martial arts to the forms of modern physical culture, at heart it was still unquantifiable and unscientific. It belonged to the wandering *jianghu* itinerants of the countryside, not to

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[45] Huang Xing, "Weishenme tichang jing de tiyu?" p. 2.

the "*xian zhi xian juewu*" enlightened urban classes who could lead China into modernity. It left no written records that could be spread among the masses. The field was heir to a legacy of secrecy and division, clearly the exact opposite of what was needed to unify the nation. For many, little about *wushu* seemed to suit the needs of the modern nation-building project.

When in 1918, members of the Fourth National Education Convention at Shanghai called for schools to promote *wushu* education throughout China,[46] they received as an answer Lu Xun's "Random Thoughts" in the October 1918 *New Youth*:

> There are many now who actively support and advocate boxing. Remember, this was advocated in the past, but then it was pushed by Manchu kings and princes; now it's Republican educators... These educators take these old ways, "passed down from a mystic woman of the highest heavens or some such, to the Yellow Emperor, and then to some nuns," now called "new martial arts" or "Chinese calisthenics," and tell youngsters to practice .... Some say that the efficacy of Chinese people learning Western calisthenics cannot yet be seen, so we have no choice but to teach our own nation's calisthenics (or boxing). But I think that if you pick up foreign hammers or batons and begin exercising your arms and legs, this will have some "efficacy" in terms of muscle development. How could you not see it?! Apparently we now have to switch to "Wusong Slipping out of Handcuffs" or some other [martial arts] tricks. I suppose this is due to Chinese people being physiologically different from foreigners.... We have seen all this before, in 1900. That time it ended up in the total destruction of our reputation. We will have to see what happens this time."[47]

Lu Xun perhaps hoped that his sarcastic dismissal of China's martial arts and his association of a *wushu* curriculum with the disastrous Boxer Uprising of 1900 could

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[46] Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo tiyu fazhan shi* [The history of the development of Chinese sport] (Taibei: Guoli jiaoyu ziliaoguan, 1981), p. 84; Lin Boyuan, "Zhongguo jindai xuexiao wushu kecheng," p. 9.

[47] Lu Xun, "Sui gan lu (sanshiqi)" [Random jottings (#37)], *Xin qingnian (La Jeunesse)* 5.5 (15 October 1918), pp. 514-15.

help bury martial arts once and for all, by showing their irrelevancy to the national tasks at hand and revealing their role in bringing on many of China's problems. However, the new martial artists of China's cities likely were more literate and urbane than Lu Xun had supposed. Four months later, *New Youth* published a rebuttal by Chen Tiesheng, one of the pillars of the *Jingwu* Association in Shanghai.[48] Chen was not going to stand by and watch quietly Lu Xun's rude rejection of the entire *wushu* tradition, and as a reporter by trade, had the literary talents to go *mano a mano* with China's foremost cultural critic.

Chen began his article with a strong parry: "Who is this Mr. Lu Xun? I've never heard of him; he must be a youngster. But this guy's mind seems to be filled with a few misconceptions - managing to confuse Boxer bandits (*quanfei*) with the martial arts (*jijishu*)."[49] Aware of the opportunity that this *New Youth*-sanctioned bout afforded his cause, Chen was careful to explain clearly his discarding of Lu Xun's critiques. He drew a clear line between "Boxer bandits'" "unregulated bestial dances," their sorcery and supernaturalism (*guidao zhuyi*), and the humanitarianism (*rendao zhuyi*) celebrated by true martial artists in their *wushu*. For those *New Youth* readers who could not endorse any custom or culture not connected to the modern and progressive West, Chen even noted the recent American publication of a book on Northern Chinese martial arts, and described "Boxing" (in English) as a perfectly

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[48] Chen would go on to edit the *Jingwu*'s 300-page *Record of the Pure Martial* in 1920, and later serve as publisher of their *Pure Martial Magazine* [*Jingwu zazhi*] from 1920 to 1925.

[49] "Quanshu yu quanfei" [Boxing and Boxer bandits], *Xin qingnian (La Jeunesse)* 6.2 (15 February 1919), pp. 218-19. This exchange between Lu Xun and Chen is also described in Paul A. Cohen, "The Contested Past: The Boxers as History and Myth," *Journal of Asian Studies* 51.1 (February 1992), pp. 84-87.

normal pastime in the West. Finally, he closed his piece with a quick knockout combination that turned the tables on his modernist foes, calling Lu Xun "simply a foreign Boxer bandit through and through," and taunting *New Youth* as being just like the Manchu Qing dynasty if they "shelved and did not publish" this work.[50]

Chen Tiesheng's high-profile answer to Lu Xun's attack likely did not do much to change the modernists' instinctive distrust of the martial arts. A year later, Chen Duxiu wrote of Ma Liang's program for a "New Chinese Martial Arts," "We have already had enough of the 1900 'Spirit Boxers,' but now we are supposed to teach Commander Ma's martial arts in school. Do not once more allow the 'extraordinary feats of strength, chaos and spirits,' of which even Confucius did not speak, to come and 'deceive the next generation."[51] Chen, like Lu Xun, too hoped to effect a massive forgetting of this aspect of China's heritage.

However, the harm done by biting incriminations registered against martial arts by famed iconoclasts like Chen Duxiu and Lu Xun was perhaps surpassed by the uniformly short shrift given *wushu* by many modern chroniclers of Chinese physical culture. The martial arts were diverse and inexact (and therefore nonsensical in the modern nation); perhaps it never even occurred to these modernizers that there even remained a *wushu* to ignore. Only seven pages of Guo Xifen's 1919 outline of the history of Chinese *tiyu* covered post-Ming martial arts.[52] Hao Gengsheng, the YMCA

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[50] Chen's letter was accompanied by a response from Lu Xun, but this piece was uncharacteristically defensive and lacking in iconoclastic pizzazz. "Quanshu yu quanfei," pp. 218-221.

[51] Duxiu, "Sui gan lu (bashi): Qingnian tiyu wenti" [Random jottings (#80): Problems in youth physical education], *Xin qingnian (La Jeunesse)* 7.2 (1 January 1920), p. 157.

[52] After briefly describing the "bitterness and dedication" of Qing boxers, and listing the skills of five standout Qing masters, Guo's discussion of "modern" *wushu* was confined to a mere list of the 55

tiyu coordinator, was almost myopic in his neglect of non-sports mode of Chinese modern physical culture. His discussion of modern martial arts consisted of a passing reference to the skills of legendary *Jingwu* master Huo Yuanjia. And his 28-page chapter on "Chinese Games" ignored martial arts completely, seeing the Chinese *tiyu* tradition instead embodied in games like kite-flying, Squirrel Holes, Eagle Catches the Chick, and Catch the Puppies![53]

Modernists like Guo and Hao were writing *wushu* out of existence, actively denying and forgetting the martial arts, as they remembered the new Western-style *tiyu* into Chinese history. For many, *wushu* was simply too "Chinese" (or in other words, too backward), too unquantifiable for the new physical forms so important in the new Chinese nation. Thus, efforts like those described above of martial arts activists to depict their skills as indispensable constituents of Chinese military education, sport, or modernity in general often paid lower dividends and met greater resistance than these promoters hoped. However, the May Fourth ether of the early 1920s would bring surprising new life to the field, as martial artists employed clever and far-seeing tactics as they remade martial arts into an integral element of modern Chinese physical culture.

The Pure Martial Era, 1920-1927

> Confucianism is based on the principle of self-control. Buddhism is based on the principle of equality. And Christianity is based on the

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brands of boxing and 64 of weapon-fighting in the Yellow River Valley *wushu* school, and the 19 styles of boxing and nine of weaponry in the Yangtze Valley school. Guo Xifen, *Zhongguo tiyushi* [The history of Chinese physical culture] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1919; Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1993 reprint), pp. 29-47.

[53] Gunsun Hoh, *Physical Education in China* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1926), pp. 30-32, 62-89.

> principle of brotherhood. Self-control, equality, brotherhood - the spirit of Confucius, Buddha and Jesus. Today one sees that *Jingwu* members are the ones able to bring these ideas together harmoniously and thoroughly. And this cannot be refuted.[54]
>
> - Pure Martial leader Lu Weichang, 1920

These words capture a hint of the proselytizing zeal that the Pure Martial and other urban martial arts organizations brought to their work in the 1920s. Martial arts during the 1920s was not simply the story of these aggressive and successful organizations, like the *Jingwu* or the Chinese *Wushu* Association of Shanghai. Smaller organizations all over China worked to research and spread the martial arts, with much less financial or political backing than the strong Shanghai bodies mentioned above.

Even before the arrival of *Jingwu* branches in Sichuan in the late 1920s, the Chengdu martial arts scene was particularly active. Regular male and female *leitai* competitions were held at Chengdu's Qingyanggong. Chengdu was also home to the Sichuan Warriors Association (*Sichuan wushi zonghui*) and the Archery-Morality Society (*Shedehui*), both modern organizations whose names appealed to those interested in working to restore China's former greatness via their participation in the martial arts.[55]

All sorts of public figures worked to promote martial arts as well. Warlord Feng Yuxiang cleverly exploited the contradictions of May Fourth pro-sports and anti-

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[54] From Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji*, quoted in Jiang Zhihe, "Aiguo de Jingwu tiyuhui," p. 37.

[55] Zheng Guanglu, "Qingyanggong leitai huajiu" [Stories from the martial arts competitions at Qingyanggong], *Sichuan tiyu shiliao* 4 (December 1983), pp. 32-33; An Weisheng, "Lingxiu wulin de wen zhuangyuan" [The top performer on the palace literary examinations who was a leader in the martial arts world], *Tiyu wenshi (Sport History)* 58 (November 1992), pp. 42-43; An Weisheng, "Sichuan Shede zonghui shihua" [Stories about Sichuan's Archery-Morality Society], *Sichuan tiyu shiliao* 25 (October 1989), pp. 27-28.

wushu thought when he thundered in a 1927 speech,

> I don't oppose playing ball in the least, but I do oppose this feverish consumption of foreigners' goods. This is exercise, but is the exercise of prodigal gents and ladies. If you want to exercise your body, is a blade not enough? Is a sword routine not enough? Are wrestling or boxing not enough? Of China's 18 types of martial arts, not a one is incapable of drenching our entire bodies in sweat, stimulating all the body's blood, tendons and bones. You say those activities are old-fashioned, but you don't even know that the Western sport of track and field is all left over from the Greek and Roman eras.... Now it is all just about blindly following the West, ... and when you think about it this is really our greatest national shame.[56]

Communist Party member and social activist Yun Daiying saw martial arts as a key to spreading his progressive social philosophy in the Chinese countryside. In two different articles, Yun recommended that idealistic students "going down to the people" during school vacations teach martial arts to rural youth or join in already-existing martial arts groups. He saw *wushu* as perfect for rural youth, since it was a form valued in traditional Chinese culture, and could be practiced at night so as not to interfere in farm work. Yun pointed out that through activities like martial arts, "We can be around them and get to know them every day, and this will make them feel much more interested [in our political work]."[57] Even foreign *tiyu* expert Charles McCloy was able to bestow praise on *wushu*, writing in 1925 that "These martial arts not only are able to strengthen the physique, but are also useful in cultivating one's morality."[58]

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[56] Wang Zengming, "Feng Yuxiang jiangjun yu *tiyu*" [General Feng Yuxiang and physical education], *Tiyu wenshi* 10 (June 1984), p. 10.

[57] Daiying, "Yubei shujia de xiangcun yundong" [Preparing for the summer vacation rural movement], *Zhongguo qingnian* 32 (24 May 1924), pp. 4, 7; "Hanjiaqi zhong women de gongzuo" [Our work for the winter vacation period], *Zhongguo qingnian* 58 (20 December 1924), p. 124.

[58] Mai Kele (Me K'e-lo, i.e. Charles McCloy), "Wushi nian lai Zhongguo zhi *tiyu* ji wushu" ("China's Physical Culture & Athletics for the Past 50 Years"), in *Zuijin zhi wushi nian (The Past Fifty Years)*, (Shanghai: Shenbaoguan, 1922; Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1987 reprint), p. 3.

However, the parties who seem to have done the most to promote a modernized and modernizing martial arts (and who have left the most historical traces) are the Shanghai bodies mentioned above, and in particular, the *Jingwu* Association. The story of martial arts during the period 1920-1928 is not simply the story of the *Jingwu* Association over this time, but the *Jingwu* represents perfectly just how versatile these arts, their practicioners and their promoters had become by the 1920s.

When Lu Weichang boasted above that his charges at the *Jingwu* were the individuals who were finally able to bring together the spirit of Confucius, Buddha and Jesus, he was not exaggerating. This kind of superhuman cross-cultural synthesis by no means would have seemed to be beyond the reach of the 1920s Pure Martial, who after all aimed for nothing less than the conversion of China and all the world's Chinese people to the doctrine of "*Jingwu*-ism," and martial arts' ascendance to "the international sporting stage."[59] The *Jingwu* left no stone unturned in their quest to reach these goals. The Pure Martial's success in the 1920s was due in part to their continued strategy of privileging the written text and its role in a modern *wushu*. Its leaders also cultivated important links to powerful political figures, and showed a commercial acumen that disproved once and for all the image of martial artists as itinerant stragglers unfit for modern life. The *Jingwu* cemented this success by reaching

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However, four years earlier, McCloy had said in a speech to the Shanghai YMCA, "Your outlook must not be too narrow, and you cannot look at martial arts as the only national arts (*guoji*).... Upholding only martial arts will not enable you to strengthen the nation." "Mai Kele jun yanci" [Speech by Mr. Mai Kele (Charles McCloy)], *Wushu* 1.2 (February 1921), p. 3.

[59] Lu Weichang, "Zhongguo wushu zhi jianglai" [The future of Chinese martial arts], in *Di san ci quanguo yundong dahui tekan* [Special Publication of the Third National Games] (Hankou: Hankou jidujiao qingnianhui, 1924).

out to two important groups that were somewhat ignored by the mainstream *tiyu* community - women and Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia - who energized the state of *Jingwu* affairs, and in the latter case, sustained the Pure Martial enterprise when other pillars of support crumbled.

Perhaps the most important motto at the Pure Martial headquarters in Shanghai was "without letters (*wen*), the effort to spread [martial arts] far and wide is futile."[60] The *Jingwu* understood better than any other physical culture enterprise the importance of a literary body of knowledge in spreading their craft. The ancient martial arts tradition of oral transmission among a select few was perhaps the most meaningful symbol of the modernist portrayal of *wushu* as a decidedly pre-modern culture with no relevance to the Republican age. The *Jingwu*'s literary era began in 1916, with Chen Tiesheng's illustrated articles in Shanghai's *The Students' Magazine* on "Dragon Pond boxing" (*tantui*), Damo swords (*Damojian*, a technique propagated by the Shaolin school), and "five-tiger-spears."[61] But the organization's real push came with the 1920 publication of *Record of the Pure Martial*, a 300-page commemoration of the *Jingwu*'s 10 years spreading the *wushu* word. This volume began with a long essay by editor Chen Tiesheng, the martial artist who had challenged Lu Xun in the pages of *New Youth* the year before, on the "Great Pure Martial-ism." Chen introduced the principles

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[60] Cai Yangwu, "Jingwu shukan xi," p. 43.

[61] Chen Tiesheng, "Jingwu tiyuhui jiji congkan (xu): Damojian di er lu" [The Pure Martial Athletic Association martial arts series (continued): Damo-style swords, routine #2], *Xuesheng zazhi (The Students' Magazine)* 3.11 (20 November 1916), pp. 27-34; Chen Tiesheng, "Jingwu tiyuhui jiji congkan (xu): Tantui di si lu" [The Pure Martial Athletic Association martial arts series (continued): *Tantui*, routine #4], *Xuesheng zazhi (The Students' Magazine)* 3.12 (20 December 1916), pp. 35-42; Cai Yangwu, "Jingwu shukan xi," p. 43.

of health, wisdom, morality, equality that made the *Jingwu* such a great force for peace and progress in Asia.[62] Later, Chen described his "martial library," listing 30 books published over the last decade, and defying the popular conception of martial arts as crude sport for illiterate rustics.[63] Dozens of essays, 440 photos, and pages of charts listing the 1079 members of the Shanghai *Jingwu* (as of 1919), combined to tell forcefully the proud story of the *Jingwu*'s first decade. They continued their mission of relinking the literary *wen* to the martial *wu* with their own journal, *The Pure Martial Magazine* (*Jingwu zazhi*) in 1922, and beginning the next year published it themselves at their own Pure Martial Printing Company.[64] In 1924 the Association opened up its own library containing numerous books, magazines and newspapers in Chinese and English.[65]

The *Jingwu* also sought to spread its influence by associating with leading Chinese political figures. This was not a mode over which the Pure Martial themselves wanted to make great hay; after all, the second article of the *Jingwu* Constitution declared that members "were not allowed to become involved in politics."[66] But any loyal Pure Martial reader would surely not have failed to notice the frequency with which political bigwigs praised the *Jingwu* and its arts. In 1916, Wang Jingwei

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[62] Chen Tiesheng, "Da Jingwu zhuyi" [The great Pure Martial-ism], in Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji*, pp. 1-5.

[63] Chen Tiesheng, "Wu ku" [Martial library], in Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji*, pp. 93-94.

[64] Cai Yangwu, "Jingwu shukan xi," p. 43.

[65] T. K. Yaoheng Own, "Chin Woo," *Jingwu zazhi* 38 (15 February 1924), p. 2.

[66] Cai Yangwu, "Jingwu shukan xi," p. 46.

contributed a preface to Chen Tiesheng's book *Dragon Pond Boxing* (*Tantui*).[67] The same year, Sun Yat-sen attended a *Jingwu* boxing exhibition, and proclaimed, "The martial arts are our China's national essence.... I deeply hope that young students, soldiers, and compatriots of all walks of life will all pay close attention to this."[68] Four years later, the *Record of the Pure Martial* was graced by a preface by Sun, who saw martial arts as crucial in "the decisive last five minutes [of a battle] over the last five feet of ground," and an important contribution of the Chinese people to world peace.[69] To this same volume, Hu Hanmin contributed an inscription that read, "Use the scientific method to spread the artistic spirit."[70]

Yet Chen Tiesheng continued to claim that "the *Jingwu* does not carry the stench of politics." His justification was simple - Sun's advocacy of martial arts in his *Pure Martial* preface was simply that of "a very learned medical doctor ... providing specific scientific proof for the uses [of martial arts]." When *Jingwu* representatives, on a 1923 trip to Beijing, presented *Jingwu* materials to President Li Yuanhong, this was nary a political act either - for Li was also Honorary Chairman of the Tianjin YMCA, and wasn't this an enterprise funded solely by Chinese?![71] *Jingwu* publications, particularly the editorial section of the *Pure Martial Magazine*, also

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[67] Cai Yangwu, "Jingwu shukan xi," p. 45.

[68] Hsu I-hsiung (Xu Yixiong), "Zhongguo jindai minzu zhuyi tiyu sixiang zhi tezhi" [Special characteristics of modern Chinese nationalistic philosophies of physical culture]. *Tiyu xuebao (Bulletin of Physical Education)* 12 (December 1990), pp. 9-10.

[69] Sun Wen, "Jingwu benji xu" [Preface to *Record of the Pure Martial*], in Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji*, p. 1.

[70] Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji*, insert after p. 12.

[71] Cai Yangwu, "Jingwu shukan xi," p. 46.

served as soapboxes for the political views of Chen and others. In one short 1924 piece, Chen maintained that Confucianism was still the most suitable doctrine for the Chinese people, contrasted with Christianity, the proselytizing of which in China would be as useful as "watering a rock."[72] Another short essay ridiculed communism, caricaturing it as a doctrine of "sharing others' property, but never sharing one's own property with others."[73] As an organization whose origin myths traced to the revolutionary *Tongmenghui*, the *Jingwu* spent considerable effort trying to distance their martial arts work from the "stench" of politics in China's messy warlord era. However, the shrewd use of connections with lofty figures in the Chinese political scene, and the *Jingwu*'s very political stance as an "apolitical" body devoted simply to preserving the national essence made the Pure Martial an entity whose fates were very much tied to shifts in the Chinese political world.

Pure Martial success also was based on a foundation of surprising commercial acumen. If martial arts had traditionally served as an avenue of advance for rural youth excluded from market networks and commercial connections, the modern *wushu*, as presented by the *Jingwu* Association, was intimately tied to the commercial boom in cities like its Shanghai home. The *Jingwu* origin myths that trace the founding of the association to roving *wushu* master Huo Yuanjia never address the fact that the tremendous later growth of the *Jingwu* was made possible only by the financial resources of three of the *Jingwu*'s earliest graduates. Lu Weichang and Chen

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[72] Chen Tiesheng, "Kongzi yu Zhongguo" [Confucius and China], *Jingwu zazhi* 40 (15 April 1924), p. 6.

[73] Huaishei, "Hao ge gongchan zhuyi" [Good old communism], *Jingwu zazhi* 40 (15 April 1924), p. 8.

Gongzhe, both hardware store owners, and Yao Chanbo, owner of a dye factory, were such close friends after two years training together at the *Jingwu* that they became known as "The Three Corporations" (*san gongsi*), a name which alluded to Shanghai's three largest department stores of the day (Wing On, Sincere, and *Xinxin*). For the next decade, the *Jingwu* was supported not only by the tireless efforts of these three to spread the *Jingwu* word, but by the proceeds of their investments in a Watson's soda pop factory, the Hexing Photo Studio, the Central Printing Company, the Yufan Iron Mines, and a venture importing textile spindles from England. [74]

Besides the capitalistic enterprises of these *Jingwu* leaders, other *Jingwu* practices reveal the extent to which the association depended on the Shanghai commercial boom. The *Pure Martial Magazine* was funded by advertisements from the Liantai Flood and Fire Insurance Company, the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, Girl Brand Fruit Syrup and Face Cream, Watson's, and the Zhang Yu Brewery of Shandong, among other sponsors.[75] The Shanghai *Jingwu* held elaborate fundraisers, where teams "representing" China's ancient capital cities (Yanjing, Xianyang, Jinling, Chengdu, Luoyang, Lin'an, Bianliang, Xuchang, and Wuchang) competed to collect contributions from individuals who would then be awarded honorary *Jingwu* titles corresponding to the size of their donations.[76] The *Jingwu* was

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[74] Yang Jiahua, "Shilun 'Jingwu san gongsi' lihe de shehui yinsu" [A discussion of the social factors of the breakup of the "*Jingwu*'s Three Corporations"], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 30 (February 1991), p. 45.

[75] *Jingwu zazhi* 38 (15 February 1924); *Jingwu zazhi* 46 (1 December 1924).

[76] "Shanghai Jingwu zhengqiudui jiming" [Rosters of the Shanghai *Jingwu* fundraising teams], *Jingwu zazhi* 38 (15 February 1924), pp. 3-7; "Zhengqiu jianzhang" [Fund drive constitution], *Jingwu zazhi* 38 (15 February 1924), p. 18.

Similar fundraisers were held beginning in 1919 by the Chinese *Wushu* Association of Shanghai. *Shanghai Zhonghua wushuhui di san jie zhengqiu dahui tekan* [Special publication of the

wild about any way in which it could promote itself as an organization that was uniquely Chinese and also uninhibitedly pro-capitalist. In late 1924, the *Jingwu* announced their line of "new-style" New Year's cards, which sold for .36 *yuan* each or 3.89 *yuan* for a pack of twelve.[77] Twelve *Jingwu* representatives from Shanghai wowed the crowds at the Eighth National Goods Exposition, held in Hangzhou in June 1924, with three days of martial arts (*guocao*, literally "national calisthenics") demonstrations.[78] And *Jingwu* leaders like Chen Tiesheng even marketed the power of martial arts in the language of capital, writing that martial arts practice, in addition to curing physical ailments, could help one save money too! Chen pointed out that in 1924 Shanghai, every type of amusement, including competitive sports, cost a lot of money. The only exception was martial arts training at the *Jingwu*, which was organized as "our place of thrifty entertainment."[79] Like the competitive sports which rode their association with China's new commercialism and capitalism to physical cultural supremacy in the 1920s,[80] the martial arts of the *Jingwu* Association were able

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Chinese *Wushu* Association of Shanghai's Third Fundraising Drive] (Shanghai, 1921), pp. 1-7.

[77] "Shanghai Jingwu fashou henianpian" [Shanghai Pure Martial New Year's cards for sale], *Jingwu zazhi* 46 (1 December 1924), p. 37.

[78] While in Hangzhou, this delegation also managed to found a Hangzhou *Jingwu* Association branch, with the assistance of leaders like Provincial Education Commission head Li Junfu, Chamber of Commerce head Wang Zuyao, and Zhejiang Province Business Consultant Lu Shouzhong. Pang Yizhi, "Hangzhou xingyi ji" [Record of the official trip to Hangzhou], *Jingwu zazhi* 43 (15 July 1924), pp. 57-60.

[79] Chen Tiesheng, "Jingwu zhi liyi" [The benefits of the Pure Martial], *Jingwu zazhi* 38 (15 February 1924), pp. 15-16.

[80] Not to mention the similar processes taking place in the United States, Germany, and Italy, among other locales. See Mark Dyreson, "The Emergence of Consumer Culture and the Transformation of Physical Culture: American Sport in the 1920s," *Journal of Sport History* 16.3 (Winter 1989), pp. 261-281; George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: H. Fertig, 1985), pp. 124-129; Victoria de Grazia, *The Culture of*

to spread through China with these hefty winds at their back. Modern firms estimated that advertisements placed in *wushu* publications would pay off just as well as those purchased in the mainstream sporting press, and practitioners of the martial arts used the same language of capital and consumption used to justify participation in Western-style team sports. The *Jingwu*'s identification with the nationalistic capitalism of the national-goods movement, however, provided another pillar of support as the organization worked to promote martial arts participation as an act beneficial to the Chinese nation and economy.

If the *Jingwu*'s strategy for attracting followers to its fold seemed to echo that of the promoters of team sports, the *Jingwu* did hold two trump cards that allowed it to surpass sports in many ways. For one, martial arts under the *Jingwu* was much more accepting of women's participation than were sporting organizations. In addition to its mission of building the bodies and psyches of the new Chinese man, the *Jingwu* seemed to be a refreshingly equal-opportunity provider of modern strength and confidence. Although the *Jingwu* could spout scientific jargon with the best of the sports activists,[81] a difference was that in the *Jingwu*, the authority of science was never directed against women and the threat of females partaking of the Pure Martial arts. Instead, the *Jingwu* Women's Department, formed in 1917 by Chen Shichao (sister of Chen Gongzhe), became an integral part of the *Jingwu* movement. Reformers who had seen martial arts

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Consent: Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 173-174.

[81] One article cited recent laboratory experiments proving that martial arts exercise did not lead to muscle stiffness, as opposed to Western sport and military drill exercise which did, thus proving that these Western forms violated the true principles of *tiyu*! Lu Weichang, "Wo zhi quanshu yijian bai ze (shiwu)" [One hundred points about martial arts (#15)], *Jingwu zazhi* 38 (15 February 1924), p. 43.

as merely part and parcel of the feudal Chinese society had to have been impressed by the *Jingwu*'s promotion of women's martial arts, an effort that far surpassed that of 1920s sports activists.

The 1920 *Record of the Pure Martial* volume featured thoughts by some female members on the role of women in martial arts. Emboldened by her newfound strength that came from her participation at the *Jingwu*, Huang Wanxiang ridiculed the muscleheads who felt that physical exercise was a domain for men, calling them "ignorant and arrogant men proud of their seven-foot height [in Chinese measure], but never realizing that this came from their mothers, that originally they themselves were weak and small too."[82] Another female member, answering those who would use talk of scientific "differences" between the sexes to exclude women from certain areas of physical culture, stated simply,

> We are both round-skulled and square footed, and both richly naturally endowed. How could there be distinctions between male and female? If women are weaker, it is probably because of the imperial system of favoring men over women. But the democratic era is not like the olden days - men and women are equal, and all can handle and take responsibility for any undertaking. It is a truth that, to handle important affairs, one must first strengthen the body. And to strengthen the body, one must understand physical fitness and hygiene. We can wait no longer to begin this work for women's physical fitness.[83]

Chief *Jingwu* mouthpiece Chen Tiesheng also encouraged women's participation in martial arts, stating that "Women are the mothers of citizens, and tiger mothers will not

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[82] Huang Wanxiang, "Nüzi yu jiji zhi guanxi" [The relationship between females and martial arts], in Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji*, p. 247.

[83] Cai Zinan, "Bian nüzi wei ruozhi shuo" [An argument against the line that women are weak in constitution], in Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji*, p. 248.

beget dog sons," a play on the old cliché that brave "tiger" fathers would not beget laggard or weak-willed "dog" sons. Chen also attempted to rewrite Chinese paradigms of physical beauty, continuing,

> I hear that it is the European custom that those with sword scars are considered to be handsome men. But I say, the beautiful women of our [nation] are those who can capture martial arts championships. Compared to these women, those others in the skirts that end two feet off the ground, in the stunning and seductive outfits, slender and curvaceous and fluttering in the wind, are simply lousy devil women (*muyecha*).[84]

Thus, the modern reintroduction of martial arts to Chinese society took place without the cranky exclusion of women that plagued the so-called "modern" sports of the West. In earlier chapters, I have characterized the Republican-era drive for physical fitness and a modern physical culture as resulting from an instinct to make China into a more masculine nation. The fact that the modern promotion of martial arts did not reproduce the misogynism of the Chinese sports world obviously does not mean that *wushu* was in any way less nationally-oriented than other modern *tiyu* forms. Rather, the martial artists' conscious embrace of selected aspects of a "Chinese essence" allowed them to circumvent less desirable side effects of the *tiyu*'s unrestrained modernism, like the thick-lined mapping of competitive sport as a male province. *Wushu*'s position allowed them to point out the contradictions in the May Fourth faith in modern democracy as a form offering supreme equality and equal opportunity to Chinese citizens.

The final element of the *Jingwu*'s appeal throughout China - allowing it to reach a peak of 52 branch organizations - was its work to spread martial arts and the doctrine

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[84] Chen Tiesheng, "Pingpan Songjiang yundonghui ji" [Record of my officiating at the Songjiang (martial arts) meet], in Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji*, p. 71.

of "*Jingwu*-ism" beyond the borders of the Republic, to a Greater China that included millions of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. This extension south to the *Huaqiao* of Malaya, Indonesia, Cambodia and Thailand was instrumental in creating the powerful image of the *Jingwu* as a repository of the truly Chinese arts and skills.

The Pure Martial's first venture into Southeast Asia began innocently enough. When appropriately-named Huang Qiangya ("Strong Asia"), a Shanghai reporter, went to work for the Kuala Lumpur Chinese newspaper *Yiqunbao* in 1919, he found there a group of Overseas Chinese youth who enjoyed practicing martial arts with him. Soon after, Luo Xiaoao, Director of the Guangzhou *Jingwu* Association, traveled to the Malayan peninsula, teaching martial arts and spreading the *Jingwu* word.[85] The Malayan *Huaqiao* could not get enough. Letters poured into the offices of the Central *Jingwu* in Shanghai, requesting copies of the Pure Martial Constitution and regulations, and asking that representatives be sent to help found Association branches in these Overseas Chinese communities. Thus the celebrated trip of the "Five Special Ambassadors" (*wu teshi*) - five of the *Jingwu*'s top names, including Luo, Shanghai leader Chen Gongzhe and Shanghai Women's director Chen Shichao - to Malaya in 1920. The highlight of this trip was a two-night benefit performance given by the Ambassadors before some 10,000 spectators in Singapore, with proceeds going to benefit flood victims in China.[86] With the counseling and coaching of the Ambassadors, and the enthusiastic support of Malayan *Huaqiao* who offered their

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[85] Yu Juean, "Jingwu nan chuan jiqi fazhan zhi chutan" [A preliminary inquiry into the Pure Martial Association's southern spread and development], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 30 (February 1991), p. 41.

[86] Luo Xiaoao, *Jingwu waizhuan* [An alternative history of the Pure Martial] (Shanghai: Jingwu tiyuhui, 1921), pp. 28-29.

homes and gardens as office and exercise space, four branches were up and running in Malaya by 1921 - Selangor, Singapore and Kampar Associations, and a Selangor Women's *Jingwu*.[87]

The *Jingwu* quickly became very serious about their Southeast Asia operations. In the early 1920s, they worked vigorously to found *Jingwu* branch organizations in the Jiangnan area and in Guangdong, and also inland in Hubei and Jiangxi. However, the tremendous response from the *Huaqiao* in Southeast Asia, shut out of the colonial and native cultures of their adopted homes, was impossible for the Pure Martial to resist. Huo Dongge, second son of *Jingwu* founder Huo Yuanjia, left his work at the Guangzhou *Jingwu* in 1923 to take his teachings to Surabaya, Indonesia. Roughly fluent in the Cantonese he had learned in his work in Guangzhou, Huo soon created a kung-fu fever in Surabaya by holding demonstrations (sponsored by the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company) of "Huo family boxing" and "Eight drunken masters," and teaching martial arts in local schools. This led to the founding of the Surabaya *Jingwu* branch in 1924, followed by a similar success in Jakarta the next year. During the 1920s, 22 other *Jingwu* missionaries (including three women) would be sent to spread *wushu* in the fertile *Huaqiao* communities of Malaya, Indonesia, Cambodia and Thailand.[88]

From time to time *Jingwu* heavies from the Central Association in Shanghai also would venture to Southeast Asia to inspect local facilities and put on still more

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[87] Yu Juean, "Jingwu nan chuan jiqi fazhan zhi chutan," pp. 42-43.

[88] Yu Juean, "Jingwu shiliao" [Historical materials on the Pure Martial Association], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 24 (September 1989), pp. 16-17.

martial arts demonstrations for the adoring fans there. In December 1924, a crowd of some seven or eight hundred *wushu* aficionados gathered in the Yijing Movie Theater to welcome *Jingwu* messengers Lu Weichang and Luo Xiaoao to Seremban. Lu and Luo treated the audience to a demonstration of their skills, and also to *Jingwu* films and a slide show as they explained the *Jingwu*'s modernized martial arts.[89] This particular Nanyang journey, also joined by Yao Chanbo, included 54 presentations like the one in Seremban. When Lu and Yao Chanbo returned to Shanghai, the *Jingwu* stalwarts held yet another meeting where they described conditions in several Southeast Asian branch organizations and tried to express to local *Jingwu* personnel the great enthusiasm shared by the Overseas Chinese there for the Pure Martial. Perhaps the most telling anecdote related to precocious *Huaqiao* marketing schemes:

> The two words 'Pure Martial' (*Jingwu*)! One could say that they truly stir deep feelings within people there. In every locale in Southeast Asia, they love to use the Pure Martial emblem. So the businessmen there all add the two words 'Pure Martial' to their goods - like Pure Martial hats, Pure Martial shoes, Pure Martial firecrackers, etc. Everyone seems to love [buying these items], and it is great for business too.[90]

The *Jingwu*'s extension to the Overseas Chinese community in Southeast Asia speaks directly to another difference between martial arts and other modes of modern physical culture. The *tiyu* as learned from the West was all about the modern nation-state - with its emphasis on competition between nations, the accumulation of points and scores, its set and clearly defined spatial and temporal boundaries - and

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[89] "Ji Furong Jingwu huanyinghui" [On the Pure Martial welcoming party in Seremban], *Jingwu zazhi* 38 (15 February 1924), p. 64.

[90] Jian Shijian, "Huanying Lu Yao liang zhuren huiguo ji" [On the welcome-home reception for Directors Lu and Yao], *Jingwu zazhi* 40 (15 April 1924), pp. 59-64.

participation in modern sport was meant to recreate in every contest, for every participant, the experience of living in the modern nation-state. The *Jingwu* martial arts that its messengers brought to the Chinese of Southeast Asia shared none of these constraints. Joining in the Pure Martial's *wushu* allowed anyone, anywhere, the chance to finally re-learn what it was like to be Chinese. The techniques and movements of *wushu*, having survived Manchu prohibitions and Republican ridicule, were a perfect resilient match for the *Huaqiao* of Southeast Asia and the suffering, inflicted upon them by their own and other governments, they had endured. The martial arts, ancient and timeless, extended perfectly to this Greater China, an entity that many *Huaqiao* understood to be equally timeless and free of boundaries, and which thus affirmed their long and often thankless service to China from abroad.

The *Jingwu* Athletic Association achieved its greatest currency throughout China and beyond in the first half of the 1920s, at the same time that the Anglo-American sports were beginning to sweep across the consciousness of Chinese urban youth. Surprisingly, the anti-feudal anti-traditional legacy of the May Fourth Movement did very little to slow the advance of the Pure Martial message. The *Jingwu* came to dominate the Chinese martial arts world during these years, thanks in part to policies which borrowed heavily from the Western-themed *tiyu* - namely, association with modern science, a literate citizenry, and cross-pollination with rising urban commercial forces. The *Jingwu* also explicitly associated martial arts with modern sports, crediting the sports activities its centers offered as the nutritious "rice and bread" which fueled their growth.[91] In fact, one important moment for the *Jingwu*

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[91] Zhong Ruiqiu, "Lun Jingwu tiyuhui yu Xin wenhua yundong," p. 40.

movement in the 1920s was the inclusion in China's 1924 National Games of three days of martial arts (*guocao*) demonstrations, where representatives from 10 Wuhan-area schools and the men's and women's *Jingwu* branches from Hankou, Nanchang, and Kuala Lumpur performed 107 separate routines before the Wuchang crowds.[92] And the *Jingwu* even received credit from once-skeptical Westerners of the value of their craft; in 1924 a reporter for the *China Mail* complimented the goals of the *Jingwu* as "something like our own *mens sana in corpore sano*."[93]

Yet the architects of the *Jingwu* were much more than mere imitators tracing Western trails to success. Their strategies of accenting the written text, alliances with famed political leaders, a unique emphasis on women's participation in the world of modern martial arts, and their energetic pursuit of a Southeast Asian *Huaqiao* following, allowed the *Jingwu* to succeed impressively by pushing a *wushu* product long given up for dead by so many Chinese modernists. A drawing in the 1920 *Record of the Pure Martial* shows a *wushu* practitioner holding a heavy *Jingwu* shield atop a platform that is supported by pillars marked "press," "political circles," "merchant community," "scholarly community," "military community," and "women's

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[92] Chen Tiesheng, "Di san jie quanguo yundonghui guocao jishi benmo" [A full account of the national calisthenics demonstration at the Third National Games], *Jingwu zazhi* 42 (15 June 1924), pp. 6-8.

This was not the first inclusion of martial arts in a large-scale athletic meet in China. At the 1921 Fifth Far Eastern Championship Games, held in Shanghai, Wu Zhiqing of the Chinese *Wushu* Association of Shanghai led more than 400 students in a demonstration of what Wu branded "practical martial arts," or the "Chinese new calisthenics" (*Zhongguo xin ticao*). The press praised students for their demonstration of the "national essence" before a crowd including so many foreign spectators, and Wu was complimented for designing a new martial arts based on the sciences of psychology, education and physiology. *Shanghai Zhonghua wushuhui di san jie zhengqiu dahui tekan*, p. 10.

[93] "China's Young Idea: What the 'Chin Woo' Is Doing," *China Mail*, reprinted in *Jingwu zazhi* 40 (15 April 1924), pp. 4-5.

community."[94] These diverse connections and means of support surely served the *Jingwu* well during the first half of the 1920s.

However, the *Jingwu* soon learned the hard way the fate of those who live by the proverbial sword. In 1924, the *Jingwu* was riding high, fresh off their performance at the National Games at Wuchang and the establishment of new Southeast Asia branch associations in Ipoh and Sumatra. However, when Nie Yuntai, a key co-investor on the *Jingwu*'s spindle-import venture, went broke, the three main investment and management partners of the *Jingwu*, Lu Weichang, Chen Gongzhe and Yao Chanbo, lost all their money as well.[95] After this embarrassment, Chen, a charter *Jingwu* member, left the organization to "retire to study," working on the *Zhuangzi* for years with scholars Zhang Taiyan and Chen Zhenggong.[96] Two years later, Chen attempted to make a spectacular comeback for himself and the *Jingwu*. When Chiang Kai-shek's Northern Expedition reached Nanjing in 1926, Chen lobbied hard with Guomindang powerholders, citing his personal friendships with such Sunist luminaries as Hu Hanmin, Wang Jingwei, Liao Zhongkai, and Zhu Zhixin, and asking that subsidies from the new Guomindang government be used to create a new National *Jingwu* Association. But the political tides had shifted, and plans were already underway within the Guomindang for Commander Zhang Zhijiang to found a national martial arts organization of his own.[97] The crumbling of these all-important financial and political

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[94] Drawing by Shen Bocheng, in Chen Tiesheng, ed., *Jingwu benji*, p. 237.

[95] Yang Jiahua, "Shilun 'Jingwu san gongsi' lihe de shehui yinsu," p. 45.

[96] Jiang Rongqiao, edited by Cao Hongxun, "Chen Gongzhe xiansheng shenghuo pianduan" [Episodes from Mr. Chen Gongzhe's life], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 9 (December 1984), p. 35.

[97] Yang Jiahua, "Shilun 'Jingwu san gongsi' lihe de shehui yinsu," p. 46.

pillars of support was too much for the *Jingwu* to withstand. Although it made it through these trying times, ironically surviving most spectacularly in Southeast Asia, the *Jingwu* was never again the powerful force it had been over the years 1916-1925. In the age of the Guomindang national government at Nanjing, martial arts, now called *guoshu* ("national arts") would be usurped from this private *Jingwu* realm and enlisted in official Guomindang state programs for the survival of the Chinese nation and race. But the Pure Martial Association's work in reshaping the martial arts into an acceptably modern, sporting and worthwhile enterprise is what made the Guomindang *guoshu* experiment possible at all.

Glad Tidings for Humanity: The State *Guoshu* Project During the Nanjing Decade, 1928-1937

To the extent that the story of pre-1928 *wushu* is best narrated by a history of the *Jingwu* Association, it is even more true that the history of martial arts during the Nanjing Decade can only be written as a history of the state *guoshu* project embodied by the Central *Guoshu* Academy (*Zhongyang guoshuguan*). If the Pure Martial dominated pre-1928 *wushu*, the state *guoshu* project was Guomindang-era martial arts. As described in Chapter Five, the Nationalist state announced its leadership of the sports realm with the 1930 National Games. However, its claim to this Chinese martial arts realm of physical culture began in 1928, as it pulled once autonomous martial arts practitioners into its fold and left its name on virtually the only records that can be found of *guoshu* during this time.

While the myths of the *Jingwu*'s origins capture perfectly the milieu (or our impression of it at least) of the late Qing with its intrigue and heroism, the origins of the

Guoshuguan are equally appropriate to the political maneuvering under which Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang achieved national power in 1928. In 1927, Feng Yuxiang sent Zhang Zhijiang, Commander of Feng's Northwest Army and former Military Governor (*dutong*) of Suiyuan Province, to Nanjing to serve as his official liaison to Chiang after agreeing to throw his support behind the Generalissimo. Zhang was a fanatic practicioner of martial arts who credited this exercise with his earlier recovery from a period of partial lower-body paralysis. In Nanjing, he teamed with Li Jinglin, former warlord of Tianjin, and Zhang Shusheng, a military underling from his days in Chahar, to propose that the newly ascended Guomindang subsidize a new national martial arts organization.[98] With the support of heavyweights like He Yingqin, Kong Xiangxi, Yu Youren and Cai Yuanpei,[99] the "*Guoshu* Research Academy" (*Guoshu yanjiuguan*) was established in March 1928 by National Government Decree #174, which also named Zhang Academy Director.[100] Interestingly, the new Academy was first housed in a small Nanjing church,[101] until the Executive Yuan's extremely generous support

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[98] Jiang Xingyu and Li Jinrong, "Kang Ri zhanzheng qian de Zhongyang guoshuguan duanyi" [Recollections from the era preceding the War of Resistance against Japan], *Jiangsu tiyu wenshi* 2 (February 1985), p. 43; Lin Boyuan, *Zhongguo wushu shi* [The history of Chinese martial arts] (Taibei: Wuzhou chubanshe, 1996), pp. 447-448; Fan Zhengzhi, "Zhongyang guoshuguan shi" [The history of the Central *Guoshu* Academy], *Zhonghua guoshu jikan (Chinese Kuo Shu Quarterly)* 2.2 (1 October 1985), p. 45.

[99] These connections definitely helped Zhang in his bid, as another martial arts figure, Shanghai *neiquan* master Chen Weiming, had gained the support of Guomindang Chairman Tan Yankai for his proposal for a national martial arts body. Wu Zhiqing, *Guoshu lilun gaiyao* [An outline of *guoshu* theory] (Shanghai: Dadong shuju, 1935; Shanghai: Shanghai shudian reprint, *Minguo congshu di yi bian* #50), p. 24.

[100] Lin Boyuan, *Zhongguo wushu shi*, p. 448.

[101] "Wushu qigong yu minsu tiyu" [Martial arts, *qigong* and folk physical culture], Chapter One of *Jiangsu shengzhi: Tiyu zhi* [Jiangsu provincial gazetteer: Chronicle of physical culture], published in *Jiangsu tiyu wenshi* 14 (March 1990), p. 42.

Director Zhang Zhijiang was also a devout Christian, and one account of the early Academy

(10,000 *yuan* a month) enabled Zhang to move the operations into a larger facility. And fortunately, old *Jingwu* connections paid off handsomely for the organization which took its place in the new Chinese martial arts order, as this funding was supplemented by Huaqiao contributions which reached 250,000 *yuan*.[102]

The Academy was originally organized into two schools (*men*) teaching the Wudang and Shaolin styles. This arrangement was short-lived, however, as the devotees of these historically rival schools were unable and unwilling to put centuries-old differences behind them in the name of the new Academy's mission. Before long, the leaders of these two schools were literally at each others' throats. The two executive directors, Gao Zhendong (a *xingyi* master of the Wudang school) and Wang Ziping (a Shaolin follower expert in *tantui* and wrestling) matched skills in a furious fight. The teaching directors from each school, Liu Yinhu (a Wudang *taijiquan* hand) and Ma Yufu (another Shaolin wrestler) also took at each other with bamboo spears in another savage battle.[103] These conditions were clearly unacceptable for a body dedicated to erasing the factionalism that had given martial arts such a rotten name in this Republican age. By July 1928, the two-school setup was abolished, new team-oriented personnel were brought in to head the new Teaching, Publishing, and General Affairs Divisions, and the name of the organization was changed to the Central *Guoshu*

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years mentions that students were required to study the Bible with a priest for one hour each morning! Jiang Xingyu and Li Jinrong, "Kang Ri zhanzheng qian de Zhongyang guoshuguan duanyi," p. 44.

[102] Lin Boyuan, *Zhongguo wushu shi*, p. 448.

[103] Lin Boyuan, *Zhongguo wushu shi*, p. 448; Yang Songshan, "Jiu Zhongguo Zhongyang guoshuguan huiyi pianduan" [Recollections of the Central *Guoshu* Academy of old China], in Chengdu tiyu xueyuan tiyushi yanjiusuo, ed., *Zhongguo jidai tiyushi ziliao* [Materials from modern Chinese physical culture history] (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), p. 71.

Academy. Only this centralizing terminology could solve this festering factionalism that threatened to tear the new *guoshu* movement asunder. The accomplished figures recruited to right the flailing *Guoshuguan* ship, like educator Ma Liang and Japan-educated lawyer Tang Hao,[104] were men unlikely to fall prey to the now-*gauche* temptation of factional enmity. The task facing these leaders was to turn the young *Guoshuguan* into a truly national movement that could get citizens all over China involved in these ancient "national arts" in the name of explicitly national causes. As Academy officials said in the July announcement of their new body,

> Standing in the twentieth century arena, where if one does not compete one cannot survive, we beseech the Chinese people, how can we avoid being disrespected by others? ... As Sun Yat-sen once said, "whether it is an individual, or a group, or a nation, the ability to protect oneself is necessary to survive" ... *Guoshu* is not something in which one is constrained by financial status - it can be popularized (*pingminhua*). It doesn't matter if one is old or young, poor or rich, male or female, and it doesn't depend on how many people are present, or how much space or time one has available - it can be practiced anywhere.[105]

As for the name *guoshu*, the official name used to encompass all 161 known types (the Guomindang tried to count![106]) of Chinese martial arts, little is known about the term's origins. Wu Wenzhong, grandfather of the study of modern Chinese *tiyu*

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[104] However, four years later, Tang Hao was detained and jailed by Zhang Zhijiang for his suspected involvement with the Communist Party. He Fusheng, "Huiyi Tang Hao xiansheng" [Remembering Mr. Tang Hao], *Tiyu wenshi* 3 (August 1983), p. 40.

[105] Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo jin bai nian tiyu shi*, p. 220.

[106] Wu Wenzhong, *Zhongguo jin bai nian tiyu shi*, p. 220.

As could be expected, however, these numbers are a suspiciously low estimate of the diverse types of martial arts in practice across the Republic. Where Guomindang figures counted 73 types of boxing extant in the Yellow River Valley, Shanxi Province itself boasts 65 types of boxing! Shanxi sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Shanxi tongzhi di sishier juan: Tiyu zhi* [Shandong provincial gazetteer, Volume 42: Chronicle of physical culture] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), pp. 18-19.

history, explains that the term *guoshu* was meant as shorthand for "*Zhongguo wushu*" (Chinese martial arts). He remembers that at the time, many wanted a new designation that followed the Nanjing Decade trend and went "national-something," but the term *guowu* ("national martial") "did not sound ideal." Thus, "*guoshu*," a term meaning simply "national skills," although Wu maintains that the *shu* was simply short for *wushu* and not just any other *jishu* (technique).[107] In 1929, reporter Chen Jiaxuan of the *Hubao* put things differently, as he explained the qualifications necessary to be known as a specifically "national" entity:

> The *guo* ["nation"] in *guojia* ["nation-state"] must not be used lightly. It must only be used to refer to the things that belong specifically to our nation, and not to things copied from others. These things can be called the nation's (like "national music" or "national currency"). And as for the character *shu* ["skill"], it refers to technique (*jishu*). Every kind of technique must have its own particular characteristics, and must carry some benefit to the human body, spirit and knowledge, for it to be worth passing on. So are our nation's martial arts worthy of calling a *shu*? And are they worthy of being called a *guoshu*?[108]

The transition from older terms to a new uniform *guoshu* seems never to have been a topic of much debate. Most in the community just accepted it and moved on. As one commentator put it, "What in the past was called *quanyi*, *guoji*, *guocao* and *wushu* - they're all the same thing [as *guoshu*]."[109] All names now properly and acceptably rectified, it was now time for the *Guoshuguan* to do its work in spreading these all-

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[107] Wu Wenzhong, "Zhongguo wushu de pingjia yu gaijin fazhan de tujing" [The value of Chinese martial arts and the path of its development and evolution], *Guoshu yuekan (National Gymnastics Monthly)* 1.3 (1 March 1972), p. 3.

[108] Chen Jiaxuan, "Cong guoshu shuo dao guocui" [From national (martial) arts to national essence], in *Zhejiang guoshu youyihui huikan* [Publication of the Zhejiang *Guoshu* Fair] (1930), p. 26.

[109] Li Dingfang, "Guoshu de diwei he jiazhi" [The position and value of *guoshu*], in *Zhejiang guoshu youyihui huikan*, p. 9.

important national skills.

The Guomindang's project to get the *guoshu* word out to China's 400 millions can be divided into two parts: the activities directly relating to the *Guoshuguan* and its hundreds of nationwide branches, and the mass publicity work done, if not directly for the *Guoshuguan*, by martial arts educators and activists associated with the Academy. Here, I will first describe the work of the *Guoshuguan* in creating Chinese citizens with proficiency, or even teaching credentials, in these ancient but so relevant arts.

Guoshuguan Work: Teachings and Competitions

By February 1929, the *Guoshuguan* had formulated and published their design for national domination of the Chinese martial arts world. A series of "Organizational Outlines" - for the Central *Guoshuguan*, provincial-, municipal-, and county-level *Guoshuguan* branches, and district- or village-level *Guoshu* Societies - issued forth from Nanjing, each document describing the standards for funding and administrative arrangement expected of all local branches.[110] The mission began slowly but surely, with some 30 branches founded in Anhui, Jiangsu, Gansu, Chahar, Shandong, Shanxi, Fujian, Suiyuan, Henan and Sichuan Provinces, and in the cities Beiping, Nanjing, Shanghai, Qingdao and Tianjin by 1931.[111] Growth quickened within a few years,

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[110] "Zhongyang guoshuguan zuzhi dawang" [Organizational Outline of the Central *Guoshuguan*], in Wang Zengming, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo tiyu fagui* [Modern Chinese physical culture laws and regulations] (Zhongguo tiyushi xuehui Hebei fenhui, 1988), pp. 107-108; "Shengshi guoshuguan zuzhi dawang" [Organizational Outline of the Provincial- and Municipal-level *Guoshuguan*], in Wang Zengming, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo tiyu fagui*, pp. 109-110; "Xian guoshuguan zuzhi dawang" [Organizational Outline of the County-level *Guoshuguan*], in Wang Zengming, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo tiyu fagui*, pp. 111-112; and "Qu guoshushe ji cunli guoshushe zuzhi dawang" [Organizational Outline of the District- or Village-level *Guoshu* Society], in Wang Zengming, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo tiyu fagui*, pp. 113-114.

[111] Jiaoyubu Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Di yi ci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*

however, as there were more than 300 branch academies operating in 24 provinces and municipalities by 1933.[112] Henan boasted 39 county-level *Guoshuguan*, Sichuan 41 county branches and Jiangxi Province 30 branches by 1934, and Shandong could list 76 county branches (along with 29 municipal sub-branches in capital Ji'nan) by 1936.[113] Conditions in each Academy were obviously very different. The Provincial branch in Ji'nan, Shandong, received yearly funding of 30,000 *yuan* in the early 1930s, to 2400 *yuan* a year for the Suiyuan Province branch in Guihua.[114] Instructors in *Guoshuguan* branches were allowed to teach local styles of martial arts, in addition to the standards like *xingyi*, *taijiquan*, *bagua*, and wrestling (*shuaijiao*), and the roughly standard academic curriculum of Guomindang Party Principles, Chinese, *Guoshu* History, Physiology and Hygiene, History and Geography, and History of National Humiliation.

[First Chinese education yearbook] (Nanjing, 1934; Taibei: Zongqing tushu gongsi, reprint), pp. 911-912; "Wushu qigong yu minsu tiyu," pp. 44-45; Wang Tianyu, "Gansu sheng guoshuguan yu Wang Fuchen" [The Gansu Provincial *Guoshuguan* and Wang Fuchen], *Gansu tiyu shiliao zhuanji* 4 (December 1985), p. 14; Li Peihe and Jin Ying, "Ma Fengtu xiansheng zai Zhangye de wushu huodong" [Mr. Ma Fengtu's *wushu* activities in Zhangye], *Gansu tiyu shiliao* 12 (June 1988), p. 32; Shandong sheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Shandong shengzhi: Tiyu zhi*, p. 34; Shanxi sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Shanxi tongzhi di sishier juan: Tiyu zhi*, p. 15; Hong Zhengfu, Lin Yinsheng and Su Yinghan, "Sanbai nian lai de Yongchun baihequan" [Yongchun's White crane boxing over the last 300 years], *Tiyu wenshi* 19 (July 1986), p. 31; "Quanguo guoshu gaikuang diaocha (wu)" [Investigation into *guoshu* conditions across the nation (Part 5)], *Guoshu zhoukan* 133 (9 December 1934), p. 7.

[112] Lin Boyuan, *Zhongguo wushu shi*, p. 449.

[113] "Quanguo guoshu gaikuang diaocha (san)" [Investigation into *guoshu* conditions across the nation (Part 3)], *Guoshu zhoukan* 131 (25 November 1934), p. 8; "Quanguo guoshu gaikuang diaocha (si)" [Investigation into *guoshu* conditions across the nation (Part 4)], *Guoshu zhoukan* 132 (2 December 1934), p. 8; "Quanguo guoshu gaikuang diaocha (liu)" [Investigation into *guoshu* conditions across the nation (Part 6)], *Guoshu zhoukan* 134 (16 December 1934), pp. 7-8; "Quanguo guoshu gaikuang diaocha (ba)" [Investigation into *guoshu* conditions across the nation (Part 8)], *Guoshu zhoukan* 136-137 (20 January 1935), pp. 13-15; "Shandong sheng guoshu gaikuang" [The state of *guoshu* in Shandong province], *Xiahun* 1 (10 October 1936), pp. 51-52.

[114] "Quanguo guoshu gaikuang diaocha (yi)" [Investigation into *guoshu* conditions across the nation (Part 1)], *Guoshu zhoukan* 129 (11 November 1934), p. 8; "Quanguo guoshu gaikuang diaocha (ba)," p. 13.

The Central *Guoshuguan* in Nanjing operated two types of programs. Sixty students, most sent by their home provincial governments, were accepted to the Instruction Section each term. Graduates acquired three years of instruction in several styles of martial arts and several academic topics, living in *Guoshuguan* dormitories and taking 44 hours of courses each week. The Training Section provided free *guoshu* and academic instruction to youth not accepted into the degree program.[115] Course schedules from 1934-35 exist, and are summarized in Tables 7-2 and 7-3.[116]

This instruction was meant to make the martial arts practitioners of the modern day into well-rounded citizens as handy in the *wen* disciplines as they were with the many *wu* styles that made up the modern *guoshu*. And students were taught by the best. Indeed, this was one of the keys to the success of the *Guoshuguan*, the Academy's ability to attract famed martial arts masters like Wang Ziping, Li Jinglin and Sun Lutang to teach these bright and talented young *guoshu* pupils from all over China.[117] Sun Diyun, a *taijiquan* and *qigong* sage known as "The Buddha with the Iron Shoulders," had taught for warlord Sun Chuanfang in Nanjing and various Sichuan warlords for years in the 1920s and early 1930s, before retiring to Gansu's Mt.

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[115] "Wushu qigong yu minsu tiyu," p. 43.

[116] *Guoshu zhoukan* 135 (23 December 1934), pp. 7-8; *Guoshu zhoukan* 138-139 (2 October 1935).

[117] Even the Training Program, which offered no official degree, attracted students from afar. The 144 graduates (114 men, 30 women) of the 1934 Training course came from the following provinces: Hebei 56, Jiangsu 24, Anhui 23, Shandong 15, Henan 13, Fujian 4, Sichuan 3, Jiangxi 2, Yunnan 1, Hunan 1, Hubei 1, Zhejiang 1. "Zhongyang guoshuguan ershisan nian zhong jiangxi ban ji lianxi ban nan xueyuan tongxue lu" [List of male graduates from the Central *Guoshuguan* Lecture and Practice Section concluding in 1934], *Guoshu zhoukan* 136-137 (20 January 1935), pp. 19-24; "Zhongyang guoshuguan ershisan nian zhong lianxi nü xueyuan tongxue lu" [List of female graduates from the Central *Guoshuguan* Practice Section concluding in 1934], *Guoshu zhoukan* 136-137 (20 January 1935), p. 24.

Kongtong to study Buddhist scriptures. A call from Zhang Zhijiang to Gansu Provincial Governor Shao Yuanchong ended this retirement, however, and Sun made his way back to the capital to join the Central *Guoshuguan* faculty.[118]

The same factor was at work in the local *Guoshuguan* branches - these were founded by and staffed largely with martial arts masters who had earned fame for their talents long before the *Guoshuguan* was even a twinkle in Zhang Zhijiang's ambitious eyes. The Taigu County *Guoshuguan* was established by Bu Xuekuan, a 59-year-old *xingyi* master who began studying martial arts in the 1890s and had taught locally for 20 years.[119] The willingness of established martial arts masters to work for the state *guoshu* apparatus gave instant legitimacy to the *Guoshuguan* system and its hundreds of branches, and allowed *Guoshuguan* managers to present their enterprise as a truly local manifestation of and contribution to the national cause. An even more telling example of the handy relationship between the Academy and local power structures can be seen in the case of Gansu's first *Guoshuguan*, established in Zhangye County, nestled against the Longshou Mountains, in 1929. The Academy was established by Ma Fengtu, Zhangye County Magistrate and also a martial arts aficionado. Ma soon was able to score great victories for both the causes of Zhangye local pride and Chinese *guoshu* when some 200 of his righteous *Guoshuguan* pupils took on and defeated a band of 300 horse bandits who were ravaging the area in 1930.[120]

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[118] Wang Bingyi and Zhou Yong, "Long shang wushujia Tiejianchan shi" ["The Buddha with the Iron Shoulders," Gansu martial arts master], *Gansu ribao*, 1 March 1989, reprinted in *Gansu tiyu shiliao* 13 (March 1989), p. 55.

[119] Pang Lintai and Bu Bingquan, "Xingyiquan mingjia Bu Xuekuan" [*Xingyi* boxing master Bu Xuekuan], *Tiyu wenshi* 14 (June 1985), pp. 23-24.

[120] Li Peihe and Jin Ying, "Ma Fengtu xiansheng zai Zhangye de wushu huodong," p. 31.

This by no means is to say that the *Guoshuguan* apparatus was able to wiggle its tendrils into all sites of martial arts practice in China. For example, Shanxi Province under Yan Xishan's rule provided the *Guoshuguan* with one of China's densest and most promising *guoshu* markets, and Shanxi natives excelled in national *Guoshuguan*-sponsored competitions. Yet in the 1930s there were some 560-plus documented martial arts organizations - like the Shanxi *Guoshu* Promotion Association, the Taiyuan *Guoshu* Reform Research Society, and the Yangquan Miners' *Wushu* Squad - all operating independently of the extensive provincial *Guoshuguan* network.[121] Martial arts in Xiamen remained much more oriented towards their Huaqiao compatriots in Southeast Asia than toward Nanjing. The Pure Martial Association in Xiamen's Zhongshan Park thrived into the 1930s, publishing its own journal *Jingwu*, and Huaqiao leader Chen Jiageng organized "Southern Fujian *Guoshu* Squad" fundraising tours of Malaya through the 1930s.[122] The first *Guoshuguan* to open in Kunming was the Central *Guoshuguan*, stopping there for two years in 1938-1940 during its move west with the national government. During the 1930s, however, martial arts practicioners there had ignored the *Guoshuguan* system and instead organized themselves into groups like the Yunnan *Guoshu* Squad, sponsored by the Kunming Municipal Cultural Center, or the Gallant Martial Society, sponsored by the Jiangxi Provincial Guild.[123] And even in Guanyintang Town, in the very shadows of the state

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[121] Shanxi sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Shanxi tongzhi di sishier juan: Tiyu zhi*, pp. 15-16.

[122] Hong Zhengfu, Lin Yinsheng and Su Yinghan, "Sanbai nian lai de Yongchun baihequan," pp. 31-32.

[123] Liu Yongkang, "Jiefang qian Kunming wushu huodong" [*Wushu* activities in pre-Liberation Kunming], *Kunming tiyu wenshi* 2 (1987), p. 35.

presence in Shanghai, lurked underground radicals and peasant movement organizers who put together their martial arts society that mocked *Guoshuguan* and Guomindang claims to cultural and/or political hegemony in China.[124] Thus, there were many enthusiasts all over China who were able to pursue their martial interests, some even ascribing patriotic value to their efforts by using the nationalizing *guoshu* terminology, without falling under the purview of the *Guoshuguan* organization. However, the Central Academy did succeed in reaching into enough local martial arts communities and networks to make it nearly impossible to deny *Guoshuguan* dominance in the 1930s martial arts world.

Besides the training of local cadres of upright, nationally-minded *guoshu*-proficient citizens, the *Guoshuguan* was also charged with managing the system of county-level, provincial and national *Guoshu* Exams announced in 1927. This system is interesting in that it combined elements of the imperial military exam of the Ming and Qing, traditional *leitai* martial arts competitions, and modern sporting competition. Like the old martial exam, the *Guoshu* Exam consisted of physical and academic testing, as the trope of the martial expert equally trained in the letters was even more crucial than it was in imperial times.[125] The old martial exam required candidates only to demonstrate archery ability and perform three feats of strength (bending a rigid bow,

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[124] Zhang Zhiliu, "Liang zhi dixia wushudui" [Two underground *wushu* squads], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 19 (June 1988), p. 33.

[125] The successful candidate here would have to demonstrate proficiency in the Three People's Principles, Chinese, mathematics, geography, history, *guoshu* history, physiology and hygiene. "Guoshu kaoshi tiaoli" [Rules of the *Guoshu* Exam], in Wang Zengming, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo tiyu fagui*, p. 117.

turning a heavy halberd overhead, lifting a stone block to chest height).[126] However, the modern *Guoshu* Exam required examinees to show their skills in three of four martial arts fields (boxing, wrestling, fencing, spears), determined first by individual demonstrations, followed by three rounds of actual showdowns versus other examinees. Staying true to tradition, successful candidates were awarded titles as they progressed from county ("hero," *zhuangshi*) to provincial ("warrior," *wushi*) to national exam status. And in a form that recalled both the Olympic-style customs of sporting competition and the old imperial exams, special awards were reserved for the top three performers in each event.

The examination process was originally supposed to be completed yearly, with the county-level *Guoshu* exam held in December, the municipal or provincial test in April, and the national exam in October. Although individual localities were free to proceed with the testing according to their own resources and enthusiasm, the National Exam (known as the *Guokao*) was held only twice during the *Guoshuguan*'s existence. The first was held on in the Nanjing Municipal Stadium from 15-19 October 1928, just days after the National Government was officially inaugurated in the old Ming capital. Some four hundred eager martial arts practitioners, many from as far away as Taiyuan or Fuzhou, came to China's new first city for this hastily arranged *Guokao*. After a three-day individual performance round, a pool of some 200 participants was selected to advance to direct competition. Each match followed a best-of-five-rounds format, and the competitions were organized in the modern single-elimination bracket system.

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[126] Sam Gilbert, "Taking the *Wen* out of *Wen Wu Ping Chung*: The Chia-Ch'ing Emperor Reforms the Military Examinations," paper presented at the West Coast Graduate Conference in Modern Chinese History, Berkeley, CA, 29-30 April 1995, p. 5.

By the last day of the *Guokao*, 17 top-three finishers were crowned with the title *guoshi* ("national warrior") in this proud culmination of the prestigious national examination and competition-*tiyu* traditions.[127] And the proceedings were accentuated by the presence of Beiping martial arts masters Sun Lutang and Sun Cunzhou and Guomindang giants Feng Yuxiang (who gave an address on the 18th), He Yingqin and Dai Jitao (who presented prizes to the champions), and the announcement of a 5000 *yuan* donation to the *Guoshuguan* from the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission.[128]

The second *Guokao* was held in Nanjing's Central *Guoshuguan* over 20-30 October 1933, its opening day overlapping with the last day of the Fifth National Games, which was awarded the prestigious 10 October National Day starting date. Although no one ever admitted it, the *Guokao* could only have been scheduled at this time to take advantage of the fact that hundreds of the nation's top martial artists were in Nanjing anyway for these National Games. The 219 *guoshu* stars representing 16 provinces and municipalities in the National Games, reinforced by 210 more examinees who had advanced from the local and provincial exams but had not been selected to provincial National Games teams, made up a group of 429 "heroes of our land, gathering in our capital" for this Second *Guokao*.[129]

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[127] Those finishing in first place were crowned *hanwei* ("defender"), and second and third place were awarded the titles *fuwei* and *yiwei* (both meaning "assistant defender"). "Guoshu kaoshi tiaoli," p. 116; Lin Boyuan, *Zhongguo wushu shi*, pp. 460-461.

[128] "Guoshuguan zhi guokao" [The *Guoshuguan*'s National *Guoshu* Exam], *Shenbao*, 17 October 1928, p. 7; "Guoshuguan zhi guokao" [The *Guoshuguan*'s National *Guoshu* Exam], *Shenbao*, 19 October 1928, p. 7; "Guoshu kaoshi zuo gao zhongjie" [The National *Guoshu* Exam concluded yesterday], *Shenbao*, 20 October 1928, p. 7. Interestingly, *Shenbao*'s coverage of the *Guoshu* Exam was all located in the "Important Bulletins" sections of the newspaper, and not on the sports page.

[129] Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zong baogao shu* [1933 National Games Official Report] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1934), Section 2, p. 136; Lin Boyuan, *Zhongguo wushu shi*, p. 461.

These *guoshu* stars (all men) found a different, more rationalized *Guokao* than their predecessors, after Exam regulations were revised in 1931. Five weight classes, ranging from lightweight (<133 pounds) to heavyweight (>182 pounds) were used to eliminate unfair advantages and even out the *Guokao* playing field. The individual performance segment, decidedly unfit for the modern competitive format, had been eliminated. No more would the *Guokao* allow examinees to advance based purely on subjective judgment, and no longer would it bring back echoes of the days when *guoshu* could serve merely as an exhibition, and not a true competition. Now, a round-robin competition would be held in each weight class in all four competitions - boxing, wrestling, fencing, and spears. Detailed regulations were issued for all four events, clearly outlining rules for scoring and penalties. Finally, just and consistent penalties could be handed out to unsportsmanlike boxers who hit or kicked their opponents while they were down, wrestlers who poked their adversaries in the eyes or throat, fencers who parried at their opponents' backs or lower bodies, or spearsmen who sought to gain unfair advantage by using their hands to grab or deflect their opponents' weapons. Taking a page from international boxing rules, matches in all events consisted of three three-minute rounds.[130] Interestingly, however, the round-robin system utilized in this Second *Guokao* did not guarantee a single champion in each event. Instead, competitors were graded by their won-lost record after six rounds of

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In 1934, the *Guoshuguan* published a huge 500,000-character volume on this Second Exam. "Yi yue lai zhi tiyu xingzheng" [Sports administration this past month], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.1 (10 October 1934), p. 91.

[130] "Guoshu kaoshi xize" [Detailed regulations for the *Guoshu* Exam], in Wang Zengming, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo tiyu fagui*, pp. 119-129.

competition; those finishing with a 6-0 record were proclaimed "First-rate" (*jiadeng*) performers, while those with five or four wins were given "Second-rate" or "Third-rate" titles.[131]

The Second *Guokao* was clearly a second-rate event itself, when compared to the *guoshu* competitions held at the grandiose National Games just days earlier. While forced to reinvent itself in a more modern, competition-friendly and rationalized form to fit the times, and clearly dependent on the presence in Nanjing of the National Games *guoshu* crowd, the *Guokao*, as a National Exam, also had to differentiate itself from the sporting-style competition of the National Games. This perhaps was the reasoning behind the round-robin system, which did not even appear in the new *Guokao* Regulations of 1931, as opposed to the single-elimination system used in the First *Guokao* and in the National Games. At the same time, however, the organizers of the National Games *guoshu* competitions also looked to distinguish their national-essence forms from the Western *tiyu* events, which explains the presence of consciously ancient and self-Orientalizing "events" like archery, shuttlecock, *danwan* (similar to hacky-sack) and bow-bending, none of which were included in the *Guokao*.[132] But as an isolated event, shorn (or free) of the modern sporting apparatus that supported the National Games *guoshu* competitions, the National *Guoshu* Exam had to be shaped into an independent form which could keep up with the galloping *tiyu* times while remaining faithful to the imperial model of the state as the sole judge of prowess in the

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[131] Lin Boyuan, *Zhongguo wushu shi*, pp. 461-462.

[132] Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zong baogao shu*, Section 2, p. 131.

now-national martial arts. Elements of the old martial exams and the traditional *leitai* boxing festivals were stirred into a brew viscous with the essence of the nation-state and its symbiotic partner, the sports *tiyu*. Judging by the fact that a National Exam was never held after 1933, it is likely that the resulting distillation was found wanting by most who tasted of it. Local and provincial Exams were held after 1933 in locales which took to this odd new flavor; Henan held their Sixth Provincial Exam in 1936,[133] and Shandong held a spectacular Third Exam in 1935 which featured vicious brawling between rival administrative factions in the provincial *Guoshuguan* system.[134] However, the limited success of these *Guoshuguan* efforts showed that the brunt of national-scale *guoshu* work would have to be done by organizers and activists working independently of (although they were associated with) the Academy. In the next section, I will describe work, done mostly outside of the formal *Guoshuguan* system, to spread the national martial arts and doctrines of a national-essence physical culture to citizens all over China.

Ideologies of the Modern *Guoshu*

The state *Guoshuguan* operated in a vacuum sucked clean of all pressures but the national. A Central *Guoshu* Academy was required, all understood, because *guoshu* was a national (or nationalized - but this was beside the point) body of arts and knowledge. Although the *Guoshuguan* had to allow for local logics and discrepancies,

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[133] "Yu guoshu shengkao ji qishe dahui" [The Henan Provincial *Guoshu* Exam and Horsemanship-Archery Meet], *Tiyu* 4.10 (30 October 1936), pp. 15-16.

[134] Guo Hongru, "Shengkao fengchao liang ri ji" [A diary of two days of unrest at the Provincial *Guoshu* Exam], *Qiushi yuekan* 2.10 (10 July 1936), pp. 353-355.

it was likely difficult for local martial arts networks to evade its nationally-blessed mission to unify and disseminate the *guoshu*, and avoid being co-opted into the Academy apparatus. The *Guoshuguan* was a state manifestation of the national martial arts, leaving little ideological room for debate or challenge, but perhaps also leaving fewer Chinese convinced of its practicality in these fractious times.

The ideological debate carried on outside the reaches of the *Guoshuguan*, however, did face challenges, and did not always enjoy the direct backing of the state. Thus, the most diverse and interesting arguments for the pertinence of *guoshu* came from independent activists and educators who, if perhaps associated nominally with the Academy, had other means of making their voices heard throughout the martial arts and physical culture communities. The many martial artists who saw holes or deficiencies in the *Guoshuguan* production worked to buttress the state's *guoshu* program by introducing the logical arguments that would be needed to convince the modern Chinese public of the relevance of the martial arts. This section is a study of these forces and their 1930s efforts to make the martial arts truly a useful element of modern Chinese culture, by scientizing and unifying the old martial arts, and dressing them in the accouterments of types of modern physical culture (like sports and "mass *tiyu*") and of international modernity in general.

The first problem with which the *guoshu* community had to come to terms was the feudal, superstitious legacy of martial arts that still remained in the minds of many. This legacy was a historical problem, many explained, and not an inherent weakness of martial arts itself. Wu Zhiqing, leader of the Chinese *Wushu* Association of Shanghai during the 1920s, implicated members of all ranks of society in the decline of the arts:

> In the past, our nation's *wushu* had a glorious history, illustrating the great brotherhood and righteous courage inherent in our people....

> Unfortunately it declined in later years, with the emphasis on letters, and the neglect of the martial that still lay deep in the hearts of the people. Officials and gentlemen arrogantly felt that the study of boxing, the pushing up of one's sleeves and the courageous baring of one's arms, were things not fit for people of learning, and instead preferred to remain weak literati without the strength to bind a chicken. This was the refined attitude they insisted on, and so our nation's *wushu* went into deeper decline by the day. And then the European wind began to blow east, the new learning began to develop, and the average sportsman figured that the track and ball sports from the West made our nation's *wushu* look like a bowl of mud rice and dirt broth, not even condescending to look at it. It continued to decline, without a hope of ever being restored or rejuvenated. The only ones spreading it were the so-called "medicine hucksters," the people creating ruckuses in the market and blocking the streets with their cursed displays.[135]

Wu's *Outline of Guoshu Theory* also included a chapter titled "How *Guoshu* Was Ruined," where he catalogs the many reasons for the decline of martial arts over the centuries. Martial arts were never openly discussed, and skills were kept secret by petty factions. The terminology of martial arts was too abstruse and obscure for the masses to understand. All Chinese rulers after Qin Shihuang used the examination system to control the minds of the Chinese people and make them neglect their bodies. Governments, especially the hated Qing, opposed the private ownership of any weapons or the exercise of any martial thought that could be used against them. The *wushu* world was dominated by "the supernatural," "sorcery," and "occult talk in total darkness." And at the same time, the innate nature of the Chinese people worked against them, as their inborn benevolence (*ren'ai*) led them to see only struggle in the martial arts and to miss the point that peace is the very goal of *wushu*.[136]

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[135] Wu Zhiqing, *Guoshu lilun gaiyao*, p. 1.

[136] Wu Zhiqing, *Guoshu lilun gaiyao*, pp. 39-56.

The "Boxer bandits," whose 1900 uprising led to the imperialist ravages of the Eight-Nation Allied Expedition, continued to be a popular target of those tracing the degeneration of martial arts into superstitious, self-destructive mumbo-jumbo.[137] Paul Cohen has discussed the ambivalent historical views of the Boxers prevalent among anti-imperialist intellectuals of the 1920s.[138] I see the same trend continuing in the 1930s press as well. The Boxers were despised for their reckless superstition which endangered the nation at a crucial historical moment. Contemporary freaks or deviant nationalists, like Xikang Buddhist monks in Guangdong who proclaimed in 1934 that their chants would bring immunity to enemy poison gas attacks, could be dismissed as "Boxers" whose superstition mocked the scientific efforts of the Guomindang state.[139] But the same writers who condemned the senselessness of the Boxer uprising could defend the uses of martial arts within that movement,[140] or see the resulting Eight-Nation invasion as bringing forth the sprouts of a new Chinese physical culture emphasizing the importance of strong bodies.[141] Despite this ambivalence, the utter anti-scientific nature of the Boxers and "supernaturalists" like them through history became a specific arch-enemy of the new *guoshu* reformers. In 1934, the initial article of the radical new martial arts journal *Seek Truth* (*Qiushi jikan*) lambasted the backwards *wushu* schools who "cling to factional views, siding only with their own and

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[137] Liu Liqing, "Zhongguo wushu zuijin de qushi" [Recent trends in Chinese martial arts], *Nanfang zazhi* 1.6 (1 November 1932), p. 157.

[138] Paul A. Cohen, "The Contested Past," pp. 88-96.

[139] Yun, "Yihetuan de fuxing" [Revival of the Boxers], *Renyan* 16 (2 June 1934), p. 314.

[140] Li Dingfang, "Guoshu de diwei he jiazhi," p. 10.

[141] Liu Shenzhan, *Tiyu geming* [The tiyu revolution] (Nanjing: Zhongguo ribao, 1933), pp. 7-8.

felling all others, and cultivating slavish bigotry in all who enter. They are always bragging about themselves, but never teach their secrets to others, selling their bunkum to the fools who come to study with them, flaunting their artifice and dazzling all with their mystery and wonder."[142] In Ji'nan, the home of *Seek Truth*, and all over China, the fight to create a scientific and credible *guoshu* was on.

In the 1930s, every responsible *guoshu* advocate had developed an answer to stop the "unscientific" argument - namely, as track and field expert Xie Siyan explained, that *guoshu* was designed and taught by "those who can't even read the character *ding*"[143] - dead in its tracks. This most damning of legacies, that the new *guoshu* was merely heir to the crackpot mysticism of hermit martial artists of the feudal age, simply had to be broken for the *guoshu* to flourish. Liu Shenzhan, in his book *Tiyu Revolution*, got to the heart of this issue in 1933:

> If one wants to speak about "scientific" or "unscientific," we should first be clear about the origin of this phrase "science." The phrase "science" naturally is a foreign one, although ancient China also had similar phrases like *zhizhi* ("pursuit of knowledge") and *gewu* ("investigation at the source").
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> I feel that when Chinese trust foreign talk about "science" and suppose that their own nation's things are "unscientific," then this is a basic sign of the loss of self-confidence. China has had several thousand years of civilization; isn't this civilization the crystallization of "science"? For example, Chinese palaces, homes, towers, pavilions, bridges and other edifices are all built according to the principles of

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[142] Xu Zhen, "Fakan ci" [Words to introduce this periodical], *Qiushi jikan* 1.1 (10 October 1934), p. 1.

Seek Truth demonstrated its social commitment by offering free issues to any readers without the means to purchase the .40 *yuan* journal themselves, but also warning: "If any good-for nothing uses a false name, or sends in this form even though they do have the means to buy this magazine, and we find out, they will be punished severely. Not only will we take the issues back, but we will also publicly announce their moral bankruptcy!" "Youdai juan" [Coupon], *Qiushi jikan* 1.1 (10 October 1934), back of issue.

[143] Xie Siyan, "Ping *Dagongbao* qi ri sheping" [A critique of the social commentary published in *L'Impartial* on the 7th], *Tiyu zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly)* 30 (27 August 1932), p. 2.

> geometry, physics, etc.... Let us go back to "*guoshu*." Why is "*guoshu*" unscientific? We cannot dismiss the whole of *guoshu* as unscientific just because it has a few faults, and neglect *guoshu*'s value. Why are all *guoshu* practitioners broad-shouldered and strong, rarely falling ill and living long lives? The most amazing aspects of *guoshu* - long fists and short fists, the fists and the feet, left and right, high and low, horsemanship and archery - every single one of these uses geometry, physics, mechanics, and such, so they are just as scientific as track and field or ball sports. Those who criticize *guoshu* as unscientific simply have never studied it, so how can they blindly criticize it?[144]

Liu's argument not only removed the formidable realm of "science" from the foreign and placed it back into Chinese history, epistemology and culture, but also located *guoshu* squarely in the center of this Chinese scientific tradition, deftly rendering invalid the cursed equation "*guoshu* = Chinese = unscientific" that had stood for so long.

Defining a scientific *guoshu* was a task that headed Wu Zhiqing's agenda as well. His 1931 book *A Scientized Guoshu* was a presentation of seven martial arts routines, supplemented with 48 photographic plates which would allow the reader "to understand at a single glance, with no difficulties standing in the way," and accompanied by explanations of these different movements' physiological, psychological and educational uses.[145] Wu's 1935 *Outline of Guoshu Theory* devoted parts of three chapters to the relationship between *guoshu* and different scientific theories and disciplines, from Einstein's theory of relativity to the findings of Darwin, from the biological differences between Southern and Northern Chinese to mathematical terms like "Natural value."[146]

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[144] Liu Shenzhan, *Tiyu geming*, pp. 15-16.

[145] Wu Zhiqing, *Kexuehua de guoshu* [A scientized *guoshu*] (Shanghai: Dadong shuju, 1931).

[146] Wu Zhiqing, *Guoshu lilun gaiyao*, pp. 30-34, 57-63, 81-93.

However, besides merely identifying *guoshu* with the precise, tested and socially accepted theories of science, Wu also provided a critique of the scientific privileging of the modern over the ancient:

> Most peoples that had ancient cultures do not have written records [of these ancient cultures]. But a lack of written records does not imply a lack of history. Rather, it is just that written records only came later as these cultures developed. And it is also true that before the advent of written records, there were of course plenty of things that could have been recorded, even though they were not recorded. In China this is true, and this situation was quite common, and includes [among these unrecorded items] martial arts.[147]

In other words, *wushu* was not to be blamed for not leaving all its methods and truths to posterity in the form of written records. Instead, it was the fault of those modernists, blinded by the cult of science, who accepted as valid and worthwhile only those cultural entities which had been put properly to paper.

Wu's dual presentation of a "scientized *guoshu*" - a body of practice and knowledge which was based on hard scientific properties, but which had to be brought back into the scientific canon which had ignored it for so long - captures the gist of the scientific *guoshu* push. Some pieces emphasized the inherent and superior science embodied by the martial arts. Chu Minyi, one of the greatest advocates for a rational new *guoshu*, illustrated the principles between the circular movements of the *taijiquan* and *baguaquan* styles with analogies from everyday modern life:

> If we use a fan, waving it back and forth in straight lines ... the breeze it gives off comes one wave at a time. But today's electric fans, which have four leaves spinning around in circles, give off a breeze that is continuous and uninterrupted. Or if we use oars to propel a rowboat, this again utilizes the straight line. But the propelling motion of a steamship is also circular, so the vessel moves forward in a stable and

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[147] Wu Zhiqing, *Guoshu lilun gaiyao*, p. 1.

> consistent manner. So we can see that circular exercise is in accord with science and is also more economical.[148]

Martial arts were, for Chu, every bit as much a part of Chinese modernity and modern common sense as were electric fans, steamboats, or automobiles (another of his favorite analogies). A movement, begun in the Ji'nan martial arts community, called "The Chivalrous Soul" (*da xia hun*), was based on "revolutionary philosophy," "scientific life" and "atheism," and was described as "occupying a page in the history of the motive force of human evolution."[149]

And if some saw science as missing from the ancient martial arts, it could easily be introduced to this realm. One author decried *taijiquan*'s lack of a technical terminology (*shuyu*), something requisite to any "specialized discipline," and undertook to design both vernacular Chinese and English terms for all 72 steps of the *taijiquan* routine. Some of the English "scientific" terms chosen ("Frictional Force" and "Neutral equilibrium"), however, worked better than others ("2 humeruses are drawn like a stiff bow" or "The highest Part of the Head is Hanged by thought").[150]

In this fight to prove that *guoshu* was, as one author explained, "one of the basic elements of the new civilization, a science in its own right,"[151] its advocates could never be too explicit about displaying *guoshu* in the most scholarly lights. In Beiping, a

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[148] Chu Minyi, "Tichang tiyu zhi zhen yiyi" [Promote the true meaning of physical fitness], *Dalu zazhi (La Terre)* 1.6 (1 December 1932), p. 23.

[149] An Ruoding, "Juantou ci" [Words to begin this volume], *Xiahun* 1 (10 October 1936), p. 1.

[150] Shen Jiazhen, "He wei taijiquan wudang quan (xu)" [What are *taijiquan* and *wudangquan*? (Continued)], *Tiyu* 4.12 (30 December 1936), pp. 6-14.

[151] Xie Xie, "Xie xu" [Xie's preface], in Wu Zhiqing, *Kexuehua de guoshu*, p. 1.

city plagued with "one-fist, one-kick, tiger-punching, dragon-kicking styles that confuse and mislead, and modern martial arts organizations who can still never leave the feudal imitate-the-teacher-and-pass-it-on structure," concerned *guoshu* activists formed a North China *Guoshu* Research Association in 1933.[152] In 1935, a new Central *Guoshu* and Physical Education Research Association was founded, with *Guoshuguan* granddaddy Zhang Zhijiang, Guomindang politicos Sun Ke, Yu Youren and Niu Yongjian and physical culture specialists Wu Yunrui, Cheng Dengke and Hao Gengsheng among its 17 Trustees.[153] Others hoped to use the trappings of scholarship and statistics to show *guoshu* as an even more precise entity than the Western *tiyu*. In the 1933 National Games official report, compilers took 48 pages to describe using charts, tables and pie graphs the results of the *guoshu* competition, as opposed to the 68 pages used to detail the scoring and results for all the eight other sports featured at the Games.[154]

Not all martial artists of the 1930s sought to drape themselves and their *guoshu* in these literary robes. The allied *Seek Truth* and "Chivalrous Soul" factions of Ji'nan worked hard to cultivate anti-intellectual stances that would privilege the martial arts themselves over any words that could be written about them. This position could be expressed in disingenuously brute fashion: "We are martial men, and don't know a

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[152] Mucheng, "Huabei guoshu yanjiuhui zhuiyilu" [Looking back on the North China *Guoshu* Research Association], *Qiushi yuekan* 2.10 (10 July 1936), p. 351.

[153] "Yi yue lai zhi tiyu xingzheng" [Sports administration this past month], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.9 (June 1935), p. 643.

[154] Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zong baogao shu*, Section 2, pp. 128-175.

thing about 'A-B-C' or 'a-i-u.' We are simply unsophisticated martial men, researching the martial arts."[155] Or it could take the form of a carefully-explained aversion to the phrase "*guoshu*," the simple "elegance" of which threatened to overshadow the diversity of, and the true issues facing, martial arts.[156]

An important setback to the scientific *guoshu* movement was the failed attempt to spread martial arts nationwide through the Nationalist educational system. As early as 1928, *Guoshuguan* head Zhang Zhijiang asked delegates to the First National Educational Conference to approve martial arts, a form much more "suitable to the national condition" than the "European-American-style training" used throughout China, as an integral part of Chinese physical education curricula.[157] However, Zhang's request was not approved, as educators likely felt that the mandatory sports and militarized *tiyu* already occupied enough resources and course time. Several in the *guoshu* and *tiyu* communities hoped to remedy this lack; Henan University Physical Education Director Wang Jianwu suggested that junior and senior high school students should be expected to master, respectively, three and six Chinese boxing styles in order

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[155] Mucheng, "Benkan de shiming" [The mission of this publication], *Xiahun* 1 (10 October 1936), p. 3.

Or see the broadside against "pandering" literati who turned out literature slandering martial arts and discouraging the youth of China. Ruoping, "You wenyi lianxiang dao zhishijie de guoshujia" [Turning from the world of letters to the *guoshu* artists in the intellectual community], *Qiushi yuekan* 1.6 (10 July 1935), pp. 237-238.

[156] Tian Zhenfeng, "Wei guoshu hu yuan" [Speaking up for the wronged *guoshu*], *Qiushi jikan* 1.2 (10 January 1935), pp. 14-16.

[157] Zhang Zhijiang, "Qing ling quanguo xuexiao ding guoshu wei tiyu zhuke an" [The request that *guoshu* be made a required subject in the nation's school's physical education curricula], in Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Quanguo tizong wenshi ziliao bianshen weiyuanhui, eds., *Tiyu shiliao di 16 ji: Zhongguo jindai tiyu yijuean xuanbian* [Historical materials on physical education, Volume 16: Collection of resolutions on modern Chinese physical education] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 90-91.

to be eligible for graduation.[158] Before 1940, when *guoshu* was finally approved as a part of the Nationalist education curriculum, school *guoshu* instruction appeared frequently in locales with long martial arts histories.[159] On the whole, however, a consistent *guoshu* presence in Nationalist schools was impossible to achieve during the 1930s.[160] Except perhaps for the iconoclastic Ji'nan figures mentioned above, this failure to integrate *guoshu* into mainstream education was a great disappointment for those hoping to bring the *wen* reinforcement back to the *wu* - as one writer put it, "using letters to expound and advocate *guoshu* as we use *guoshu* to defend the nation."[161]

What was the supreme goal of all this effort to embellish the scientific and rational aspects of the Chinese martial arts? If some simply wanted some modern recognition of their skills, and others hoped to deliver *guoshu* to its place in the physical culture hierarchy, others had much more grandiose plans. In the earliest days of the state *guoshu* movement, Chu Minyi wrote at length about traditional martial

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[158] Wang Jianwu, "Zhongxue tiyu shishi fang'an" [Plan for the implementation of secondary school physical education programs], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 3.1 (October 1935), p. 38.

[159] For example, see Qiao Keqin, "Ji 1929 nian Lanzhou shi xiaoxue lianhe yundonghui" [On the 1929 Lanzhou Municipal Elementary School Athletic Meet], *Gansu tiyu shiliao* 11 (September 1987), p. 33; *Guoli Chengdu daxue yilan* [Tour of National Chengdu University] (Chengdu: Chengdu daxue, 1929), p. 21; *Guoli Qingdao daxue yilan* [Tour of National Qingdao University] (1931), p. 166; "Henan sheng tiyu tongji" [Henan Province physical education statistics], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.6 (March 1935), pp. 412-413.

[160] Zhang Zhijiang, Central *Guoshuguan* head, was forced to open a Central *Guoshu* and *Tiyu* School in Nanjing in 1933 to cultivate a body of mainstream physical education teachers with a knowledge of the traditional martial arts. Zhang Changjiang, "'Guoti' jianxiao shimo" [The story of the establishment of the Central *Guoshu* and *Tiyu* School], *Tianjin tiyu shiliao* 6 (December 1985), p. 20.

[161] Pan Qifeng, "Xiwang guoshu jie" [My hopes for the *guoshu* community], in *Zhejiang guoshu youyihui huikan*, p. 29.

artists' lack of scientific understanding, and about the rewards that awaited those who worked to properly reform the *guoshu*:

> In the past, *guoshu* and physical fitness were two totally unrelated entities. Those who practiced martial arts in the past took martial capability as their only goal, never even uttering the words "physical fitness." They were even more ignorant about physiology and hygiene, mechanics and psychology, branches of science which are closely linked to *guoshu*. So the practice of these martial arts resulted in bodily harm...
>
> Now we know that China owns boxing styles which are the finest of all the *guoshu*, and which provide even and healthy physical development. We can scientize it now, using the methods of science to do this research - but how do we do this? It requires paying attention to mechanics and psychology, looking into physiology and hygiene, setting down rules and methods, and explaining it with sound theory.... This type of *guoshu* will be a scientific *guoshu* that suits the needs of physical fitness.
>
> We must enthusiastically promote *guoshu*, but towards what ends? We are not like the Empress Dowager of the dead Qing who wished to use Chinese *guoshu* to resist foreign guns and cannons. We do not believe that Chinese *guoshu* is just the greatest, and that learning it will solve all of our problems. And we don't believe that if everyone studies Chinese *guoshu*, then China will immediately become strong and powerful. Strengthening the nation will never be this easy. Our goals in working to promote *guoshu* are to gather together all those who excel in martial arts, and all of the finest points of martial arts. Then we can give this organized, systematized, scholarly and methodological *guoshu* to all the people of the world.... Spreading Chinese *guoshu* to the entire world will mean glad tidings for humanity.[162]

Besides the drive to scientize *guoshu*, which could lead, in the most optimistic scenarios, to a Chinese role in international science and culture, there was another mission facing the Chinese *guoshu* community with implications more relevant to the very survival of their nation. This struggle became known as the effort to "unify" the

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[162] Chu Minyi, "Zhongwei Chu Minyi shi zhi datan guoshu - feng wei renlei de fuyin" [Central Executive Committee member Chu Minyi's great hopes for *guoshu*: Presenting glad tidings to all humanity], *Jiaoyu zazhi (The Educational Review)* 20.12 (20 December 1928), pp. 3-4.

martial arts under the new nationalizing *guoshu* rubric. My discussion of the *Guoshuguan*'s work to gain a centralizing control over the many and diverse Chinese martial arts concentrated on the modern bureaucratic nature of this unifying impulse. However, this drive for unification was also meaningful to *guoshu* activists in terms of its nationalist connotations.

Guoshu was imagined to be more than just martial arts, but literally a body of "national skills" that could preserve the nation in its time of crisis. The fascistic "mass physical culture" described in Chapter Five was seen as able to produce a unified "*minzu* body," a nation-race taught to move as one in compulsory paramilitary training. Elite-level competitive sport, covered in Chapter Six, sought to strengthen the nation by presenting a sportsmanlike and united China to the sporting world. *Guoshu*, meanwhile, provided another model of a nationalized physical culture - the possibility of accomplishing modern goals of national unification and self-strengthening via the teaching and practice of specifically Chinese arts and movements. Where mass *tiyu* and competitive sports advocates, in the end, could only admit that their programs for Chinese strength depended on Italian, German and American inventions, only the *guoshu* community could make the rhetorical claim to Chinese purity, and to the direct correspondence between the fate of their "national arts" and the nation itself.

There were all sorts of ways in which this correlation was imagined. Some looked back into recent history and saw the lack of a unified *guoshu* body as the key factor allowing the oppression and misery suffered by Chinese of recent times at the hands of the Manchu rulers, warlords, foreign imperialists, and bandit gangs.[163] Others

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[163] Jiang Xiahun, "Guoshu yu tongyi" [*Guoshu* and unification], *Guoshu tongyi yuekan* 1.2 (20 November 1934), p. 4.

like Wu Zhiqing, focused outward, and hoped that a reformed, united *guoshu* would reintroduce the concept of "risk" to the Chinese people, most of whom "die in their hometowns, never taking a step out of the village gates. If they go to a city or a big port even once, they think they're Columbus discovering the New World. Or if they ride on a train or steamship a few times, they think they're Lindbergh crossing the Atlantic. This is not only pathetic, but also ridiculous."[164] Wu hoped that this sense of "risk" would carry over into China's task of reunifying the motherland, giving rise to Chinese braves who would replant the Chinese flag in the Tibetan and Mongolian territories lost during the recent centuries of Chinese weakness and apprehension.[165]

In one essay perhaps meant to be read on several different levels, an author longed for a wise "*guoshu* leader," who, like Liu Bei of the Three Kingdoms era, would surround himself with capable (martial arts) masters of all schools, in order to truly unify the fractious *guoshu* (or nation).[166] Tian Zhenfeng, publisher of Ji'nan's *Seek Truth*, wrote a piece on cooperation between *guoshu* factions in which he directly related this enterprise to the very survival of China's 400 millions.[167] And Chu Minyi, ever the dreamer, wrote in the inaugural essay for the journal *Guoshu Unification Monthly* that only a "unified" *guoshu* that was "scientized, particularized and common-ized," "organized, disciplined, scholarly and systematic," would be able to achieve a

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[164] Wu Zhiqing, *Guoshu lilun gaiyao*, pp. 77-78.

[165] Wu Zhiqing, *Guoshu lilun gaiyao*, p. 78.

[166] Qian Moming, "Guoshu jie xuyao he buxuyao de lingxiu" [Types of leaders which the *guoshu* community needs and does not need], *Qiushi yuekan* 2.3 (10 December 1935), p. 107.

[167] Zhenfeng, "Hezuo yu guoshu" [Cooperation and *guoshu*], *Qiushi yuekan* 1.6 (10 July 1935), pp. 235-236.

Chinese martial arts influence which was "internationalized, globalized, and humanized throughout the universe."[168]

Some authors were exceedingly specific in what a unified *guoshu* would entail. German-educated Cheng Dengke had four suggestions to expedite this process: (1) the establishment of a "National *Guoshu* Editing Committee" made up of experts in Chinese and Western medicine, physiology, hygiene, anatomy, psychology, education and *tiyu*, and charged with "eliminating the different factions;" (2) a "unified curriculum" for *guoshu* practice for five different age groups; (3) a national administrative structure split into five regional divisions; and (4) the training of "scientized *guoshu* specialists" and specialized translators to rework the new *guoshu* texts into foreign languages.[169] Others were more vague, relying on an "indescribable" corporeal faith in martial arts that transcended bureaucratic or scholarly approaches: "To revive the nation, and the people and their health, the basic 'experience' we need is not just 'rational,' and not just 'practical understanding,' but a kind of qualitative 'experience.' This kind of 'experience' can be understood but cannot be passed on orally; it can be felt but not spoken."[170]

Perhaps the most urgent spur to *guoshu* unification came again from the pages of *Seek Truth*, where resignation to the factionalized and divided state of 1930s *guoshu*

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[168] Chu Minyi, "Fakan ci" [Words to introduce this periodical], *Guoshu tongyi yuekan* 1.1 (20 July 1934), p. 2.

[169] Cheng Dengke, "Tongyi guoshu de guanjian" [My humble opinion on the unification of *guoshu*], *Guoshu, tiyu, junshi* 15 (1 February 1934) [Weekly feature in *Zhongguo ribao*]: 8.

[170] Tian Zhenfeng, "Jiji mantan" [A discussion of martial arts], *Qiushi jikan* 1.1 (10 October 1934), pp. 1-3.

was compared to "falling in love with a beautiful woman with syphilis, infecting your own body and eventually your descendants with syphilis - making the same mistakes again and again until the whole race is destroyed!"[171] This metaphor of the nation as healthy or syphilitic body is maybe the most appropriate description of the national role assigned to *guoshu* by its advocates. A *guoshu* refined by the related processes of "scientization" and unification would be just the thing to create a strong China, comfortable and confident in its modern use of its ancient heritage. But a *guoshu* bent on poisoning itself with the related viruses of premodern superstition or factionalism would only pass this bane on to the national body which moved its tendons, bones and muscles to these ancient *guoshu* rhythms. The theme of unification was much more a part of the discourse of 1930s *guoshu* than of the "mass tiyu" or the liberal sports model. As the only true physical manifestation of the national essence, *guoshu* could tolerate none of the difference or diversity that characterized these other schools of physical culture. Only concerted and serious efforts to unify a scientized *guoshu* could save China from these toxins of strife and dissension which threatened to infect the entire Chinese national family of arts and practices.

The martial arts narrative of the 1930s was based on the idea that a unified *guoshu* could be a unifying *guoshu*. But this would be more than merely letting newly-rectified names perform their tricks. The rational, disciplined, scientized and unified *guoshu* would have to be disseminated throughout society for the arts to transcend their traditional secretive mode and become somatic tributes to the unity and martial spirit of the Chinese nation. However, despite the claims to a national purity which

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[171] "Bian qian" [Opening words], *Qiushi jikan* 1.2 (10 January 1935), p. 2.

often accompanied the promotion of this perfected *guoshu*,[172] these martial arts actually seemed to flourish most when combined with the foreign and bedeviling calisthenics and sports forms which many hoped the *guoshu* could eventually replace. The state *Guoshuguan* apparatus hoped to establish martial arts as an independent form of physical culture worthwhile in its own right. However, their *guoshu* was still haunted by the legacy of the Pure Martial Association and its rise which had been dependent on its mixture of martial arts with more modern pastimes like soccer, ping-pong and roller skating.

The trappings of competitive sports were crucial to *guoshu*'s survival in the Nanjing Decade. The greatest public celebrations of the martial arts could only come with competitions like the *Guoshu* Exams or the *guoshu* events at the National Games.[173] In 1929, martial arts received great publicity with the two-week Zhejiang *Guoshu* Fair held in Zhejiang. The genre also won great face when Wang Ziqing, grand champion of the meet, showed the true "lofty character of the *guoshu* community" by electing to share his 5000 *yuan* prize money with the 25 other finalists who had reached the meet's last stage of competition.[174] Even radical Tian Zhenfeng

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[172] See, for example, the discussion of martial arts as a "uniquely Chinese way of physical fitness," made in a noisy *yang-tu* ("foreign vs. local") *tiyu* debate in the pages of Tianjin's *L'Impartial* (*Dagongbao*) in August 1932. Hsu Yuan-ming (Xu Yuanmin), *Zhanqian shinian Zhongguo tiyu sixiang zhi yanjiu (1928-1937)* [Research into Chinese physical education philosophy during the prewar decade (1928-1937)] (Taibei: Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue tiyu yanjiusuo Master's Thesis, 1990), pp. 73-74.

[173] *Guoshu* was also a featured competitive event in almost any municipal-, provincial- or regional-level meet in the 1930s.

[174] "Ben guan changwu dongshi Su Jingyou xiansheng zhici" [The speech by Mr. Su Jingyou, Chair of the Academy Standing Committee], in *Zhejiang guoshu youyihui huikan*, p. 18; "Wang Ziqing yanci" [The speech by Wang Ziqing], in *Zhejiang guoshu youyihui huikan*, p. 20.

of the Ji'nan journal *Seek Truth*, known to curse and even wish violence upon prima donna "athletes" taking part in Western-style sports,[175] envisioned 1930s *guoshu* in terms of modern-style competitions. Tian theorized on why the circular and piercing movements of the spear arts (*qiangshu*) were more appropriate for competition judging than the more strictly lateral and vertical motions of the cudgel arts (*gunshu*).[176] He also blasted Beiping *Guoshuguan* chief Xu Yusheng for "trying to destroy *guoshu*" when Xu, perhaps fearing a lessened role for the *Guoshuguan*, suggested in a *Huabei ribao* editorial that martial arts not be included in China's National Games.[177]

Guoshu also fit perfectly in the plans of several "mass *tiyu*" planners and activists. Wang Geng suggested the use of traveling martial arts teams not only to publicize the new *guoshu* but also to spread awareness of modern ideas of hygiene and physical fitness. One demonstration that he described, held before some four or five hundred people in Zhenjiang, Jiangsu, interspersed boxing and fencing routines with speeches on martial arts and their relation to good health, and literacy and the importance of education.[178] Cheng Dengke, foremost of the German-returned militarized *tiyu* planners, saw a curriculum combining activities like *guoshu*, calisthenics, gymnastics, military-themed "ball wars" and wrestling as the best way of

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[175] For example, see Tian Zhenfeng, "Huayun jishi" [A true record of the North China Games], *Qiushi jikan* 1.1 (10 October 1934), pp. 58, 78.

[176] Tian Zhenfeng, "Guan'gan hou de jianyi" [Post-spectatorship suggestions], *Qiushi jikan* 1.1 (10 October 1934), pp. 17-18.

[177] Tian Zhenfeng, "Guan'gan hou de jianyi," p. 20.

[178] Wang Geng, *Gonggong tiyuchang* [Public athletic grounds] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheng jiaoyuting, 1931), pp. 122-127.

creating a "revolutionary physical culture" where "the sports field is an amusement park and a battlefield."[179] The strident journal Cheng edited as a weekly Thursday supplement for *Zhongguo ribao* was even titled *Guoshu, Sports and Military Training* (*Guoshu, tiyu, junshi*). And Zhang Zhijiang, leader of the Central *Guoshuguan*, borrowed phrases from the mass *tiyu* movement when he talked about plans to "health-ize" and "warrior-ize" the Chinese masses, using martial arts to "train 400 million iron Hans with 800 million steel arms."[180]

The most outstanding example of these trends of *guoshu* integration into the dominant *tiyu* forms was a new form of exercise introduced by political figure and martial arts master Chu Minyi. This form, called *taijicao*, combined elements of the ancient *taijiquan* with modern *ticao* calisthenics. As Chu described in the preface to his 1933 book *Taijicao Instructions and Commands*, this innovation promised to solve the problems of *ticao* being too straight and rigid and not physiologically helpful, and of *taijiquan* being simply too difficult for any but the most dedicated martial artist to master.[181] The simplified and smooth movements of the six-segment, three-minute *taiji*-calisthenics standard routine were introduced to the public with a great demonstration held during the 1933 National Games. There, 2000 Nanjing elementary school students dressed in white shirts and shorts, followed their leader Chu, who

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[179] Cheng Dengke, "Tiyu junshihua de jiaoxue chuyi" [My humble opinions on pedagogy for a militarized physical education], *Jiao yu xue* 1.7 (1 January 1936), pp. 282, 287-288.

[180] Zhang Zhijiang, "Jinggao tongbao jiji lianxiu gong fu guonan" [A respectful warning to my compatriots to train urgently and together make it through this national crisis], in Zhang Zhijiang, *Guoshu yu guonan* [*Guoshu* and the national crisis] (Nanjing: Zhongyang guoshuguan, 1932), pp. 1-2.

[181] Chu Minyi, *Taijicao zhi shuoming ji kouling* [*Taijicao* instructions and commands] (Shanghai: Dadong shuju, 1933), p. 1.

directed the performance while perched atop two stacked tables. This triumphant demonstration was the result of six months' planning by Chu, who in April began meeting with Nanjing teachers and asking that they involve their students in this creation of a new "national-calisthenics" (*guocao*).[182]

Chu Minyi's *taijicao* was perhaps the most publicized form of the new rational, easy-to-learn *guoshu* which could now be classified as a valid form of physical culture. Chu, holder of a medical doctorate earned in France in the 1920s, was proud of the scientific nature of his creation. At the opening of his *Taijicao* Lecture Seminar sponsored by the Chinese *Tiyu* Association in 1934, he lectured on how his *taiji*-calisthenics fulfilled perfectly the original definitions of exercise (*yundong*), set down long before this term was contaminated by Western notions of sport: "The original definition of *yundong* is as follows: *yun* ("to move (something)") referred to the free coursing of blood through the veins, and *dong* ("to move") referred to the active movement of the bones and muscles."[183] This new *taiji*-exercise was a product of the modern and scientific China, not the feudal and unenlightened Chinese imperium. The mysticism of *taijiquan* was replaced by the simple routine of the *taiji*-calisthenics, its conflicting schools exchanged for one simple type and architect, its enigmatic terminology supplanted by easy-to-follow numbered orders, and the tranquil hush of its

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[182] Chu asked teachers to join him for three to five practice sessions, before they devoted two to three months teaching the routine to their students. Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui choubei weiyuanhui, ed., *Ershier nian Quanguo yundong dahui zong baogao shu*, Section 1, pp. 54-55.

The next year, Chu led a similar *taijicao* demonstration of 960 elementary students at the 18th North China Games, held in Tianjin. Yu Henian, "Di shiba jie Huabei yundonghui jiyao" [Report on the 18th North China Games]. *Hebei yuekan* 2.11 (November 1934), p. 5.

[183] Lin Dazu and Pan Cangshui, "Chu Minyi xiansheng yanjiang taijicao de yuanli" [Mr. Chu Minyi's lectures on the principles of *taijicao*], *Guoshu tongyi yuekan* 1.1 (20 July 1934), pp. 1-2.

ancient movements converted into a jaunty series of calls and counts.

Something else was changing about these martial arts, too. *Taijiquan* and martial arts in general in the past had been the province and the tool of the dispossessed and marginalized rural populace. This element of *guoshu*'s heritage was likely just as grating on educated and cosmopolitan martial artists like Chu.[184] As a result, one vision of the scientized and unified *guoshu* also seemed to include a bourgeiois-izing transformation as well. Chatterjee makes a similar point about the Bengali middle class, who looked to the popular to find the "timeless truth of the national culture" as they sought to "nationalize" themselves.[185] I see the same process unfolding in 1930s China, as urbanites also sought refuge in the "familiarity" of Chinese "traditions" like martial arts. If the *guoshu* was to be a rational manifestation of the national essence, of what it meant to be Chinese, then it was likely a small minority that hoped to identify this Chinese "essence" in laughable and crude peasant mysticism. What China's middle classes needed was a sanitized, structured version of this realm as well. This viewpoint certainly comes out in Chu's addresses, as he points out specifically for which members of the middle classes the *taijicao* has been designed:

> People are just like machines. If a machine is not used it will rust; if people do not move they also will deteriorate. The intellectual class consists of people who all use their brainpower but never exercise. This is why most of them are so physically weak. Students at vocational schools, peasant schools, work-study students, are always moving their bodies, so they do not need any more exercise. But it is among those studying letters or the law, that physical exercise simply needs to be

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[184] Besides impressing with his endless modern metaphors of *taijicao* and the workings of electric fans, steamboats and automobiles, Chu also made himself conspicuous at the 1929 Zhejiang *Guoshu* Fair, where he stood in front of spectators seated on the ground, dressed in a Western suit and using his own *kai-mai-la* to film the proceedings. *Zhejiang guoshu youyihui huikan*, p. 27.

[185] Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, pp. 72-73.

promoted.[186]

And if any question remained about Chu's vision of his *taijicao*, one only need look at the illustrations in his book *Taijicao Instructions and Commands*, where the sweater- and knickers-clad martial arts instructor guiding readers through the routine looked more like a natty golf pro than a conveyor of China's hoary physical culture wisdom.[187]

Nonetheless, Chu was as tireless in the promotion of his invention as he had been in condensing the many and diverse old forms into the new *taijicao*. More than 500 students graduated from Chu's *Taijicao* Lecture Seminar held in the summer of 1934. That same year, Chu collaborated with the Department of Education Summer Physical Education Session Alumni Association to establish a *Taijicao* Research Institute and a *Taijicao* Course-by-Mail Institute. The latter, open to any physical education teacher or enthusiast, consisted of correspondence on *taijicao* theory and details by mail (for a two-*yuan* fee), reinforced by free optional consultation with any of the 300-plus alumni of the Chu-run Department of Education program in Nanjing now teaching all over China.[188]

Chu translated his program into English and French, calling it "Circular Exercise" or "Exercise Circalaire" so as not to scare potential followers off with

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[186] Lin Dazu and Pan Cangshui, "Chu Minyi xiansheng yanjiang taijicao de yuanli," p. 1.

[187] Chu Minyi, *Taijicao zhi shuoming ji kouling*, pp. 11-37.

[188] Four scholarships were available to students submitting the most outstanding essays on the principles of *taijicao*. "Ben tongxuehui zhuban Taijicao hanshou xuexiao" [The Alumni Association announces its *Taijicao* Course-by-Mail Institute], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.1 (10 October 1934), pp. 110-111.

Twelve *Taijicao* students, teaching or studying in Zhejiang, Nanjing, Fujian, Shanghai, Anhui, Shanxi, Jiangsu and Shandong, graduated from the Institute's first session. "Taijicao hanshou xuexiao xiaoxi" [News from the *Taijicao* Course-by-Mail Institute], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.6 (March 1935), p. 463.

antiquated *taiji* terminology.[189] He presented it at the Belgian Centennial Exposition, where "European and American educators and physical education specialists agreed that it was a new discovery for international physical education."[190] *Taijicao* was featured in the film, made especially for entry in the 1936 Olympic Sports & Physical Education Film Contest, of Chu Minyi himself demonstrating "our nation's ancient *tiyu* styles" for the international sporting audience that would gather in Berlin that year.[191] And *taijicao* served as the opening to the performance put on by China's nine-member *guoshu* team (hand-picked by Chu) at this Berlin Olympiad before 30,000 fans, whose applause for the act "reverberated up to the heavens."

Coming from a man who had written of the "glad tidings for humanity" to be achieved by a modernized *guoshu*, Chu's flair for the international should not be surprising. Chu, and perhaps others without the temerity to suggest such a bright future for the martial arts just yet, understood international acceptance of China's national arts as both the validation of *guoshu*'s scientific worth and the supreme proof that China belonged in, and had contributions to make to, the modern world. Chu saw himself as a true Chinese visionary. He rooted himself in the Chinese martial tradition, often growing his hair and beard long in an ancient sagely style, or challenging Mongol princes to horse races in Nanjing's Central Stadium.[192] But no one who ever saw Chu

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[189] Chu Minyi, "Taijicao zhi tuanti biaoyan" [Group *taijicao* demonstrations], *Kangjian zazhi (Good Health Magazine)* 1.3 (1 July 1933), p. 3.

[190] Taijicao hanshou xuexiao and Taijicao yanjiuhui, "Taijicao" [*Taijicao*], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.6 (March 1935), p. 415.

[191] "Yi yue lai zhi tiyu xingzheng" [Sports administration this past month], *Qinfen tiyu yuebao (The Chin Fen Sports Monthly)* 2.12 (September 1935), p. 837.

[192] "Chu Minyi yu Menggu wanggong saima" [Chu Minyi rides with the Mongol princes]. *Tiyu*

posed shirtless and flexing in *The Modern Student*,[193] heard his metaphors of *taijicao* and the workings of electric fans and automobiles, or read of his martial arts-themed inventions like the *Taiji*-ball or the *Taiji*-baton devices,[194] would ever have doubted his devotion to a modern China at home in the new scientific and rational world order.

But Chu's commitments to his China and to international modernity presented dilemmas that he was never able to escape. In 1935, he digressed from an article on *guoshu* to discuss the superior solar calendar known as the "national calendar" (*guoli*) in the Republican era (and still today in Taiwan). Chu took exception to this terminology, suggesting instead the term "public calendar" (*gongli*), arguing that "we can't call it the national calendar because it was not discovered by China." His point simply was to illustrate the double-edged nature of the "national" *guo* terminology that expressed the uniqueness of the nation, but also drew boundaries between it and other nations.[195] Chu's career (and likely the careers of many others) in the *guoshu* movement was marked by this struggle between the uniquely Chinese and the scientifically international, between a national essence and a cosmopolitan common sense. His starry-eyed idealism led Chu and his *taijicao* to a sorry fate, however. In 1939, he joined the "peace movement" led by his brother-in-law Wang Jingwei, taking

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zhoubao (The Sporting Weekly) 46 (17 December 1932), p. 2.

[193] "Tiyu zhuanjia Chu Minyi boshi zhi tige" [Physical education expert Dr. Chu Minyi's physique], *Xiandai xuesheng (The Modern Student)* 3.1 (October 1933), photo before p. 1.

[194] Shanghai's Sino-French Engineering School began manufacturing these devices in 1930, and Chu showed them off in a series of demonstrations at the Fifth National Games in 1933. Ying Ji, "Tiyu jie zhenwen ji changshi" [News and general knowledge from the *tiyu* world], in *Quanguo yundong dahui yaolan* [Guided tour of the National Games] (Hangzhou: Quanguo yundong dahui xuanchuanbu, 1930), pp. 36-37.

[195] Chu Minyi, "Guoshu yu tiyu" [*Guoshu* and physical culture], *Tiyu zazhi* 1 (4 April 1935), pp. 2-3.

several top posts in Wang's puppet Nanjing state. Chu's *taijicao* became the official "citizen's calisthenics" (*guomin ticao*) of the regime, and a great Citizen's Calisthenics Meet was held in 1941 to mark the anniversary of the national government's "relocation" to Nanjing.[196] But after the end of the war, things quickly went downhill for Chu, as they did for most who tried to work for peace and Pan-Asianism under the Japanese. Chu was arrested, imprisoned in Suzhou and sentenced to death in 1946. The death sentence was soon carried out, but only after, legend has it, one last serene and dignified *taijiquan* routine performed by Chu before the eyes of his stunned executioners.

Denouement: The Second Official Death of Martial Arts

The fate of the martial arts in Republican China was indeed an odd one. Where the orthodox forms of modern physical culture came to China via foreign agents and processes, *wushu* was brought to urban locales by the late Qing exodus of itinerant rural jobseekers to large cities. While May Fourth modernists hoped to seal the martial arts tightly in their feudal coffins, literate and patriotic *wushu* aficionados built a new future for their arts based on modern ideas of the nation, science and sexual equality. When the martial arts were dismissed as hopelessly Chinese and fatally particular, the *Jingwu* Association created a martial arts dynasty by mixing their *wushu* with Western

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[196] "Jiaoyubu canjia gezhong jinian huodong de wenjian" [Documents from Department of Education participation in any type of commemorative event], File 2078, Folder 52, Second Historical Archives, Nanjing, China.

Chu also presided over a similar "Citizen's Calisthenics Meet" that year at the Anhui provincial capital in Bengbu. Zhou Bu, "Taijicao shihua" [True stories about *taijicao*], *Anhui tiyu shiliao* 4 (July 1983), pp. 24-25.

sports and hobbies, and by vigorously disseminating their word to Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia starving for a culture both Chinese and martially potent. When the Nanjing Guomindang state attempted to craft these arts into national arts manifesting a purely national essence, practical *guoshu* promoters soon found that the martial arts were most accessible to young Chinese when served with equal portions of modern competition and physical education philosophy. And when the Guomindang *tiyu* apparatus realized *guoshu*'s value as a supplementary Orientalizing counterpart to the Western-dominated Olympic movement sports, sending a *guoshu* demonstration team to the 1936 Berlin Olympiad, they were discouraged that this only real Chinese triumph of the whole Games was understood by the world as an impressive, but ultimately meaningless, demonstration - and not a victory.

Oddly, the proud *guoshu*, polished and practiced, scientized and unified for a Nanjing Decade, never survived the crisis of wartime as a cohesive nationalized institution. *Guoshu* became a popular aspect of the wartime Nationalist physical culture project in Chongqing, and finally ascended to a spot in the educational system in 1940, after a decade of lobbying by *Guoshuguan* leader Zhang Zhijiang. But in 1942 it was suddenly eliminated from the state curriculum, never to return.[197] When the war with Japan gave way to a civil war against Mao Zedong's red bandits, the martial arts never were trotted out as an inspiring instance of "national essence." The brutal ironies of civil war left untenable all of the easy nationalist tropes of resistance against imperialist brutality. The Seventh National Games of 1948, a final abject display of the Guomindang's sham, moth-eaten grandeur, featured the martial arts no longer as the

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[197] Lin Boyuan, *Zhongguo wushu shi*, p. 454.

national *guoshu*. Instead, boxing (*quanshu*) and archery showed up merely as afterthought demonstration events (attracting six and 16 participants, respectively), along with mini-soccer, badminton and water polo![198] This collective distaste for the martial arts even spread to the Communist movement, where a 1948 literary inquisition targeted Wang Lin for the feudal nature of his story of Chinese martial arts defeating the Japanese enemy - by the 1980s, of course, a thoroughly condoned and encouraged genre.[199]

A leading *guoshu* activist executed as a traitor, the entire culture ignored by Guomindang educational bureaucrats during the 1930s, and dropped like a hot potato by the postwar *tiyu* establishment. The makings of a narrative of failure? An ironic story of the cold-blooded liquidation of the national arts once meant to save the nation and bring "glad tidings to humanity"? Perhaps, for those who really believed that a united and scientized *guoshu* could really accomplish all these things. Could those who had devoted so much time and effort to the martial arts be anything but bitter at the Nationalist (and then Communist) regime that left these ancient Chinese arts to wither in the Cold War winds? The work of urban organizations like the *Jingwu*, the Nanjing state's *Guoshuguan* system, and independent scientific *guoshu* activists had turned the martial arts from a modern Chinese laughingstock into a proudly native and symbolically "unified" element of modern physical culture in just over a decade. Yet

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[198] These 22 athletes (17 men, five women) represented the Shanghai, Zhejiang, Police, Shandong, Sichuan, Hubei and Hankou teams. *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui zhixu ce* [Official program of the Seventh National Games] (Shanghai, 1948), p. 115.

[199] The martial arts were also an object of the PRC's 1950s campaigns against feudal superstition. Edward Friedman, Paul G. Pickowicz and Mark Selden, *Chinese Village, Socialist State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 106, 216.

once again, *guoshu* was disowned like the proverbial stepchild which martial artists had screamed for years that they were not.

This surprising development should be understood less as an epistemological problem, of the differences between "*wushu*" and "*guoshu*," for example, than simply the logical result of the crisis of the Nationalist-Communist civil war. What could be the use of a "national essence," or of ancient movements and philosophies branded into the muscles and psyches of the descendants of the Yellow Emperor, when the leaders of the Chinese nation dragged society down into the violent and tragic morass of civil war? Martial arts profited from a self-Orientalizing agenda in the 1980s. "New Age" trends in the West, combined with searches for Chinese pre-capitalist "authenticity" throughout Greater China, created a space for invented traditions of a timeless martial arts to flourish. The late 1940s civil war period, however, obviously offered no such stimulus for this realm now so dependent on the support of the nation-state. Nothing could stop those devoted practicioners who practiced martial arts on the local level, independent of official ideology and nationalist discourse.[200] On the national level, however, there was simply very little room for martial arts in civil war (or later, Cold War) China.

The roots of this modernized Chinese physical culture lay in the ongoing crisis of Japanese imperialism in the early decades of the Republic. However, victory against the Japanese, and the civil war that followed, left no choice but to abandon it. *Guoshu*

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[200] Records remain from 13 private martial arts organizations, like the Loyalty-Virtue Boxing Club, the Lingnan *Guoshu* Research Society and the Moral Martial Study Society, founded in Shanghai between 1946 and 1949. Mo Yi, "Sishi niandai Shanghai de wushu tuanti" [Martial arts organizations of 1940s Shanghai], *Shanghai tiyu shihua* 24 (September 1989), pp. 45–47.

had brought great thrills - the 2000 kids doing *Taijicao* with Chu Minyi, the extension of the *Guoshuguan* apparatus deep into Northern Chinese society, the wonderful demo at the Berlin Olympics - but the depressing reality of Chinese fighting Chinese in the late 1940s quickly scraped all the luster off of these so-called "national essence" forms.

Times have been much more right for the martial arts since the 1970s in Hong Kong and Taiwan and the 1980s in China. New forms of nationalism and transnational capitalism indeed have brought "glad tidings" to private martial arts instructors and performers all over the world. Free of the crises which forced Chinese culture to repudiate martial arts twice earlier in this century, martial arts could now develop in environments free of the obstacles of doubt and distrust that blocked its way during Republican times. It took decades of abuse, humiliation and neglect, but anyone involved with the martial arts movement in the Republican period would surely be proud of how this once-disdained culture has truly become one that represents to the world the strength, uniqueness and commercial prowess of the Chinese people.

CHAPTER 8

Tiyu During Wartime: The Nationalist-Communist-"Puppet" Contest for the National Body, 1937-1948

This final chapter addresses the many loose and split ends into which Republican China, and its physical culture project, unthreaded by the late 1930s and 1940s and the coming of total war with Japan and then civil war. It covers a long stretch of time, the 11 wartime years between 1937 and 1948, and large spread of *tiyu* experiments, from Chongqing in the southwest to Yan'an in the northwest, from Xinjing in the northeast to Taipei off the southeast coast. Each segment of this story told here could and should be the subject of more lengthy and substantive analysis, but here I discuss mainly the common origins and characteristics of the physical culture worlds in these different wartime environments.

Collapsing these different circumstances and conditions into one chapter perhaps threatens to give the impression that the story of physical culture in Republican China was essentially concluded by the time total war broke out in July 1937, that the wartime period was only a predictable playing-out of forms and models constructed during a more vibrant era. This is hardly the goal of this chapter. However, all of these different *tiyu* movements discussed here do trace back to, and never depart radically from, the same established traditions of physical culture in a modern China. There was a surprising lack of dramatic struggle between, or contesting of, *tiyu* forms under these different regimes. However, this is obviously not to say that forms of governance or more practical life choices were by any means the same in these different environments. And surely specific material conditions in these areas produced different understandings

of what exactly modern *tiyu* meant in Nanjing, Chongqing, or Yan'an. What this chapter does show, however, is that the established modern *tiyu* structure was so logical and powerful by the 1930s that few could afford to try to change it in drastic ways. But some adjustments were made to the dominant *tiyu* structures, particularly by Chongqing Nationalists and Communists in the Jiangxi Soviet, adjustments that eventually became part of the Cold War *tiyu* models constructed in the PRC and Taiwan after the anti-Japanese and civil wars covered here.

Tiyu in the Nationalist Territories, 1937-1945

> "You have grown so handsome, Ting-Yu, and your muscles are hard like young mountains."
>
> He kissed her, and then he said, "All China has muscles now, and we know how to use them."
>
> - from *Westward to Chungking* (1944)[1]

The end of Chapter Five covered briefly the fate of the doomed Seventh National Games, scheduled to begin on 10 October 1937 in Nanjing's Central Stadium in the sacred Purple Mountains. These Games, up until the eruption of full-scale war in July of that year, were understood as a valuable chance for the Guomindang state *tiyu* bureaucracy to finally unite the "mass *tiyu*" and elite-level competitive sports modes of physical culture - modes that in sometimes complementary, sometimes conflicting ways sought to build muscles in all Chinese and teach them how to use them. This chance never came, as the ravages of the Japanese war machine soon sent government, educational, intellectual and financial elites packing west for more friendly environs.

The tragedies of war did not stop the pursuit of the *tiyu* enterprise in Nationalist

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[1] Helena Kuo (Guo Jingqiu), *Westward to Chungking* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1944), p. 239.

China, however. Agents of the *tiyu* project, retreating west and finally settling in the provisional capital of Chongqing, continued and intensified the Nationalist physical culture programs to reach and teach all China's citizens through the powerful motions and disciplines of *tiyu*. For participants in Nationalist areas of China, this wartime *tiyu* became an important way of living and creating the wartime experience. Forced migrations across the nation, the mobilizations of populations into sporting and exercise cultures, and understandings of the very meanings of these physical activities themselves, all allowed those involved in the wartime *tiyu* world to fashion new imaginings of their China and their role in it. It is certainly difficult to argue with critiques of the corruption, nepotism, short-sightedness and reactionary bent that were to doom the Nationalist regime's efforts to complete its revolution on the Chinese mainland. But the popular portrayal of the "decay" or "rot" of the Guomindang during these years in Chongqing is clearly not a model that can describe the wartime *tiyu* enterprise, which developed further Nanjing Decade trends of mass and militarized physical culture which could later be found in the *tiyu* of the early People's Republic.

The Wartime Educational Migration and *Tiyu* on the Run

Some of the most romantic accounts of *tiyu* during wartime come from the grueling long-distance treks made by entire Chinese universities retreating to the interior. By 1939, two years after hostilities began, 34 of China's 108 institutions of higher learning had been uprooted and moved to the inland provinces of Hunan, Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Shaanxi and Gansu.[2] By the end of the war 52

[2] Hubert Freyn, *Chinese Education In the War* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Limited, 1940; Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1974 reprint), p. 11.

institutions had made this move.[3] These mobile institutions included many physical education schools and departments that, like their peers in other specialized disciplines, now had to improvise or go without the facilities crucial to their craft. And besides striving to maintain programs designed to maintain standards of instruction for their own students, these groups of physical culturists also were able to bring their science to the communities that hosted their efforts.

During the fall and spring of the 1936-37 school year, the P.E. Department at Hangzhou's Zhejiang University enjoyed a great string of honors and progress. Department head Shu Hong was welcomed raucously back to campus in September after returning from Berlin, where he won glory for China by refereeing the US-Canada basketball championship game. Zhejiang U. defeated the Central Aviation Academy to capture first prize in the 1937 provincial basketball tournament. And the university had just proudly opened a new state-of-the-art swimming pool in the summer of 1937 when total war began, and the elite institution was forced to head southwest, to Jiande in western Zhejiang and then to Ji'an and Taihe in central Jiangxi.[4] However, the resourceful Director Shu was able to keep morale up with his construction on the Taihe campus of a "natural pool" on the banks of the Gan River. Similar natural pools were constructed at later temporary Zhejiang University campuses in Yishan, Guangxi and

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[3] Ou Tsuin-chen (Wu Junsheng), "Education in Wartime China," in Paul K. T. Sih (Xue Guangqian), ed., *Nationalist China During the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945* (Hicksville, NY: Exposition Press, 1977), p. 99. Of these 108 institutions, the only one not forced to move or close (or both) was the Xinjiang College.

[4] Yu Chengzao, Zhao Shanxing and Peng Shixun, "Huainian Tiyu zhuren Shu Hong laoshi" [Remembering our Physical Education Director Mr. Shu Hong], in Guizhou sheng Zunyi diqu difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, eds., *Zhejiang daxue zai Zunyi* [Zhejiang University in Zunyi] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 1990), pp. 341-347.

Zunyi, Guizhou. His emphasis on sportsmanship led to a new spirit of responsibility that some of the school's athletes now remember as unique to the wartime period. On basketball teams coached by Shu during the war, in the case of a bad pass the passer would apologize, "My fault," while his teammate would protest, "No, I was in the wrong position." Not all wartime athletes shared this new civic pride. Yu Chengcao was punched in the face by an Infantry University basketball player frustrated at not being able to defend Yu well during the 1940 Zunyi Youth Basketball Tourney.[5] But incidents like these, which reflect more vividly the frustrations and conflicts of the trying war period, are still remembered as isolated instances, aberrations from a special wartime cooperative spirit.

In 1937, the Central *Guoshu* and *Tiyu* School was forced to relocate from Nanjing to Changsha. Several of the school's basketball and martial arts standouts were lucky enough to go on a tour of Southeast Asia in affiliation with the Chinese Red Cross, participating in exhibitions in Hong Kong, Manila, Cebu, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok and Penang to raise money for war refugees.[6] Those left behind, like educators and students of all China's schools on the move, endured hunger and dreary accommodations as they attempted to keep their spirits up and maintain a proper *tiyu* ethic. In 1938, *GuoTi* (the school's abbreviated name) moved to Guilin, and was able to take over a city park on Liqun Road. The meager facilities there, consisting of just one basketball court, forced the school's instructors now to focus exclusively on martial arts and basketball. This they did with a vengeance during the six months they

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[5] Yu, Zhao and Peng, "Huainian Tiyu zhuren Shu Hong laoshi," pp. 345-348.

[6] Zhang Changjiang, "'Guoti' jianxiao shimo" [The story of the establishment of the Central *Guoshu* and *Tiyu* School], *Tianjin tiyu shiliao* 6 (December 1985), p. 21.

were in Guilin. The school started a new basketball fever in Guilin, and over one hundred games were played between the *GuoTi* team and local clubs like the Skeletons, the Crowdpleasers and the September Eighteenthers, whose names all reflected different aspects of the wartime experience. Martial arts expositions featuring famed performers from Wuhan, Guangzhou and Kunming also excited Guilin crowds interested in martial Chinese entertainments that could bring rays of hope and national inspiration during these trying times.[7]

These *tiyu* activities themselves did not constitute their participants any differently than when these forms were advocated and spread during the Nanjing Decade. Instead, the important meanings they supplied should be understood both in terms of their new audiences, and the mechanisms at work between more urbane and *tiyu*-experienced newcomers and the local "provincials" or "natives." This migration of educational elites to southwest cities like Zunyi, Guilin, Kunming and Chongqing resulted in these populations being imagined and included into a national community in ways they never had been before. No longer unknown people in exotic locales, the residents of these cities were discovered by these elites as individuals with the capacity to discipline themselves as healthy citizens just as their coastal compatriots had done for decades now.[8]

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[7] Quan Jun and Wang Chengrong, "'Guoti' zai Guilin" [The Central *Guoshu* and *Tiyu* School in Guilin], *Guangxi tiyu shiliao* 8 (October 1984), pp. 50, 31. The school would continue to move, from Guilin to Longzhou on the Guangxi-Vietnam border, Kunming, Chongqing and finally settling in Beibei, Sichuan in 1942.

[8] The migration opened up great opportunities in the field of "frontier exploration" (of the region's geology, geography, flora, fauna, and residents) - terms that surely suggest the traditional anthropological approach taken toward the peoples of these areas by these educational elites. However, Hubert Freyn records that Southwest Associated University students were very pleasantly surprised by the "national consciousness" exhibited by Miao residents of Guizhou to their guests of these "civilizing groups" (as some of these coastal elites described themselves). Freyn, *Chinese Education In the War*, pp. 37, 83, 131.

The war brought Ma Yuehan, famed Qinghua University *Tiyu* Professor and Head Coach of the 1936 Chinese Olympic Team, to Kunming as a faculty member of the new and prestigious Southwest Associated University. Besides his teaching duties, Ma threw himself wholeheartedly into developing the *tiyu* scene in Kunming. In his capacity as Yunnan Province *Tiyu* Czar (*duxue*, under the provincial Education Department), Ma organized a Kunming Intercollegiate Athletic Conference (Southwest, Yunnan, and Tongji Universities and the Air Force Academy), transformed Kunming's China P.E. Normal School into the Yunnan Province Physical Education Training School, lectured in middle schools on the connections between hygiene and physical fitness, put on five city-wide athletic meets, and sponsored several sports exhibitions pitting top Chinese teams against American and British military basketball, baseball, tennis and soccer squads.[9]

Kunming, formerly dependent on national cultural trickle-downs from Chengdu and Chongqing, immediately experienced the spread of agents of modernity like sports with the sudden presence of these educational elites from Beiping and Tianjin (home of the three universities which merged into the new Southwest Associated University). Although Kunming was no stranger to *tiyu* by the late 1930s, during the war newcomers like Ma worked to develop the physical culture enterprise there to levels of saturation rivaling China's coastal metropoles. By 1939-40, the pages of *Zhongyang ribao* and *Yunnan ribao* regularly carried news about the Kunming Municipal *Tiyu* Research Society, the Kunming Spring Men's and Women's Hand Grenade Throwing

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[9] Ma Yuehan, "Zai Kun tiyu gongzuo ba nian huigu" [Looking back on eight years of physical culture work in Kunming], *Zhengyibao*, 10 September 1946, reprinted in *Yunnan tiyu wenshi* 7 (December 1986), p. 10; Huang Manyan, "Ma Yuehan jiaoshou zai Kunming shiqi de jishu" [A record of Professor Ma Yuehan's time in Kunming], *Yunnan tiyu wenshi* 6 (July 1986), pp. 26-29.

Contest, Kunming Healthy Baby Contests, Youth Sports Weeks, a Yunnan Uprising Commemorative Marathon, and *Duanwujie* Dragon Boat Races (which were filmed by the Central Motion Picture Department Outdoor Film Squad).[10] Top finishers in a Rowing Contest sponsored by Kunming's New Life Movement Promotion Society identified themselves as members of the Amateur Friendship Society, tailors, Tongji University engineering and medical students, merchants, soldiers and simply as Kunming residents.[11]

Yiliang County, 30 miles east of Kunming, formed a County *Tiyu* Association in 1938. But standards were stringent in these modern nationalist organizations; explicitly barred from membership were any individuals who "violated the Three People's Principles in word or action," "deprived others of their civil rights," were mentally ill, or who gambled or smoked opium.[12] And these Kunming operatives spread their disciplines even farther out into the reaches of Yunnan province. In 1941, after Japanese forces occupied Vietnam, the "Yunnan-Guizhou Pacification Office," based in the Yunnan capital, sent army engineering corps to Malipo County on the Vietnam border to destroy roads and bridges that would make a Vietnam-Yunnan crossing more practical for Japanese troops. Their accomplishments in Malipo also included planning and execution of a massive three-day Anti-Japanese National

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[10] "Jiuwen zai deng" [Old news published again], *Yunnan tiyu shiliao* 2 (December 1983), pp. 43-44; "Jiuwen zai deng" [Old news published again], *Yunnan tiyu wenshi* 3 (June 1984), pp. 42-43; "Kang Ri zhanzheng shiqi Yunnan tiyu shiliao liu ze" [Six sports history items from the Anti-Japanese War era], *Yunnan tiyu wenshi* 13 (October 1991), pp. 52-53.

[11] "Kang Ri zhanzheng shiqi Yunnan tiyu shiliao liu ze," p. 53.

[12] "Yijiusanba nian de Yunnan sheng Yiliang xian tiyuhui zhangcheng" [The 1938 Yunnan Province Yiliang County *Tiyu* Association Constitution], *Kunming tiyu wenshi* 1 (1986), pp. 22, 63.

Salvation Athletic Meet in Shuidongping Village, which drew more than three thousand fans who enjoyed sporting contests, Boy Scout and military drill exhibitions, and who even donated money to the national salvation movement.[13] The sporting movement intensified by these national forces in Kunming thus created an even wider nexus of personal discipline and national identity that allowed people in the city and beyond to experience their nation and their role in it in ways they had never known.

These southwest cities hosting the coastal cultural enterprises in wartime retreat were surely sites of conflict between "native" groups and the newcomers who knocked older hierarchies out of balance. But one does not have to launch into a paean to the mass educational migration having "safeguarded the cream of the intelligentsia and the cultural heritage of the nation"[14] to see that this mass progress did effect great diffusions of modern Nationalist culture that decades of Nanjing-based programs and movements could never have achieved. Students involved in these moves and in *tiyu* activities in these new settings surely took pride in their new chance to spread these important bodies of knowledge among "the people" of the benighted inland population, recreating on a national scale the liberal 1920s impulse to share the knowledge and awareness of the cities with less fortunate country folk. And it seems that these disciplines of team spirit, self-control, vigor and sacrifice caught on quickly among young nationalistic elements of the populations of these southwest cities, as this era of national tragedy made it possible for them to experience firsthand the ideologies and motions designed to bring China and its people to final victory.

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[13] Hu Xingyi, "Shuidongping kang Ri jiuguo yundonghui" [The Anti-Japanese National Salvation Athletic Meet at Shuidongping], *Yunnan tiyu wenshi* 7 (December 1986), pp. 45-46.

[14] Ou, "Education in Wartime China," p. 91.

The Nationalist State *Tiyu* Project in Chongqing

Physical culture clearly was a realm which lent itself well to imaginings of a vigorous anti-Japanese resistance. In September 1938, the Chongqing journal *Sino-Soviet Culture* featured on its cover a cartoon entitled "Our post-September 18th (1931) return shot." A fit and healthy athlete ("China") was shown embroiled in a tennis match with a fat brutish ruffian ("Japanese warlord") before a judge ("League of Nations") in top hat and tuxedo, but unfortunately sound asleep high atop his judge's chair. The patronage or support of the Western judge is immaterial now, however, as "China" has delivered a fearsome return shot which has smacked the "Japanese warlord" in the forehead, knocking off his military cap and pounding him to the ground.[15] Real Chinese tennis players had never been quite able to match up with the tennis representatives of the hated and maddeningly skilled Japanese. However, the vagaries of sport, where (almost) every shot led to a return shot, held inspiration for members of the newly Chongqing-based Guomindang cultural and political apparatus trying to imagine what might happen in the next round of "competition" between these two adversaries.

The move of the Central Government to the provisional capital at Chongqing brought to this secluded and damp "Mountain City" the different units of the Nationalist *tiyu* bureaucracy which had tried to lead the competitive sports, mass and militarized *tiyu*, school physical education, and martial arts movements of the Nanjing Decade. Chongqing quickly became a showcase for the developments of the wartime physical culture enterprise. Agents of these different camps coexisted in the crowded

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[15] "Jiuyiba hou de huijing" [Our post-September 18th (1931) return shot], *Zhongsu wenhua* 2.8 (16 September 1938), cartoon on front cover.

space of Chongqing, a much smaller arena than the eastern half of China that served as the main target area for the ante-bellum *tiyu* movements.

By 1939, all the main organs of the Nationalist *tiyu* bureaucracy had completed their relocation from Nanjing to Chongqing. The Education Department Physical Education Committee by 1939-40 was busy propagating new rules for the design of athletic grounds, designing a new national Physical Education Administration Exam, organizing mobile *tiyu* examination squads to test the physical abilities of Sichuan middle school students, publishing research on traditional Chinese physical culture forms and their use in modern society, and organizing a National Citizens' *Tiyu* Conference in Chongqing.[16] The Chinese National Amateur Athletic Federation met in 1939 and decided that the Nationalist government would send soccer and basketball teams to the 1940 Olympics in Tokyo, if not also sending track and field athletes.[17] The Chinese Physical Culture Study Society was reorganized in Chongqing, and quickly set about its old activities in publishing, researching, carrying out studies and

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[16] "Jiaoyubu tiyu weiyuanhui gaikuang" [State of the Education Department Physical Education Committee], *Guomin tiyu jikan* 1.1 (15 September 1941), reprinted in Chongqing shi tiyu yundong weiyuanhui and Chongqing shizhi zongbianshi, eds., *Kangzhan shiqi peidu tiyu shiliao* [Historical materials from wartime physical culture in the provisional capital] (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1988), pp. 1-5.

[17] "Zhonghua tiyuhui jueyi canjia Shier jie shiyunhui" [The Chinese Athletic Federation resolves to join the XIIth Olympiad], *Zhongyang ribao*, 6 February 1939, p. 4.

This resolution was strange for two reasons: (1) A year earlier, a Nanjing-supported Chinese National Sporting Community Salvation Federation headed by CNAAF leaders Zhang Boling and Hao Gengsheng joined the United Kingdom's effort to boycott the 1940 Tokyo Olympiad! (2) Owing to the sincere Olympic convictions of IOC member Count Michimasa Soyeshima, the Japanese Olympic Organizing Committee canceled the 1940 Games in July 1938 - several months before the CNAAF decided to join! Shen Hui, "Zhongguo lishi shang di yi ci dizhi Aoyunhui shimo" [The whole story behind China's first-ever Olympic boycott], *Tiyu wenshi* 49 (May 1991), pp. 66-67; Junko Tahara, "Count Michimasa Soyeshima and the Cancellation of the XII Olympiad in Tokyo: A Footnote to Olympic History," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 9.3 (December 1992), pp. 467-470.

physical examinations among the public, and standardizing *tiyu* terminology and definitions.[18] And the Central Martial Arts Academy (*Guoshuguan*) was relocated to Chongqing as well, where it undertook its second decade of rationalizing and spreading martial arts knowledge and skills to the people.

However, these different institutions of the physical culture movement soon found their goals and activities converging much more than they ever had during the Nanjing period. The outbreak of total war, the central government's retreat to Chongqing, the consolidation of these different organizations under a more unified *tiyu* elite, and events in the international sports world combined to render moot many of the conflicts which had marked the sports and physical culture world in Nanjing.

In Chapters Five and Six, I discussed the 1930s contradictions between elite-level competitive sport and the "mass" and "militarized" physical culture movements. The seeming efficacy of paramilitary *Wehrsport* exercises in Germany seemed to justify a turn toward a more militarized physical culture for China. However, the importance of participating in worldwide rituals of nationhood and vigor like the Olympic Games had allowed competitive sport to survive the scathing critiques it received for its distance from the condition of the masses. The war changed all this. In 1939 the CNAAF oddly was committed, even in this time of hardship and sacrifice, to spending the money needed to send a fair-sized delegation to an Olympiad hosted by the same Japanese imperialists who were busy burning and ravaging so much of the Republic. But when the Olympics were canceled and this worldwide sporting stage mercifully

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[18] "Zhonghua tiyu xuehui huiwu baogao" [Report of the Chinese Physical Culture Study Society's tasks], *Jianguo jiaoyu* (27 November 1938), reprinted in Chongqing shi tiyu yundong weiyuanhui and Chongqing shizhi zongbianshi, eds., *Kangzhan shiqi peidu tiyu shiliao*, pp. 54-56.

dismantled, elite competitive sports in China lost almost any justification whatsoever.

Likewise, however, the coming of total war ironically rendered obsolete the "militarized *tiyu*" dreams of the fascist wing of the Nanjing *tiyu* movement. The fiery *minzu*-centric rhetoric of the militarized *tiyu* movement described in Chapter Five was almost totally extinguished by the time of the move to Chongqing. There are two likely reasons for this. By 1939, the atrocities and inhumanity of the German war machine could no longer be attributed to an overly rambunctious, if admirably nationalistic and strong, ally. Wholesale use of militarized physical culture designed at one end of the Axis did not make sense anymore, now that its other end had been plunged deep into the guts of the Chinese "national body." Another factor was at work as well. *Tiyu* of the 1930s had been imagined as a tool for creating a strong and united citizenry that could resist the inevitable Japanese invasion. But war had arrived, and even the most militaristic of exercises prescribed in Chongqing likely were not going to be too effective in slowing down a Japanese war machine plowing through Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Henan. An explanation by Chiang Kai-shek, given at the Third National Conference on Education in Chongqing in the form of an oft-repeated koan-like slogan, actually sheds light on these developments: "Peacetime should be treated as wartime, and wartime should be treated as peacetime."[19] Withholding comment on the obvious fascist possibilities for this brand of philosophy, one can still see in it an explanation for the disappearance of "militarized *tiyu*." The aims of wartime physical culture now were to inculcate a generation of Chinese who could lead and live a postwar Nationalist China. In terms of this raging war, it was simply too late to expect to transform their

[19] Ou, "Education in Wartime China," p. 97.

populace into efficient soldier-citizens. Gone were the heady fascist dreams of the mid-1930s - unlike Japan where the pressures of war drove the Japanese sports world further and further into outright fascist forms and models[20] - and nearly gone too were the militarized *tiyu* forms borne of them.[21] The opinion voiced by most experts was that *tiyu* would surely profit from the "organization and discipline," or the "neatness, efficiency, clarity, simplicity, and precision" of the military life, as in fact could all areas of education - but that using physical education to improve Chinese military capability was a "stubbornly unimaginative and stupid" solution.[22]

The war also put to rest the fierce *yang-tu* ("foreign vs. indigenous") battles fought in the 1930s over which forms of physical culture would be most appropriate for the nation in crisis. The realities of wartime effectively ended most of these discussions borne of a prewar crisis which presented new opportunities to imagine new directions

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[20] For example, the national *Meiji Jingū* Athletic Meet, now managed by the Ministry of Health and Welfare (*Kōseishō*), by 1942 became known as the *Meiji Jingū* Citizen Training Games, its former sporting events replaced totally by militaristic drills, gymnastics and martial arts. Imamura Yoshio, *Nihon taiikushi* [The history of Japanese physical culture] (Tokyo: Kaneko Shobō, 1951), pp. 308-309. Also see Ikuo Abe, Yasuharu Kiyohara and Ken Nakajima, "Fascism, Sport and Society in Japan," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 9.1 (April 1992), pp. 13-22.

[21] Cheng Dengke, leader of the militarized *tiyu* movement of the 1930s, assumed the post of Chongqing University Physical Education Department Chair, and served as Co-Assistant Chair of the Chinese *Tiyu* Study Society and as a regular member of the Chongqing Municipal Citizens' *Tiyu* Committee. But he no longer advocated the "militarized *tiyu*" forms which had brought him fame during the Nanjing Decade. Instead, Cheng devoted his time to research into the history of modern physical culture in Chongqing, and to his master work, a 327-page *Essential History of World Sport*, published in 1945 (and later reprinted in Shanghai in 1946, 1947 and 1948).

[22] Yuan Dunli, "Tiyu jiujing shi shenme?" [So what is physical education after all?], *Jiaoyu tongxun* 2.35 (September 1939), and Wu Demao, "Jianli woguo tiyu tixi zhi shangque" [Discussing the construction of our nation's physical culture structure], *Jiao yu xue* 5.3 (31 May 1940), both reprinted in Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Quanguo tizong wenshi ziliao bianshen weiyuanhui, eds., *Tiyu shiliao di 17 ji: Zhongguo jindai tiyu wenxuan* [Historical materials on physical education, Volume 17: Selections from modern Chinese physical culture] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1992), pp. 389, 395.

for China. During the 1930s, many *tiyu* experts became deeply involved in debates over which forms - the *yang* competitive sports which were scientific, rational and made up of "natural" movements, or the *tu* martial arts whose motions and logics were deeply rooted in the Chinese racial body and psyche - should take ascendance in the national physical culture program. By Chongqing, priorities changed. Claims to superior training for warfare gave way to more practical concerns like survival and hope now that the dreaded war had finally arrived. What evolved in Chongqing was a (perhaps uneasy) stalemate between rival camps who decided to live and let live, and to prepare more conscientiously for the next mission of the national *tiyu* agenda.

Finally, the consolidation of these different arms of the *tiyu* bureaucracy gives the historical appearance (if indeed it was not so in fact) of a more unified physical culture mission. Continuing a trend which had begun in the last years at Nanjing, these organizations devoted to different physical culture functions came under the control of an almost-uniform elite. For example, Hao Gengsheng, trusted Springfield College grad and loyal Nationalist, by 1939 held the following positions: Chairman of the Education Department Physical Education Standing Committee, Education Department National *Tiyu* Czar (*Duxue*), Director (one of ten) of the CNAAF, and Chairman of the Chinese Physical Culture Study Society. (In 1940 he added the posts Chairman of the Chongqing Municipal Athletic Federation, and in 1944 Member of the Chongqing Municipal Citizens' Physical Culture Committee, to his resume.) No other *tiyu* elite achieved a presence on the three major bodies (representing education, competitive sport, and research and publication), but several like Zhang Boling, Yuan Dunli, Zhang Jiwu, Wu Bangwei and Gao Zi (Hao's wife) held important seats in two branches.[23]

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[23] The Central *Guoshuguan* was also integrated into this *tiyu* elite, with Chairman Zhang Zhijiang

With this overwhelming centrist and loyalist presence on the boards of the main *tiyu* ruling organizations, there was likely little room for effective dissent of the type seen during the Nanjing era.

The final result of these changes, then? Perhaps surprisingly, it was an overwhelming emphasis on a well-rounded and healthy sports program for the masses. No matter what other great pressures the Nanjing-to-Chongqing migration brought to the provisional capital, the leaders of the physical culture realm were presented with an almost clean slate on which to design a new *tiyu* program for China and its citizens. Markets for high-level competitive sport and explicitly "militarized" or "indigenous" methods were gone now, and all these national organizations and factions had to work with were the people of Chongqing. Thus, these *tiyu* forces had little choice but to turn to the "masses," even if only to keep their disciplines alive.

National and municipal *tiyu* bodies were both quite active during the seven-year Chongqing period. Physical education standards and curricula were prepared and published, and investigations conducted into the ill and weak bodies of Chongqing students. (In a 1938 study, only 96 of 5031 students examined were judged to be "completely healthy."[24]) *Tiyu* organizations also sponsored a wide range of sporting

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represented on the Study Society directors' board. *Tiyu* personalities who had differed in their approaches from this center, like Dong Shouyi or Cheng Dengke, were given a token seat on one of these main national bodies and then relegated to other positions in Chongqing municipal organizations. "Zhonghua tiyuhui jueyi canjia Shier jie shiyunhui," p. 4; "Chongqing tixie" [Chongqing Municipal Athletic Federation], *Dagongbao (L'Impartial)*, 22 February 1940, p. 3; "Jiaoyubu tiyu weiyuanhui gaikuang," "Zhonghua tiyu xuehui huiwu baogao," and "Chongqing shi guomin tiyu weiyuanhui mingdan" [Roster of the Chongqing Municipal Citizens' Physical Culture Committee], Report to the Education Department, 17 May 1944, all reprinted in Chongqing shi tiyu yundong weiyuanhui and Chongqing shizhi zongbianshi, eds., *Kangzhan shiqi peidu tiyu shiliao*, pp. 2, 55, 15.

[24] Lu Sihong, *Xin Chongqing*, cited in Lee McIsaac, "The City as Nation: Creating a Wartime Capital in Chongqing," in Joseph W. Esherick, ed., *Constructing the Modern In Chinese Cities, 1900-1950* (University of Hawai'i Press, forthcoming).

activities for the people of Chongqing. Between 1942 and 1945, four citywide sports meets were held, as well as smaller Chongqing middle and high school meets, and even a Chongqing Bureaucrats' Meet held in 1944. Two municipal martial arts competitions and several municipal model airplane contests were held in Chongqing as well. Some years, mountain climbing competitions were organized for 9 September, honoring the traditional *Chongyang* festival celebrating old age (see Chapter One). Song Qingling organized a Disaster Aid For Henan International Soccer Tourney to send relief to this ravaged northern province. In 1943, the Chongqing Municipal Athletic Federation organized classes in martial arts, baseball, *banyuqiu* ("paddle-feather-ball," a new game invented by Dong Shouyi and combining the skills of volleyball, tennis and badminton), and acrobatics, and sponsored a *Minzu* Health Activities Day, with exhibitions and contests in team sports, martial arts, group calisthenics, and parachuting.[25]

The more memorable competitions held in Chongqing included a Capture-the-Traitor Mountain Climbing Competition, sponsored by the Chongqing Nan'an District Social Services Department on 9 June 1940. The first ten climbers to reach the top of the mountain saw standing before them life-size paper effigies of the ten most villainous and hated of Chinese pro-Japan Nanjing collaborators. The lucky first-place finisher wasted no time in seizing the Wang Jingwei model, with the second-place finisher, just steps behind, snatching Chen Gongbo's likeness. The several dozen competitors who finished the race later posed for a group photograph, with the ten successful traitor-

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[25] For some reason, the glider and parachuting movements were subsumed into the category of "physical culture" (thus becoming the last viable connections between *tiyu* and warfare), and organizations were formed and competitions held in these fields as well. Chongqing shi tiyu yundong weiyuanhui and Chongqing shizhi zongbianshi, eds., *Kangzhan shiqi peidu tiyu shiliao*, pp. 40–48, 150-238.

bashers lined up in front holding their paper quarry.[26] On 3 January 1940, physically active citizens of Chongqing celebrated the new year in a great Provisional Capital *Tiyu* Parade. Over ten thousand participants put on mobile demonstrations of martial arts, group calisthenics, cycling, track and field, basketball and even billiards played on moving wheeled tables.[27]

The most important "mass *tiyu*" achievement by the *tiyu* bureaucracy in Chongqing was the establishment in 1942 of September Ninth as a national holiday, Sports Day (*Tiyu jie*). Selected for its ties to the old *Chongyang* festival celebrating the triumph of the *yang*, and as the date of Sun Yat-sen's Guangzhou Uprising of 1895, September Ninth became a holiday which would celebrate the physical fitness of China's citizens by giving them, "no matter if they are students, workers, clerks, bureaucrats or just average citizens ... the opportunity to exercise, and a guaranteed time for exercise."[28] In August 1942, the Education Department issued official directions for the correct planning and execution of Sports Day in each province, city, county and town. The week preceding the holiday would be a Publicity Week, with educators and students "going to the people" to demonstrate *tiyu* activities and methods, and also publicizing the event in newspapers and special publications. Finally, using funds from general education budgets, Sports Day would be a festival of *tiyu* activities for all - from martial arts to mountain climbing, swimming to rowing,

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[26] Chongqing shi tiyu yundong weiyuanhui and Chongqing shizhi zongbianshi, eds., *Kangzhan shiqi peidu tiyu shiliao*, photo before p. 1; Film on Chongqing physical culture highlights of the year 1940.

[27] Film on Chongqing physical culture highlights of the year 1940.

[28] "Duanlian tipo - zhu di yi jie Tiyu jie" [Train the body - Celebrate the first Sports Day], *Xinhua ribao*, 9 September 1942, p. 2.

weightlifting to ball games.[29]

Of the 19 cities and counties in Nationalist-controlled territory that were able to organize a Sports Day in its first year - including Kunming, Xi'an, Baoji, Hanzhong, and Shaxian and Liancheng Counties (Fujian)[30] - the holiday was celebrated most conspicuously in the provisional capital. National and municipal authorities used this occasion to begin the First Chongqing Municipal Athletic Meet, held on the grounds of the Nankai Middle School's new campus in Shapingba. The day began with rousing speeches by Education Minister Chen Lifu (who also read a message prepared by Chiang Kai-shek), Mayor and Meet Chairman Wu Guozhen, and Gu Yuxiu, also of the Education Department, who voiced his hopes that Chongqing might someday host the Chinese National Games and even the Olympic Games.[31] More than two thousand

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[29] "Jiu yue jiu ri Tiyu jie jinnian te kuoda juxing" [September 9th Sports Day - This year make it especially grand], *Dagongbao (L'Impartial)*, 6 August 1942, p. 3.

[30] Wu Yechun and Ruan Rong, "Minguo shiqi de Tiyu jie" [The Republican-era Sports Day], *Tiyu wenshi (Sport History)* 53 (January 1992), p. 44.

By 1943, the September *Minzu* Health Month, organized around this September 9th Sports Day, was even being observed and celebrated in Dihua (Urumqi), Xinjiang. Xu Jinyong, "Jiefang qian Xinjiang lanqiu yundong jiankuang" [A brief outline of the pre-Liberation basketball movement in Xinjiang], *Xinjiang tiyu shiliao* 5 (1991), p. 32.

Other active Nationalist-affiliated physical culture organizations in central and eastern China included the Fujian Provincial Athletic Grounds at Shaxian, which published the *Fujian tiyu tongxun*, and the Hunan Lantian National Normal College Physical and Health Education Research Society, which published the bimonthly *Tiyu yu jiankang jiaoyu* from 1941 to 1943. Both kept in close touch with the Chongqing *tiyu* scene, publishing articles by Nationalist heavies and *tiyu* experts like Chen Lifu, He Yingqin, Dong Shouyi and Zhang Jiwu.

Also, Chiang Kai-shek's son Jiang Jingguo, stationed in Ganzhou, Jiangxi during the war as Fourth District Administrative Supervisor and Assistant Head of the Provincial Security Bureau, made physical culture an important part of his "New Southern Jiangxi Reconstruction" plans. At one Southern Jiangxi Meet held in Ganzhou, Jiang joined the opening procession, and his wife won the women's bicycle race! Conversation with Professor Zeng Biao, Ganzhou, Jiangxi, 25 December 1996, and personal correspondence from Zeng Biao, 19 January 1997.

[31] "Di yi jie yundonghui kaimu dianli" [The Opening Ceremonies of the First Athletic Meet], *Xinminbao*, 10 September 1942, reprinted in Chongqing shi tiyu yundong weiyuanhui and Chongqing shizhi zongbianshi, eds., *Kangzhan shiqi peidu tiyu shiliao*, pp. 154-155.

Chongqing citizen-athletes took part in this great meet, which spread some 162 competitions in track and field, basketball, volleyball, soccer and baseball over 33 days![32] This Sports Day celebration was meant to be more than the typical brief affair where spectators gathered for a weekend to watch elite-level athletes at play; the format here was more realistically designed to accommodate the schedules and obligations of the Chongqing "masses" and enable them to be the heroes of the day.

Events like these Sports Day festivities typify the Chongqing physical culture program, as the conditions of wartime and of the relocation to the interior bred a new concentration on the physical fitness of the "masses." Questions of national "face" and Olympic prestige, of national essence and martial arts, and of national strength and militarized *tiyu* were all outweighed by this new mass bent.[33] For a regime whose last years in power have always been understood as the last pathetic acts of a corrupt and exploitative governmental farce, this attention to the bodies and minds of the local southwestern populations may come as somewhat of a surprise. Obviously, such a project has other implications that extend beyond these issues of sport and fitness. My past chapters should make it clear that I understand this advocation of modern physical culture as a program meant to discipline and train Chinese into new national subjects

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[32] "Shiyunhui zuo yuanman jieshu" [Chongqing Municipal Meet comes to a perfect close], *Dagongbao (L'Impartial)*, 13 October 1942, p. 3.

[33] Even the larger sporting competitions held in Chongqing now were run as fundraisers gathering money for important public enterprises. Basketball and soccer teams from Chongqing and other southwestern cities participated in several large tournaments to benefit causes like the Western Hubei Relief Fund, the Professor Wu Demao Memorial Education Foundation, and the Chongqing Municipal Sports Foundation. "Chongqing shi tiyu xiejinhui gongzuo baogaoshu (sanshier nian)" [Official Work Report of the Chongqing Municipal Athletic Federation (1943)], and "Choumu tiyu jijin juxing zuqiu yisai" [Soccer friendly matches held to raise money for the Sports Foundation], *Zhongyang ribao*, 17 November 1944, both reprinted in Chongqing shi tiyu yundong weiyuanhui and Chongqing shizhi zongbianshi, eds., *Kangzhan shiqi peidu tiyu shiliao*, pp. 44-46, 235-236.

(even if delivered in the guise of "liberation" from old legacies of weakness and superstition). But it also should be emphasized that the "Liberation" delivered by the Communists just years later also was based on self-consciously "mass" forms much like those seen in Chongqing and other areas of the wartime Nationalist realm.

Red *Tiyu* and the Communist Movement

In October 1937, the pages of the American magazine *Life* featured 23 photos taken by Harry Dunham and Harrison Forman of Chinese Communists at Xi'an and Yan'an. This "tantalizing X," as *Life* called the Communists with respect to their key position in the wartime era, was given a human face in this photo essay. A section titled "Chinese Communists play games" featured four shots of CCP soldiers playing basketball, croquet, ping-pong and a stick-throwing game called "Slay Japan." The message was clear - these Communists in padded uniforms couldn't be all bad, if they were playing sports just like us.[34]

This sporting instinct was not just a bridge between the CCP and American *Life* readers. The realm of physical culture in the Communist base camps also serves as a way of understanding the CCP in terms of a greater Republican-era milieu. By the late 1920s and 1930s, it was inconceivable that a political movement could forego activity in this domain of physical culture as a way of establishing its credibility as a force for strength and order in a modern China. The Chinese Communist Party was no exception, and from an early date linked itself closely to this cult of the strong and

[34] It is perhaps telling that the cover of this issue of *Life* featured a close-up of Chuck Williams, "No. 1 Trojan" and Captain of the 1937 USC football team. "The Camera Overseas: Chinese Communists to the Rescue," *Life* 3.15 (11 October 1937), pp. 100-103.

disciplined body and nation. Clearly, the CCP's visions for a New China were truly revolutionary in many important ways, and thus Communist conceptions of the role of physical culture would surely diverge from the directions laid down by Nationalist programs. Zhang Yuan, Chairman of the Yan'an *Tiyu* Committee established in the CCP base area in northern Shaanxi, captured this CCP ambivalence toward physical culture when he wrote in 1942,

> There are some bourgeois sports experts that advocate that "*tiyu* is just for entertainment," stating that it is not related to politics at all. Of course we are opposed to this view, although we cannot totally deny [*tiyu*'s] entertainment value.... Games are surely a proper, beneficial form of recreation. Comrade Lenin said, "If one cannot rest, then one cannot work," where his "ability to rest" refers to the ability to regain one's energy and strength through rest. Exercise has great benefits for the body and mind, and is a fine way to take rest and recreation. But it must be done appropriately; this is something to which we must pay close attention.[35]

Zhang and other CCP *tiyu* functionaries knew something was suspicious about the dominant forms of physical culture current in the Nationalist era, but their similar position as a modernist Leninist party made it difficult to isolate exactly what modern *tiyu*'s failings were. Their concern for modern sports and physical culture and their imaginings of its role in creating a socialist China, even if phrased sometimes in new terminologies of class struggle or socialist democracy, were still solidly part of the Republican-era Chinese *tiyu* common sense.

In this section, I will introduce the "red physical culture" (*chise tiyu*, *hongse tiyu*) movement, founded in the CCP's rural soviet days and promulgated through the Anti-Japanese War up to the civil war and Liberation. This discussion, for reasons of

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[35] Zhang Yuan, "Tiyu de gongneng: Wei jinian Tiyu jie er zuo" [The uses of physical culture: An essay written for Sports Day], *Xinhua ribao*, 9 September 1942, p. 4.

space, is undeservedly brief. The details of this fascinating movement, as uncovered by "red *tiyu*" scholars (led by Zeng Biao of Southern Jiangxi Normal College) recently able to begin combing Party archives for these materials, could fill several volumes. In China they do. Here I again must thank and apologize to these scholars whose hard work I here exploit but in all too brief a manner, as I discuss the "red *tiyu*" model in the context of Nationalist-era physical culture.

Many scholars, attempting to fit physical culture neatly into official Communist hagiography, look to the Party saints to establish a basis for "CCP *tiyu* thought." Works most commonly cited include pieces by Mao Zedong, Yun Daiying and Chen Duxiu (see Chapters Two and Four), none of which unfortunately provide any perspective on a unique Communist approach. (They also happen to have been written years before the CCP was even established.) It was not until 1923 that China saw an authentically socialist analysis of physical culture, when the Socialist Youth League's mouthpiece *The Pioneer* included a Chinese translation of the Communist International Youth League's resolution on physical education. This resolution described capitalist physical education and sport as "masking itself as a neutral organization, encouraging proletarians to join in, and then eating away at their class consciousness and their courage to carry on class struggle.... in the end, [these sporting proletarians] become simply an advance force for the capitalist counterrevolutionaries." The young Chinese socialists likely took heart in the Comintern Youth call to "attack the oppressive sports training of all nations," and looked forward to the day when they could "establish relations with Soviet Russian physical culture organizations ... and establish tight relations and friendly cooperation with communist workers' sporting organizations."[36]

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[36] "Tiyu wenti jueyian" [Resolution on the problem of sports], *Xianqu (The Poineer)* [sic] 18 (10 May

Although Party luminaries Li Dazhao, Deng Zhongxia and Yang Xianjiang touched on the topics of sport and physical education during the 1920s,[37] and CCP propaganda organs promoted physical culture in areas like Longyan, western Fujian,[38] the first real Communist *tiyu* activity came with the establishment of the rural soviets in remote areas of Jiangxi, Hunan, Guangdong, Fujian and Anhui provinces between 1928 and 1934. Fan Hong, in her recent work on women's liberation and physical culture in China, has written, "The RSM [Red Sports Movement] ... was the brain-child of the Red Army. Sport was to create 'a new Chinese' - strong, disciplined, and patriotic, able to fight and thus ensure the solidarity, stability, and success of the Chinese Soviet republic." She calls this CCP physical culture movement "one of the most significant cultural innovations of the Jiangxi Era," claiming that "[i]ts emancipatory role to date has not been adequately recorded. It played a considerable part in the gradual replacement of patriarchal values and was, therefore, instrumental in the eventual rejection of those values."[39]

1923), pp. 3-4.

This document is incorrectly cited as a resolution of a Chinese Socialist Youth League Central Committee Meeting held in 1922, in Guojia tiwei tiyu wenshi gongzuo weiyuanhui and Quanguo tizong wenshi ziliao bianshen weiyuanhui, eds., *Tiyu shiliao, di 16 ji: Zhongguo jindai tiyu yijuean xuanbian* [Historical materials on physical education, Volume 16: Collection of resolutions on modern Chinese physical education] (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1990), p. 356.

The earliest workers' *tiyu* organization in China was likely the *Tiyu* Department founded under the Anyuan Workers' Club Recreation Committee, where Liu Shaoqi led union organizing efforts. Zeng Biao, "Gongchandang lingdao xia de zaoqi tiyu zuzhi" [Early Communist Party-led physical culture organizations], *Tiyu wenshi (Sports History)* 72 (March 1995), p. 29; Conversation with Professor Zeng Biao, Ganzhou, Jiangxi, 25 December 1996.

[37] Liu Xuesong, "Lun zaoqi Zhongguo gongchandang ren de tiyu guan" [On the physical culture views of early members of the CCP], *Tiyu wenshi* 49 (May 1991), pp. 2-3.

[38] Wu Jiangsheng, "Youguan Fujian Longyan jindai xuexiao tiyu de yi xie shiliao" [Some historical materials on modern school physical education in Longyan, Fujian], *Tiyu wenshi (Sport History)* 53 (January 1992), pp. 42-43.

[39] Fan Hong, "'Iron Bodies': Women, War, and Sport in the Early Communist Movement in Modern

While I agree with Fan's understanding of the role of discipline in this "red *tiyu*" project, her claims that it also provided significant anti-patriarchal emancipation are much less convincing. I am less concerned than she with narratives of progress and problems of "past patriarchal culture" and "tradition," which Fan sees as "still the obstacle that barred the way" to women's participation in many red *tiyu* activities.[40] Thus, I will not address here these rather ahistorical and problematic claims. Much is at stake in arguments like these[41] which seek to impute to the red *tiyu* movement uniquely "socialist" characteristics distinguishing it from contemporary Nationalist dominant *tiyu* forms, and also to justify the *tiyu* historian's value to the state by tracing roots of the triumphant PRC *tiyu* project farther and farther in the past. I hope that my short analysis of the red *tiyu* project (which I will discuss in its original rural soviet form, and then its later wartime incarnation in the northwest border governments) here will serve as an rebuttal to characterizations, like Fan's, of red *tiyu* as a uniquely "socialist" or Party innovation.

I describe the Republican-era CCP "red *tiyu*" project in terms of the main sites in which physical culture activities were designed and held. The nature of the modern physical culture project, whether engineered by Nationalists, Communists, or anyone else for that matter, is that many of these sites were the same: central governments,

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China," *Journal of Sport History* 24.1 (Spring 1997), pp. 6, 15. This article is an adaptation of her chapter "Iron Women of the Jiangxi Soviet (1929-34)," in Fan Hong, *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom: The Liberation of Women's Bodies in Modern China* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1997).

[40] Fan Hong, "'Iron Bodies,'" p. 15.

[41] Or see Yu Jianyong, "Shilun hongse tiyu he Xin Zhongguo tiyu de neizai lianxi" [An explanation of the inherent connections between red physical culture and the physical culture of New China], *Tiyu wenshi* 47 (January 1991), pp. 36-38.

schools, the military, local administrative structures, and youth organizations. The activities and the balance of commitment between these organizations does differ, and that, perhaps more than the nature of these activities themselves, is the extent of the difference between the Guomindang and CCP *tiyu* projects.

Central Soviet and Base Area Government *Tiyu* Activities

The first site I discuss is the realm of *tiyu* activities sponsored by the soviet and border governments themselves. As with the Nationalists, leaders and propagandists of the Communist movement were perfectly capable of imagining social progress in terms of images and metaphors of sports. A 1934 issue of the newspaper *Red China*, now on display at the Longyan Revolutionary Museum in western Fujian, had on its front page a picture captioned "Great Leaps and Bounds by Changting County." The drawing portrayed an athlete in a dark tank top and shorts, white characters spelling "Changting" stenciled across his chest, long-jumping past hashmarks signifying Red Army recruiting goals.[42] Interestingly, despite government leaders' fondness of discussing the red *tiyu* movement,[43] central government efforts in these base areas had few viable *tiyu* consequences. An example is the Chinese Soviet Republic Red *Tiyu* Committee, formed in Ruijin in June 1933 and headed by Provisional Central Government Vice Chairman Xiang Ying. Among its initial goals were:

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[42] "Da tabu maijin zhe de Changting xian" [Great Leaps and Bounds by Changting County], *Hongse Zhonghua*, 21 May 1934, p. 1.

[43] For example, "red *tiyu*" in schools and amongst the masses was a topic of Mao Zedong's "Zhonghua su-wei-ai gongheguo Zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui yu Renmin weiyuanhui dui Di er ci quanguo su-wei-ai daibiao dahui de baogao" [Report of the Chinese Soviet Republic Central Committee and the People's Committee to the Second National Soviet Congress], reprinted in part in Zeng Biao, ed., *Suqu tiyu ziliao xuanbian (1929-1934)* [Selected historical materials from Soviet base area physical culture (1929-1934)] (Hefei: Anhui sheng tiyu shizhi bianjishi, 1985), pp. 1-3.

> as approved by the 180-some athletes representing the hundreds and thousands of masses, to join the Red Sports International [operated by the Comintern] and under this leadership to oppose the reformist Lucerne Sports International [an arm of the Socialist International] and China's local bourgeois physical culture organizations, and to institute collective and red *tiyu* activities for the workers, peasants, youth and toiling masses of the Soviet base areas.[44]

However, despite these ambitious plans, the Committee held only one small meet (an International Youth Day competition held in Ruijin on 2 September 1933), and was eventually broken up when the Guomindang began its Fifth Bandit Suppression campaign in mid-1934. Once in Yan'an, CCP leaders Zhu De, Lin Boqu and Xu Teli were named to head a Soviet Physical Culture and Sports Committee in 1937.[45] However, this body seems to have been more involved in coordinating efforts between smaller county-level, military or school sporting organizations than in planning its own meets and activities.

The way these soviet and border governments were able to make larger *tiyu* contributions was through the printed word. For example, the Jiangxi Soviet in 1933 published three *tiyu*-related books: *Rules and Regulations for Red Sports*, *Track and Field Training Methods*, and *Soft Calisthenics*.[46] Soviet government-published materials like the *Mandarin Language Reader* or the *Workers' and Peasants' Reader* also included lessons and passages on games, exercise and the progress of the "red *tiyu*

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[44] Originally published in *Qingnian shihua* 2.18 (1 June 1933), quoted in Zeng Biao, "Gongchandang lingdao xia de zaoqi tiyu zuzhi," p. 29.

[45] Shaan-Gan-Ning bianqu tiyushi bianshen weiyuanhui, eds., *Shaan-Gan-Ning bianqu tiyushi* [The history of physical culture in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region] (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1990), p. 34.

[46] Zeng Biao, "Suqu xuexiao tiyu jiaocai yu jiaofa de gaige" [Soviet-area school physical education materials and pedagogical reform], *Tiyu wenshi (Sports History)* 67 (May 1994), p. 10.

movement."[47] The Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Government Education Office in July 1940 published Ling Zhi's *Calisthenics and Games Teaching Materials*.[48] And perhaps most importantly, official Yan'an-published newspapers like *Liberation Daily*, *Red China*, and *Resist-the-Enemy News* often carried editorials by *tiyu*-minded leaders such as Mao, Zhu De, Li Fuchun and Ye Jianying. These CCP base and border governments obviously lacked the great resources spent by the Nationalist central government on great competitive sports meets, societies and publications. The *tiyu* role of these government bodies came down mostly to crafting and disseminating catchy *tiyu* slogans like Mao's "Train the body well, fight Japan thoroughly" or Zhu's "Hitting a ball is also hitting thought,"[49] both clever if not entirely original examples of linking the wartime struggle to the *tiyu* project.

Red *Tiyu* in the Schools

As in Nationalist areas, CCP-run schools were a very important link in spreading the red *tiyu* project and discipline to the young. Official statistics claim that in 1934, there were 3052 Lenin Elementary Schools offering instruction to 89,710 students in 2232 Soviet-controlled villages in Jiangxi, Fujian and Guangdong. Elementary school P.E. curriculum included morning calisthenics as well as P.E. class three times a week, where students were led in more calisthenics, running, throwing

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[47] *Guoyu duben* 4, and *Gongnong duben* 1.39, 3.77 and 4.106, all reprinted in part in Zeng Biao, ed., *Suqu tiyu ziliao xuanbian (1929-1934)*, pp. 87-89.

[48] Chen Zhenhua, Lu Enchun and Li Shiming, *Zhongguo ticao yundong shi* [The history of Chinese gymnastics and calisthenics] (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1990), p. 216.

[49] Qiao Keqin and Guan Wenming, *Zhongguo tiyu sixiangshi* [The history of Chinese physical education philosophy] (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1993), pp. 310, 315.

stones, games, and expressive singing and dancing[50] - again a program which differed little from the standard "*ticao* and games" model of elementary P.E. in Nationalist schools. Some schools did design a more militaristic *tiyu* curriculum that yet again accorded with the Nationalist program of introducing "militarized *tiyu*" instruction in middle school. Students in middle schools run by the Sichuan-Shaanxi Border Soviet in 1932-35, in addition to learning skills of soccer, basketball and gymnastics, practiced with bayonets, swords, target shooting, emergency drill and throwing hand grenades.[51] Schools held large athletic meets that corresponded with meets held in Nationalist areas, except for a few innovations. A four-day School Athletic Meet held in Taiba District, Shanghang County, brought together some 486 students competing in several track and field events, including the three-student four-legged race and the fully-armed footrace. And staying true to the modern model, prizes - silver and bronze medals, ribbons, International flags and five-starred CCP flags - were awarded to top finishers.[52] However, the Lenin School Student Inspection, designed to be held in Soviet area county seats roughly simultaneously (38 locales would hold meets in staggered order during the first 20 days of December 1933) included other events besides the standard ballgames, track and field competitions, and group calisthenics. Here students would also compete in contests in political knowledge, Chinese character

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[50] Gu Shiquan, "Zhongyang Suqu shiqi Liening xiaoxue, Ertongtuan he Shaoxiandui de tiyu" [Physical education in Lenin Elementary Schools, Communist Children's Brigades and Young Pioneers in the Central Soviet], *Tiyu wenshi* 22 (December 1986), p. 28; Zeng Biao, "Suqu xuexiao tiyu jiaocai yu jiaofa de gaige," pp. 12-13.

[51] Jie Jilin, "Hongjun zai Jiange shi de tiyu huodong" [Physical culture activities during the Red Army stay in Jiange], *Tiyu wenshi* 22 (December 1986), pp. 3-4.

[52] Qiu Liegao, "Shanghang Taiba qu de ge xuexiao jingsai dahui" [The Interscholastic Sports Meet at Taiba, Shanghang], *Qingnian shihua* 24, reprinted in Zeng Biao, ed., *Suqu tiyu ziliao xuanbian (1929-1934)*, pp. 82-83.

recognition, reading, mathematics and writing wall posters.[53] Thus, if the basic content of red school *tiyu* did not differ greatly from its Nationalist counterpart, the Soviet area schools incorporated physical education into modes of mass education less frequently seen in Nationalist areas.

Base area universities handled a larger share of red *tiyu* training and promotion, with P.E. class and paramilitary training for students, special "normal" centers and programs to train P.E. teachers, athletic meets, and even university sports teams that traveled throughout the base areas. Yan'an University had its own P.E. Department, with one faculty member (Zhang Yuan, a graduate of the Beijing Normal University P.E. Department).[54] And what could be less uniquely "communist" or "guerrilla" than intercollegiate sports? Several base area universities sponsored their own varsity basketball and volleyball teams. The Resist-Japan University basketball team in 1939 traveled to the Jin-Cha-Ji base area for training and practice.[55] The 120th Division's Fighting Basketball Team was challenged by Lu Xun Arts College and Marx-Lenin

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[53] Zeng Biao, ed., *Suqu tiyu ziliao xuanbian (1929-1934)*, pp. 83-84.

[54] However, educational authorities decided to make more efficient use of this P.E. talent, splitting up the Department in summer 1942 and assigning its students to teach classes in army units and schools throughout the Shaan-Gan-Ning area. Chen, Lu and Li, *Zhongguo ticao yundong shi*, pp. 214-215.

Many *tiyu* leaders in Yan'an had earned impressive credentials before their conversion to the Yan'an cause. Yang Lie, a graduate of the Shanghai Liangjiang Women's Physical Education School, continued her P.E. studies as a graduate student in the Tokyo Calisthenics School Women's Department before returning to China in 1937. First teaching at the new Liangjiang campus in Changsha, and then moving to the Kunming Women's Normal School, Yang made the trip to Yan'an in 1939 and was immediately assigned to physical culture committee work there. Yang Wei, "Wo de muqin Yang Lie" [My mother Yang Lie], *Tiyu wenshi (Sports History)* 71 (January 1995), pp. 39-40.

[55] Zhandou lanqiudui laoduiyuan (Liu Zhuofu, Li Shubin, Zhang Lianhua, Zhang Zhihuai, Liu Kai, Shan Ergu and Tian Renmin), "Rongma kongzong xian xiongfeng - yi Zhandou lanqiudui" [Displaying heroism in a hectic military life - remembering the Fighting Basketball Team], *Tiyu wenshi* 21 (October 1986), pp. 40-41.

College teams during a 1941 trip to Yan'an.[56] And a "Northeast Cadres Basketball Team" was put together as a Yan'an university traveling all-star team, composing of the best players from Resist-Japan U. and other schools.[57] Finally, some of the largest meets in base areas were sponsored by universities, including Resist-Japan U. meets held in Yan'an to mark August 1, January 28 and June 1 commemorations.[58]

Communist-run schools thus were invaluable in bringing the red *tiyu* project to the young people of these revolutionary base areas. Despite the different ideology in which this red physical education was delivered, the essential forms and disciplines - of *ticao* and games, competitive sports, "militarized" forms, interscholastic meets and standout traveling varsity squads - were truly not all that different from the P.E. current in Nationalist school systems.

Red *Tiyu* in the Military

Ilpyong Kim's work on the Jiangxi Soviet makes clear the close relationship between the Red Army and mass mobilization and social organization. As a resolution drafted by Mao in 1929 went, "when the Red Army fights, it fights not merely for the sake of fighting, but exclusively to agitate among the masses, to organize them, to arm them, and to help them establish political power."[59] Clearly, few lives were lost in

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[56] Zhandou lanqiudui laoduiyuan, "Rongma kongzong xian xiongfeng," pp. 42-44.

[57] This team was led by Zhang Xueliang's younger brother Zhang Xueshi. Liu Qixin, "Huiyi 'Donggandui' jiqi lanqiudui" [Remembering the Northeast Cadres and other basketball teams], *Tiyu wenshi* 19 (1986), pp. 40-42.

[58] Liang Tian, *Zhongguo tianjing fazhan jianshi* [A simple history of the development of track and field in China] (Guangdong tiyu kexue yanjiusuo and Guangdong tiyu wenshi weiyuanhui, 1982), p. 60.

[59] Ilpyong J. Kim, *The Politics of Chinese Communism: Kiangsi under the Soviets* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 98, 119-123.

struggles over physical culture (although Zhu De is said to have included in his plans for warfare against Nationalist-controlled cities minor plots to appropriate basketballs and soccer balls for use in the soviet bases![60]), but the Red Army was just as influential in spreading the red *tiyu* project as they were in any other social mass campaign. Again, Red Army leaders were not exceptionally original in linking sports and physical competition to the realities and requirements of warfare; previous chapters have traced this mode of inquiry back to the late nineteenth century in China. However, the Red Army played a role in disseminating modern *tiyu* on the peasant periphery not seen in any other Chinese context.

Sports and physical culture were spread throughout the Red Army by means of the "Club" (*Julebu*) and "Lenin Room" (*Liening shi*) systems, the sources of educational, cultural and recreational programs within the army. *Tiyu* was one division of these organizations, which also included programs in literacy, wall poster writing, art and music.[61] Later, in Yan'an, many Red Army units managed physical education training centers that trained soldiers in modern P.E. pedagogy, enabling them to teach modern exercises and sports within their own units.[62]

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[60] Fan Hong, "'Iron Bodies,'" p. 6.

[61] Zeng Biao, ed., *Suqu tiyu ziliao xuanbian (1929-1934)*, pp. 27-31; Gu Shiquan, "Suqu shiqi 'Julebu' he 'Liening shi' de tiyu" [Physical culture in the Soviet-era "Clubs" and "Lenin Rooms"]. *Tiyu wenshi* 21 (October 1986), pp. 31-32.

During the Yan'an period, many of the "Lenin Rooms" changed their name to "National Salvation Room" (*jiuwang shi*), a telling instance of the shift from ideological to nationalistic propaganda during the Anti-Japanese War. Shaan-Gan-Ning bianqu tiyushi bianshen weiyuanhui, eds., *Shaan-Gan-Ning bianqu tiyushi*, p. 33.

[62] In 1942, He Long's 120th Division Headquarters combined with the Resist-Japan University Seventh Branch to form a Physical Education Training Squad, and the Shanxi-Suiyuan Military Zone Education Department Physical Education Section established a similar organization that same year. Chen, Lu and Li, *Zhongguo ticao yundong shi*, pp. 217-218; Zhandou lanqiudui laoduiyuan, "Rongma kongzong xian xiongfeng," pp. 45-46.

Perhaps more important, however, were the Red Army *tiyu* activities which brought modern physical culture to people in these base areas for the first time. Many sports meets held by the Red Army included competitors drawn from local student, worker and peasant populations. For example, the Red Army Political Department held a May Sports Meet in Tingzhou, Fujian which brought students and police together with army personnel in competitions in basketball, volleyball, ping-pong, track and field, martial arts and the ubiquitous grenade throw. A Fujian Military Zone Meet held in Shanghang allowed student, military and military family teams to compete in a similar range of events.[63] The greatest CCP meet of pre-Liberation days was a six-day Yan'an September 1st Enlarged Athletic Meet, sponsored by the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region Head Command in 1942, which drew 1388 soldier-, student- and worker-athletes from all over northern Shaanxi and Shanxi.[64] An oath read at the meet opening ceremonies by Central Party Committee Secretary Feng Wenbin captures perfectly the mixture of military and bourgeois sporting philosophies that made up this red *tiyu* movement: "Promote physical culture, spread the exercising habit, strengthen the body, prepare to fight, overthrow fascism, revolutionize the spirit, respect laws, live in solidarity, don't be arrogant in victory, and don't lose heart in defeat."[65]

As opposed to the Nationalist military structure, which made no real

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[63] Liang Tian, *Zhongguo tianjing fazhan jianshi*, pp. 58-59.

[64] The 120th Division's famed "Fighting Basketball Team" (a team which included several players from 1930s national and provincial teams, and which often traveled between Shanxi and Shaanxi for Red Army exhibitions) and several of its top gymnasts marched for more than 20 days to get from northwest Shanxi to Yan'an for this meet held to coincide with International Youth Day. Chen, Lu and Li, *Zhongguo ticao yundong shi*, p. 222; Zhandou lanqiudui laoduiyuan, "Rongma kongzong xian xiongfeng," pp. 40-46.

[65] Liang Tian, *Zhongguo tianjing fazhan jianshi*, pp. 61-62.

contribution to the modern *tiyu* movement in Nationalist China, the CCP military was an important link in the red *tiyu* movement. The very fighting mission of the CCP, whether in opposition to rural landlords or to the Japanese imperialists, decreed that a sports movement under their direction would be understood as part of the military mission. (Again, this is no great departure from popular trends toward "militarized *tiyu*" in Nationalist China described in Chapter Five.) However, I disagree with Fan Hong's characterization of the red *tiyu* movement as a purely militaristic phenomenon.[66] The nature of CCP existence meant that all of their social programs would be militarized to some degree. However, the physical culture of the Red Army, as approved by faithful students of the New Culture modern *tiyu* line like Mao, Zhu and He, would never depart too radically from the models dominant in Nationalist China. The Red Army's contribution to red *tiyu* was not a fundamental alteration of its content, but rather as a new source of its dissemination.

Clubs and Village-Level Red *Tiyu*

Above I discussed the limitations placed on CCP central base governments and the contributions they were able to make to the red *tiyu* project. This short reach in areas of culture was supplemented by local organizations, however, which were responsive and accountable to the Party center. These organizations included the Club, the Lenin Room and the Red Grounds.

The Club system, described above with regard to the Red Army, also extended into villages. As early as the 1929 Gutian Meeting, the Party called for local Clubs to

[66] See Fan Hong, "'Iron Bodies,'" pp. 5-6.

sponsor activities including soccer and martial arts. According to a 1934 "Club Outline," Clubs were to be established in every level of government, in every large factory and enterprise, in workers' unions and cooperatives, and in villages, with Lenin Rooms for reading and recreation established in each Club. Club work was to

> strive to use popular and common old styles that the masses will be able to understand, but with revolutionary content, in order to manifest and foster a spirit of revolutionary class struggle. For example, ...
> (2) Recreation: Popular styles especially should be used here, including:
> (A) Sports - every Club must have ping-pong and basketball, and in the most remote areas competitions can be organized in activities like shuttlecock and kite-flying, or footraces, the long jump and other simple events.[67]

Figures from 1933 claim the existence of 1917 Clubs in 2932 villages under Soviet rule, with around 100,000 participants in Club literary and recreational activities. However, the majority of these Clubs were not at the village level, but were run by schools, military units and official organizations with more resources to devote to these activities.[68]

Besides the Club, many villages also operated a cultural-recreational unit called the Red Grounds (*Hongchang*), governed by a Red Grounds Committee. Perhaps the most interesting of Red Grounds was the one established during the Long March in Luhuo, northeastern Xikang (now part of the Garzê Zang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan) by Zhang Guotao's Red 4th Front Army. There, on a grassy plateau behind a Lama temple, the unit held a small three-day May First Athletic Meet celebrating the international Labor Day.[69]

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[67] Gu Shiquan, "Suqu shiqi 'Julebu' he 'Liening shi' de tiyu," pp. 31-32.

[68] Gu Shiquan, "Suqu shiqi 'Julebu' he 'Liening shi' de tiyu," p. 32.

[69] Zhang Xinyun, Lan Cao and Han Lei, "Changzheng zhong de yundonghui" [An athletic meet held during the Long March], *Tiyu wenshi* 24 (April 1987), pp. 5-6.

Few records exist of these local organizations, and this may indeed be a reflection on the extent to which they were able to impact local society in these base areas. To the extent that they existed in some locations at least, however, they do represent an innovation by the CCP to bring the disciplines and ideologies of modern physical culture to village residents in ways that bureaucrats in Nationalist China were never able to achieve.

Tiyu in Communist Youth Organizations

Groups like the Young Pioneers, the Communist Youth Brigade and the Communist (later Youth National Salvation Society) Children's Brigade were another key link in the red *tiyu* project. Most influential were the Young Pioneers, who like the Chinese Boy Scouts controlled by the Guomindang party apparatus, provided weapons and calisthenics training and drills, as well as more recreational games and contests. The Pioneer apparatus held large-scale military-style inspections that included ball sports, track and field, and cultural competitions as well as military-related events. For example, the Chinese Soviet Republic Young Pioneers First General Inspection was held at the Ruijin Red Army School on 4-8 September 1932. This great meet, which featured team sports, track and field, obstacle course, swimming and political competitions in addition to military drilling, drew 692 Young Pioneers from 20 locales to the Soviet capital, where they presented their disciplined and fit bodies to CCP Inspectors like Zhou Enlai, Xiang Ying and Liu Bocheng.[70] However, Zhang Aiping seemed to protest too much when he wrote in a *Young Pioneer* editorial in the days

[70] *Shaonian xianfeng* 3 (September 1932), and *Hongse Zhonghua* 32 (6 September 1932), both reprinted in Zeng Biao, ed., *Suqu tiyu ziliao xuanbian (1929-1934)*, pp. 147-149.

before the great Inspection that it was

> absolutely not some simple affair where people come to compete and see who wins and who loses, striving and striving for trophies, contending for first or second place - that type of drilling and drilling, competing and competing. The significance [of this Inspection] is absolutely different from that of the Guomindang's Boy Scout Inspections.[71]

Like the whole red *tiyu* project, these activities were justified partly on the self-justifying premise that they were the opposite of Guomindang programs. Self-justifying is not self-fulfilling, however, as few of the materials available to me show these Young Pioneer *tiyu* activities to differ in any substantial way from the training and discipline offered to youth in Nationalist Boy Scout troops. The political bent was clearly different; a "Pioneer Calisthenics Song" published by the Pioneer Central Bureau (and penned by Zhang Aiping) went,

> We Pioneers train our bodies and exercise, playing our games,
> Strong, active, skilled in arms, beating the white dogs, waving red flags.
> Backing up the Red Army, shattering the "suppression campaign" and showing our power,
> Protecting the Soviet, Pioneers become a great weapon.[72]

This tune would not have gone over well at a Guomindang Scout troop meeting; however, interchanging a few proper nouns could have made it perfectly acceptable anti-Communist material.

The Youth National Salvation Society Children's Brigade also provided recreation to young people in the Shaan-Gan-Ning area. Red *tiyu* was handled by

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[71] Aiping, "Nuli a! Zhunbei quan Suqu Shaoxiandui zongjianyue" [Work! And prepare for the All-Soviet Zone Young Pioneers General Inspection], *Shaonian xianfeng* 2 (16 August 1932), reprinted in part in Zeng Biao, ed., *Suqu tiyu ziliao xuanbian (1929-1934)*, pp. 145-146.

[72] Gu Shiquan, "Zhongyang Suqu shiqi Liening xiaoxue, Ertongtuan he Shaoxiandui de tiyu," p. 29.

Middle and Small Brigades working at and beneath the village level.[73] Children involved in these brigades were expected to contribute to village security, and so were taught how to catch secret agents, transmit coded messages, and interrogation techniques. Much of this education came via Brigade-managed games. One game called "Capture the Spy" was supposedly based on a true story of youth in Huachi County, Gansu catching an armed Guomindang spy in 1935. Other games in the Brigade curriculum included "Cat Catches the Mouse," "Blind Man Catches the Cripple," and "Eagle Catches the Chicken,"[74] which for all their use in capturing undercover secret agents were still no different from the "catching" and chasing games taught in Chinese schools since the first years of the Republic.

This brief overview of the Communist red *tiyu* movement has taken examples from the chief sites of the project undertaken in the Jiangxi Soviet days and continued during the Long March and through the Yan'an period. I have concentrated on refuting the claim of Communist exceptionalism, and have posed "red *tiyu*" as a close half-sibling, and not the proverbial red-headed (if not red-minded) stepchild, of the dominant Nationalist *tiyu* movement. Surely there are numerous other issues to be examined within the CCP pre-Liberation *tiyu* movement. However, my point here has been to show the power of the model of modern physical culture shaped by the Nanjing Decade. While there was certainly room in the model for changes in organization or political ideology, the larger content and goals of the movement would by definition stay roughly the same, as the CCP sought too to form a new national citizenry,

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[73] Jin Ximin, "Shaan-Gan-Ning qu Ertongtuan de tiyu youxi" [Games of the Shaan-Gan-Ning area Children's Brigades], *Tiyu wenshi* 16 (December 1985), p. 30.

[74] Jin Ximin, "Shaan-Gan-Ning qu Ertongtuan de tiyu youxi," pp. 30-31.

educated in modern ways, capable of self-discipline, and able to see close connections between the health of their bodies and the fortune of their national or local community. The sea change in the Communist *tiyu* movement came in post-Liberation days, when Soviet Russian forms were imported to create new models of the body in the Cold War socialist world. However, the pre-1949 "red *tiyu*" movement was fundamentally a product of its times - nourished by the milk (if later spiked with radical communist ideology) of Darwinian and Spencerian views of the body and the mind, of competition and survival, and of the enlightened self-disciplining subject and the nation-state.

Physical Culture in the Manzhouguo and Nanjing Puppet Governments

Besides the Nationalist and Communist projects, there were other players involved in the Chinese wartime physical culture realm. Governments established in Japanese-controlled areas of eastern China - like the new Manzhouguo state created in China's northeastern provinces in 1932, or the ROC Central Government "restored" to operation in Nanjing in 1940 - also sought to use the trappings and proven track record of the Chinese *tiyu* project to their advantage. By this time, it was by definition that a true nation-state had to devote much time and resources to operating sports and physical culture programs, for the health and discipline of their citizens, and for the international acceptance that such a sporting enterprise could easily win.

In this section, I very briefly outline the *tiyu* scene in these Japanese-controlled territories, the programs designed to achieve the almost impossible task of inculcating notions in these conquered Chinese peoples' of their role in these new nations. Mark Eykholt questions dominant narratives of life under Japanese occupation that divides

human social behavior into dichotomized modes of "resistance" or "collaboration."[75] The realm of physical culture complicates this simple dichotomy further. Certainly there is a continuum of commitment that ranges perhaps from participation in school physical education classes, to representing Manzhouguo in an international meet held in Japan. Appearing anywhere on this continuum might be understood to be a validation of the sponsoring state. On the other hand, however, how many better ways might there have been to challenge these Japanese-controlled "puppet" governments than in these intimate affairs of the body? Korean marathoner Sohn Kee Chung's victory at the 1936 Berlin Olympiad, achieved running under the Japanese flag, has long been celebrated as a seminal triumph for Korean nationalism. The display of courage and self-discipline needed to achieve such heights from underneath the weight of such humiliating symbols, not to mention the reminder to the colonizing power of where strength and sporting values really lay, is what made Sohn's victory the great event it was. Thus, I would suggest here that this realm of modern *tiyu*, as sponsored by Manzhouguo and Nanjing "puppet" regimes, was a site that truly transcended simple choices of "resistance" and "collaboration," and which required participants to make their own judgments about the stakes and significance of joining this domain.

The Manzhouguo Sporting Life

The Manzhouguo *tiyu* project began almost just as soon as the state was established. In Chapter Six, I described the 1932 Manzhouguo Olympic bid that, if

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[75] Mark S. Eykholt, *Living the Limits of Occupation in Nanjing China, 1937-1945* (UC-San Diego Ph.D. Dissertation, 1998), pp. 1-4.

successful, would have put the regime on the world map in a very important way.[76] "Domestic" sporting activity began immediately as well, with the first Manzhouguo National Meet in the new capital Xinjing (formerly and since Changchun) on 25 September 1932.[77] It quickly became clear that sports were to serve as a nationalizing agent in the new state.

However, Manzhouguo bureaucrats and agents had to know the impossibility of their mission. One wonders if the sporting enterprise in Manzhouguo is not perhaps more aptly described by a classic "opiate of the masses" analysis of cynical manipulation on the part of these *tiyu* functionaries, namely the Great Manchu Empire Athletic Association (under the Department of People's Livelihood) which ran the *tiyu* project.[78] In 1936, the Japanese national basketball team trained in Manzhouguo for the Berlin Olympiad later that year. When they were beaten 87-54 by the Manzhouguo national team in front of a raucous Xinjing crowd, the state snapped. Three players were arrested by Japanese police forces (another escaping arrest only when his uncle was seized from his home by mistake) after this exercise in national pride through sport gone embarrassingly wrong for the Japanese overlords.[79] But sports continued to be a

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[76] Also in Chapter Six are described the lengths to which the Japanese sporting bureaucracy went in 1934 in trying to achieve Manzhouguo participation in the Far Eastern Championship Games, preferring to destroy the thriving Far Eastern Athletic Association altogether than to stand for a Chinese veto of this scheme.

[77] This was one week after the first anniversary of the Manchurian Incident that began the Japanese occupation of the Northeast. "Li ci wei Man yundonghui chengji" [Records from each bogus "Manzhouguo" National Games], *Jilin tiyu shiliao* 1983.2 (October 1983), p. 32.

[78] Qiao and Guan, *Zhongguo tiyu sixiangshi*, p. 299.

[79] However, lest we become too caught up in notions of valiant anti-Japanese resistance through sport, we should remember that the author of the memoir containing this information was a longtime member of the Manzhouguo national basketball team, and in 1941 was the proud recipient of the *Shengjing shibao*'s Manzhouguo Athlete of the Year Award. Wang Yongfang, "Huiyi san, sishi niandai qian de Dongbei ji Jilin lanqiu" [Remembering Northeastern and Jilin basketball in the 1930s

trusted part of any national event, including ceremonies marking the fifth anniversary of the Manchurian Incident at the Xinjing War Memorial in 1936.[80]

However, no matter how "slavish" this Manzhouguo physical culture enterprise looks today, we still must face the fact that many of northeast China's finest athletes chose to compete, and compete well, in meets and competitions sponsored by the puppet state. Li Shiming, a skilled athlete who became involved in Japanese-run sporting organizations in Dalian in the 1920s, studied and played baseball in Japan for three years, and then returned to his native Liaoning in 1931. Li would have represented Liaoning Province in the ROC National Games that fall, if they had not been postponed due to the Manchurian Incident in September. However, with the establishment of the new Manzhouguo state, Li found himself facing a tough decision: to participate or not to participate.

A large photograph hanging in Li's Taipei rest home today betrays the answer to this story, or at least most of it. In the photo, Li is flanked by and has his arms around two bereted Russian athletes, a discus thrower named Afinoginov and a shotputter named Dulubin, during a training break on a Dalian field. In the photo on Mr. Li's wall (and in the copy he gave to me), the photo is cropped unusually high, at chest-level on the three's white sweatshirts. The crop's efficacy is less than perfect, however, for the English-reading eye can still make out quite clearly the tops of the letters "MANCHOUKUO" emblazoned across the three men's chests. During a two-

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and 1940s], *Jilin tiyu shiliao* 1983.2 (October 1983), pp. 13-14; "Li ci wei 'Tiyu Shengjing shang' huodezhe qingkuang" [The winners of each "Shengjing Sports Award"], *Jilin tiyu shiliao* 1983.2 (October 1983), p. 22.

[80] "Manchoukuo Celebrates September 18," *Manchuria* 1.7 (1 October 1936), p. 209.

to-three-year period which Mr. Li now is only willing to describe as "bad ... just really bad," he was a star middle-distance runner on the Manzhouguo national track team.[81] Mr. Li prefers to say very little about his stint in the Manzhouguo sports scene. It is hard to say what eventually drove him to leave his home for Beiping in 1934 or 1935 and join Northeastern University and the Dongbei "athletes in exile" groups active there.[82]

History repeated itself for Mr. Li in 1937 when Beiping fell to the Japanese, and he chose to remain on, now joining and captaining the Wang Jingwei "Nationalist" Chinese track team. On 15 August 1938, Li and several athlete friends, Chinese and

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[81] The original of this photo, with the "Manzhouguo" team name clearly visible, is stashed deep within one of Li's many scrapbooks. When he inadvertently turned to this page while showing me some of his clippings, he became flushed and turned the page immediately.

In 1933, Li won the 400 and 800 meter races at the Manzhouguo National Games, and the next year finished in second place in both of these events to his close friend Yu Xiwei. "Li ci wei Man yundonghui chengji," p. 32.

Yu's case is worthy of discussion as well. In 1932, he was one of two athletes who Manzhouguo authorities named as their picks to represent the new state at the Los Angeles Olympiad. While Liu Changchun, the other Northeastern star, chose instead to escape Shenyang and represent China as China's first Olympian, Yu chose to ignore this Olympic call and stay behind in Dalian for fear of state retaliation against his family (see Chapter Six). After two years of inactivity, remaining totally out of the sporting spotlight, however, the temptation was too great. Continuing his track career, Yu went on to win an amazing 25 gold medals at the Third through Eleventh Manzhouguo National Games, 1934-1942. (He won both the 800 and 1500 meter races every year during this streak, and added the 200, 400 and/or 5000 meter crowns in certain years.) He also ran anchor for four first- or second-place Xinjing teams in the annual 10-man 117-kilometer (73-mile) marathon between Xinjing and Jilin City (likely held to commemorate the new highway built between these cities). Finally, in 1936, he was named the first Manzhouguo Athlete of the Year.

However, for all these accomplishments, there were definite limits to any pride Yu could feel. One picture, taken at the First Great East Asian Games held in Tokyo in 1940, shows Yu standing behind his good friends Li Shiming and Liu Changchun (both wearing their Wang-ROC jackets) because he did not want the camera to record him wearing his official Manzhouguo track gear. "Li ci wei Man yundonghui chengji," pp. 32-35; "Li ci wei 'Jing-Ji yichuan ma-la-sun dahui' chengji ji bufen daibiaodui mingdan" [Records and some rosters from each Xinjing-Jilin Relay Marathon Race], *Jilin tiyu shiliao* 1983.2 (October 1983), pp. 28-30; "Li ci wei 'Tiyu Shengjing shang' huodezhe qingkuang," p. 22.

[82] However, as explained in Chapter Six, Li's past record as a Manzhouguo athlete kept him off the 1936 Olympic team, even though he owned the Chinese record in the 800 meters and met all other requirements for Olympic eligibility.

Japanese, enjoyed a relaxing day at the Summer Palace in what was now again called Beijing. To record this fine day for posterity, the men signed their names and athletic specialties (some adding drawings for emphasis) to a loose sheet of Grand Hotel stationery.[83] The reason I mention this outing is to make a point about Li's view of his participation in "puppet" sports. Athletes like Li, reluctant to leave their home areas, and perhaps (especially in Li's case) lacking the hatred of the Japanese that would allow them to turn their sporting participation into outright resistance, turned to timeless and ageless values like sportsmanship and friendship among teammates. Mr. Li, a man with whom time spent on this project has been a true joy, is literally unable to talk about his experiences starring for Manzhouguo and Wang-ROC sports teams. However, artifacts like this Grand Hotel stationery, or the photo with his Russian teammates, allow him to remember these days of competition and exertion in ways that do not directly recall the ugly memories of life under these regimes, or force him to "remember" (or invent memories of) acts of explicit resistance or rebellion as do so many others who lived through similar occupations. But the most telling pictures in Mr. Li's collection are two tiny one-inch square shots of him frolicking nude on the beach at Qinhuangdao, just adjacent to his native Liaoning, after the end of the war. I thought it odd that, for a man with so many athletic achievements, Mr. Li should be proudest of these tiny images. But when considering that it is these pictures which allow him, in the most spontaneous, intimate and physical way possible, to show his

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[83] In November 1983, 45 years after this outing, several of these Japanese athletes ventured to Taiwan in attempt to find their old friends from the Beijing sports world. On tips from Taipei sporting authorities, they were able to track down Li and Zhou Changxing. These old friends were reunited in an emotional meeting, and again signed their names to this same yellowing sheet of paper (a copy of which Mr. Li has given me), recording at the bottom, "Old track and field friends, reunited once again. Nov. 14 1983 Taipei."

devotion to his China, it becomes clear why this lifelong athlete has chosen these images to represent most accurately his life as an athlete and a man of his body.

Although Li was only involved in the Manzhouguo *tiyu* movement in the early 1930s, it continued strongly on into the 1940s.[84] In short, Manzhouguo *tiyu* seems to have been a delicate balance of calculated appeals to Chinese modernism and northeastern "Manchu" regionalism (or nationhood), and of Japanese chauvinism, insecurity and brutality. An article in the English-language propaganda journal *Manchuria* contained many of the main points of the public *tiyu* enterprise:

> In point of their original culture, the Hans are a superior race, but they have lived only in their past, neglecting the progressive culture of the modern world. The strength of Eastern continental races lies in their philosophical and ideological heritage, but they are weak in modern arts and sciences.... Manchoukuo education must therefore be built upon the heritage of the East combined with practical, scientific knowledge of to-day.

The author continued with the three aims of Manzhouguo education: "to fortify the spirit of national foundation," to "enable each individual to discharge the duties of his station in life," and "the improvement of the national physique."[85] These priorities and the tone of this appeal should not surprise anyone who has read this far; Manzhouguo *tiyu* clearly was an attempt to hijack the achievements of physical culture in the Nationalist realm, even down to key terms like "national physique." But these familiar terms were balanced with appeals to Manchu exceptionalism as well. In 1941, the newspaper *Datongbao* published research on the Manchu "somersault soldier"

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[84] 1942-1943, the last years of the Manzhouguo National Games, the Xinjing-Jilin Relay Marathon Race, and the Manzhouguo Athlete of the Year Award, likely mark the endpoint of any significant *tiyu* activity.

[85] Keiji Tsuzue, "Basic Principles of Manchoukuo Education," *Manchuria: A Monthly Review* 5.3 (1 April 1940), pp. 100-102.

acrobatic corps of the Qing Dynasty.[86] However, most of this fishing for a pro-Manchu spirit was not so subtle, and usually consisted of clumsy talk of the "new East Asian order," "improving the quality of the people," a "spirit of Japanese *bushido*," or "Japanese and Manchurian, one morality, one heart."[87] Sports events were even parts of celebrations marking the Japanese invasion of China, or Japan's national 2600-year commemoration, as state agents inexplicably hoped to trace out slivers of Dongbei hospitality toward their neighbors across the Sea of Japan.[88]

However, this razor-thin (and razor-sharp) facade of Japanese-Manchurian brotherhood was easily betrayed by events in the *tiyu* world. At the 1939 Japanese-Manzhouguo-China Soccer Tournament at Fengtian, authorities solved the problem of what might happen when Chinese athletes from the puppet Manzhouguo and ROC states were joined in competition, by simply sending an all-Japanese team to represent Manzhouguo.[89] This same effective (if unoriginal) barrier to ROC-Manzhouguo Han solidarity was used at the Second Great East Asian Games, held in Xinjing. Here, the Manzhouguo national volleyball team was put together from Anshan Steel Plant and Changchun Japan-Manzhouguo Trading Company teams of Japanese employees, and

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[86] Surely this work might have been written by a Chinese subject, discussing this historical subject as an officially approved, if still subversive, way of longing for a Chinese nation (even if under Manchu rule). However, the fact that it was published at all suggests that this genre of Manchu-centric scholarship was encouraged by the Manzhouguo state. "Qingdai jindou bing" [Somersault soldiers of the Qing dynasty], *Datongbao*, 16 August 1941, quoted in Li Shiming, "Qingdai de huangjia 'jindou bing'" [The royal "somersault soldiers" of the Qing dynasty], *Tiyu wenshi (Sports History)* 66 (March 1994), p. 11.

[87] Qiao and Guan, *Zhongguo tiyu sixiangshi*, pp. 300-303.

[88] See photographs, *Manchuria: A Monthly Review* 5.12 (25 December 1940).

[89] Shenyang shi renmin zhengfu difangzhi bianzuan bangongshi, ed., *Shenyang shi zhi* [Shenyang municipal gazetteer] (Shenyang chubanshe, 1990), p. 346.

the national soccer team was filled with ethnic Koreans from "Jiandao Province" (now the Yanbian Chaoxian Autonomous Prefecture in eastern Jilin).[90]

The Manzhouguo *tiyu* movement left an odd legacy. Between modern nationalistically correct revisionist accounts claiming that the Manzhouguo years led to a popular revulsion against state-sponsored sports,[91] and contemporary official propaganda that portrayed a sports-as-usual physical culture, it is hard to come to an accurate judgment on the role of *tiyu* in the Manzhouguo puppet state. At best, it seems to have been a true exercise in futility, in terms of the impossible task of forming a Manzhouguo "nationness" out of the once-reliable forms and disciplines of modern physical culture. At its worst, sports in Manzhouguo seems to have been just another site of Japanese brutality, as existing local sporting organizations were closed down, suspicious or too-successful athletes arrested, and meets used to rub Dongbei natives' faces in the ruins of the Chinese nation. As I discussed with regard to ex-Manzhouguo athletes like my friend Li Shiming, this realm did provide a space to continue old habits of sport and friendships borne of competition. But its brutal realities have left these "apolitical" notions of sportsmanship and sporting friendship as the only tolerable ways of remembering these years.

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[90] The all-Chinese Manzhouguo basketball team was perhaps too good to keep out of the tournament. However, this author remembers that the Xinjing crowd rooted heartily for the visiting ROC squad from Nanjing against the Manzhouguo home team, especially as the Japanese court official became more and more transparent in his attempt to favor the Manzhouguo team. The game ended in chaos when, after a technical foul called on the ROC team, fans showered Japanese officials with fruit, bottles and rocks. Hui Baoshan, "Wei 'Dadongya yundonghui' sanji" [Miscellaneous records from the bogus "Great East Asian Games"], *Jilin tiyu shiliao* 6 (March 1985), pp. 33-34.

[91] For example, see Yanbian zuqiu xiehui, "Yanbian zuqiu fazhan gaikuang" [An outline of the development of Yanbian soccer], *Jilin tiyu shiliao* 1982.1 (December 1982), p. 4; Chen Zhuoyan, "Siping lanqiu shihua" [Items from Siping basketball history], *Jilin tiyu shiliao* 6 (March 1985), p. 27.

New Citizens and Physical Culture in the Nanjing "Republican" Regime

The *tiyu* movement carried out under the Provisional, Reform, and then "Republican" regimes governing eastern China seems to have been not nearly as stressful as that in Manzhouguo. This was particularly true in the case of the Wang Jingwei-led "Republic," where Wang and his faithful band (now of course reviled as traitors) were able to mediate the role of the Japanese overlords who possessed ultimate power over this puppet regime as well. These wartime materials telling of meets held to celebrate Chinese-Japanese friendship or "Pan-Asianism" are still more than enough to make the historically-minded reader cringe. However, it seems undeniable that participation in Nanjing-sponsored physical culture, because this was "still" the Republic of China ruled over by a loyal servant of Sun Yat-sen,[92] provided nowhere near the headaches and hurt brought by state-run *tiyu* programs in Manzhouguo. The sense of practical "normality" seen in Eykholt's study of Nanjing life during wartime rings through in the physical culture world as well, as state-sponsored *tiyu* allowed the young and fit to continue their healthy activities under the familiar ROC red, white and blue.

Familiar organizations under familiar leadership continued to operate during the war, perhaps easing the transition for many physically active Chinese. The Beijing Municipal Martial Arts Academy, and its monthly publication *Physical Culture Monthly*, continued on during this hard time. Its staff still wrote on the benefits of *guoshu* (an essential aspect of the "national essence" and absolutely in tune with the "national condition") as opposed to uneconomical foreign *tiyu*.[93] However, there was a

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[92] Eykholt, *Living the Limits of Occupation in Nanjing China*, pp. 148-150.

[93] Tingtuo, "Duiyu guoshu yingyou de renshi" [On what should be martial arts common sense], *Tiyu*

different tinge to the *guoshu* movement now. In Japanese-controlled Beijing, a *tiyu* emphasis could no longer be on national strength; an article translated from the Japanese for the *Guoshuguan* journal explained that "The goals of physical culture are to bring a type of efficiency to life, to provide a balanced education in physical discipline, to train the muscles and bones, to work the heart and lungs, and to provide an earnestness and methodology."[94] And the *guoshu* performances put on for important Japanese *tiyu* advisors were described as demonstrations of "the boxing of ancient Oriental culture"![95]

Elite Chinese soccer teams like Donghua and Lido continued to participate in Shanghai Soccer First Division competitions, and the Shanghai Refugee Relief Foundation held charity tennis matches to raise funds for "our thousands upon thousands of ragged and soaked compatriots without adequate clothing or food."[96] The All-China Athletic Association, formed in 1938, was active in pushing soccer as the new "national game" and Chu Minyi's "*Taiji*-calisthenics" as the "citizens' calisthenics" of the new regime. The ACAA sponsored events like a Reform Cup National Inter-City Soccer Tourney, a Chairman's Soccer Cup and a Citizens' Calisthenics Meet to celebrate the "return" of the Republican government to Nanjing, held a ROC National Games in Nanjing on 10 October 1942, and even sent ROC teams

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yuekan 5.6 (1 June 1938), pp. 1-6.

[94] Taya Takeichi, translated by Lu Junsheng, "Tiyu de mudi yu fanwei" [The goals and scope of physical culture], *Tiyu yuekan* 5.6 (1 June 1938), p. 14.

[95] "Zhongwai laibin li Guan canguan" [Chinese and foreign guests to observe at the Academy], *Tiyu yuekan* 5.6 (1 June 1938), p. 18.

[96] "Lidu bisheng Fashang" [Club Lido to defeat the French Merchants], *Yeyu: Xinxing de tiyubao* 45 (21 October 1939), p. 1; "Cishan wangqiu biaoyan quanbu jiemu" [The complete Charity Tennis Tourney schedule], advertisement, *Yeyu: Xinxing de tiyubao* 42 (30 September 1939), p. 1.

to the First and Second Great East Asian Games in Tokyo and Xinjing.[97] And Hong Kong soccer hero (and captain of the 1936 Olympic team) Li Huitang served as a sporting ambassador for the Wang regime, serving as an Honorary Director of the ACAA, and helping to select athletes to represent the ROC at the Second Great East Asian Games.[98] Li even toured throughout Southeast Asia to try to win Overseas Chinese populations over to the new puppet governments.[99]

Most of the sources on the sports and physical culture movement in the Nanjing regime are about this type of high-level competitive sport. However, once in a while, we are able to get a glimpse of what physical culture meant to Chinese trying to live meaningful lives under these "puppet" governments. The best such view comes in the semi-regular "Bringing Together Sporting Friends" column in the Beijing-published *North China Sports Monthly*. This bulletin board allowed readers to find pen pals and (as seen below) to develop even more significant relationships through the medium and language of *tiyu*. In February 1942, a young northern stud named Cao Zhi posted the

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[97] Chu Minyi, Wang Jingwei's brother-in-law who served as Foreign Minister, Director of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission and Guangdong Provincial Governor, among many other posts, in the Wang regime, was also President of the ACAA, and led the 1940 ROC Delegation to the Great East Asian Games. The ACAA consisted of representatives from Nanjing, Shanghai, Hankou, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Anhui, Guangdong, the ROC Education Department, and the North China Athletic Association (which consisted of representatives from Beijing, Tianjin, Qingdao, Shandong, Hebei, Henan and Shanxi). *Zhongguo tixie gaiyao* [An introduction to the All-China Athletic Association] (Nanjing: Zhongguo tiyu xiehui quanguo zonghui, 1941); "Jiaoyubu canjia gezhong jinian huodong de wenjian" [Documents from Department of Education participation in any type of commemorative event], File 2078, Folder 52, Second Historical Archives, Nanjing, China. "Quanguo tiyu daibiao dahui jixiang" [A record of the ACAA meeting of national representatives]. *Huabei tiyu yuebao* 1.10 (March 1942), p. 10; *Huabei tiyu xiehui zhangcheng* [Constitution of the North China Athletic Association] (Beijing: Huabei tiyu xiehui, 1943), p. 1.

[98] "Men & Events," *The China Leader (Zhonghua daobao)* 1.2 (27 June 1942), pp. 36-37.

[99] Li Huitang, "Jing Fei zaji (yi)" [Random jottings on my trip through the Philippines (#1)], *Yeyu: Yinxing de tiyubao* 45 (21 October 1939), p. 1.

following message:

> A man who will hug you to death: ... I am tall, strong from head to toe, dark-haired - a picture of health. There's no need to go on about my past record; let's just say that I'll hug you to death! Even though I am only 21 now, I have already traveled to many northern provinces - the reason of course being to take part in athletic meets. What I need is a female comrade, a healthy female comrade. Lin Daiyu-type "sickly beauties" need not apply.[100]

The other extreme could be seen in a message posted by a Liu Min, who wrote:

> Looking for an athletic and patient friend: My body is not very fit. Everyday when I come home from work, I just feel an incredible exhaustion. Even though I am a youth of 20 years, others say that I am the original "East Asian Sickie." This makes me feel really depressed. I want to exercise and train, or play tennis, or go ice skating, in order to make my body more healthy. But my problem is that I don't have anyone to show me how. I was so happy to see this "Bringing Together Sporting Friends" column in *North China Sports Monthly*, and I want to meet an athletic yet patient friend. I would welcome 120% anyone who could write to me.[101]

Sites like these gave many Chinese living under these puppet governments the chance

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[100] "Tiyou shaojie" [Bringing together sporting friends], *Huabei tiyu yuebao* 1.9 (February 1942), p. 15.

This discourse of "sickly beauty" (*bingtai mei*) became even more common in the publications put out in these puppet areas than before the war. The Japanese take on "traditional China," that it encouraged antiquated form over modern function, was acutely applied to notions of women's health and fitness as well.

In 1940, one author wrote on the differences between models of sickly beauty (which "devastates one's own body") and healthy beauty (*jiankang mei*, which was "absolutely necessary to being seen as a modern woman"). She continued on the legacy of the legendary beauty Lin Daiyu, "What kind of beauty was Lin Daiyu anyway? To put it succinctly, she was nothing more than a tubercular ghost with third-stage consumption!" Lü Min, "Funü bingtai mei he jiankang mei de jiantao" [A discussion of the differences between women's sickly beauty and healthy beauty], *Funü zazhi* 1.2 (15 October 1940), p. 7.

Another article, accompanied by a photo of braided blonde German women skiers, asked, "What woman does not want to be beautiful? But concepts of beauty change with the times; they are not constant from antiquity to thousands of years later. So in the 20th century, healthy beauty has replaced the ancient, ever-praised ideal of willow hips and golden lotus feet." Yun Qing, "Funü yu jiankang jiaoyu" [Women and health education], *Xinguang zazhi* 2.11 (10 February 1942), p. 5.

[101] "Tiyou shaojie," p. 15.

to dream and to express themselves through this modern language of sports and health, which by the 1940s knew no national or ideological boundaries. China was at war, its eastern third under the heel of the murderous Japanese war machine. However, these notions of sports and health were just as appropriate to this life as they had been in the prewar period, and allowed people living in these circumstances to imagine their own sporting lives outside of any explicit reach of the puppet state.

However, this is not to say that popular ideas of continuity and normality through sport during these pressing times represented a popular acceptance of the Nanjing regime's use of sport to promote "Sino-Japanese friendship" or "Sun Yat-sen's Pan-Asianism." Again, even for an historian investigating this movement half a century later it is painful to see some of the extremes to which the regime was willing to go in pushing their schemes via this familiar realm of *tiyu*. Lin Baisheng, Minister of Publicity, had the honor of kicking off a Chinese-Japanese soccer game held at the Nanjing Metropolitan Stadium on 8 July 1942 as part of celebrations marking the "Fifth Anniversary of the China Incident."[102] In Beijing, the *North China Sports Monthly* sponsored a "Sino-Japanese Alliance Commemoration Soccer & Basketball Tourney" on 12 November 1943. Since the goal of this event was "to teach the 100 million North Chinese the truth about the Great Asian War, to work toward Sino-Japanese friendship and East Asian solidarity, to revive China, to safeguard the future of East Asia and to work toward bringing about Sun Yat-sen's Pan-Asianism, the event [was]

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[102] The Chinese victors (by a 3-2 score) won a cup presented by President Wang, while the Japanese squad were awarded the consolation prize, a "copy of the documents on the Peace, Anti-Communist and National Reconstruction Movements" for each player! "Men & Events," *The China Leader (Zhonghua daobao)* 1.5 (18 July 1942), p. 40.

held on 12 November, the birthday of the late Sun Yat-sen."[103] And the New Citizens' Movement. Wang's call to youth to "attack the enemy within ourselves, rectify our defects" by participating in recreational and healthy activities, was explicitly conceived of in terms of fascist youth movements in Japan, Germany and Italy. Speeches given by Wang himself, calling for youth to "eradicate fully your defects, your faults and your blemishes," equated these fascist movements with the sacred historical role of Chinese youth in the late Qing *Tongmenghui*, the 1911 Revolution and the May Fourth movement![104]

However, the *tiyu* world could get much worse than just the purely offensive and insulting. In the recognition of the important role that physical culture played in the lives of Chinese surviving under their rule, Japanese ruling forces sometimes turned the *tiyu* realm into a site of terror and brutality, just as in Manzhouguo. In early 1944, Japanese forces began a sweep of Beijing which targeted several big names in the *tiyu* world. In February and March of that year, Hu Anshan (Director of the Beijing Normal University P.E. Department) and Cui Zhiru (also an instructor at Normal U.) were arrested and "disappeared" (in the Hellerian *Catch-22* sense) by Japanese agents and military police.[105] Liu Changchun, China's first Olympian, who also coached in the

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[103] "*Huabei tiyu yuebao* she wei Qingzhu Zhong-Ri tongmeng tiaoyue qianding juxing quan shi zu lanqiu dahui shishi jihua" [The *North China Sports Monthly* Society's plans for holding the Sino-Japanese Alliance and Treaty-Signing Commemoration Soccer & Basketball Tourney], File 19431100, Second Historical Archives, Nanjing, China.

[104] "Successful Conclusion of Students' Summer Training Camp," *The China Leader (Zhonghua daobao)* 1.10 (22 August 1942), p. 16; Wang Ching-wei (Wang Jingwei), "The Importance of Self-Conquest," *The China Leader (Zhonghua daobao)* 1.13 (12 September 1942), pp. 6-7.

[105] Hu Zhongchen, "Hu Anshan bei Rikou daibu de jingguo" [The story of the Japanese enemy's arrest of Hu Anshan], *Beijing tiyu wenshi* 4 (May 1989), pp. 221-222; Meng Guangli, "Cui Zhiru bei bu de jingguo" [The story of Cui Zhiru's arrest], *Beijing tiyu wenshi* 4 (May 1989), p. 225.

same P.E. Department, was arrested, interrogated as to the whereabouts of fellow coach Bai Chunyu, and detained a month before being released.[106]

The physical culture movement in the Chinese wartime "puppet" states is an interesting addition to both social and cultural histories of this period, as we see these ideals and assumptions of the modern body and nation moving smoothly between violently opposed political and social environments. This short section draws mostly from sources which concentrate on the "top-down" aspect of sports and physical culture, namely the programs implemented by regimes (especially the Wang-led Nanjing state) in the hopes of creating some new national consciousness and of explaining their own collaborationist activities. However, my goal here has been to use these sources to show the range of ideas facing the *tiyu*-oriented Chinese public. On one hand, officially-sponsored sports could be designed in infuriatingly (and ridiculously) transparent ways. It is difficult to imagine that many people took the official rhetoric these Sino-Japanese friendship meets and games too seriously (except to despise it, of course). On the other hand, the simple fact remains that many self-respecting and confident young people did take part in state-sanctioned *tiyu*, and made this an important part of their identity, suggests that there was still something valuable to be gained in this realm. It was a tribute to the success of the modern *tiyu* project

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[106] Jiang Xiuzhen. "Liu Changchun bei Rikou daibu de jingguo" [The story of the Japanese enemy's arrest of Liu Changchun], *Beijing tiyu wenshi* 4 (May 1989), p. 226. By this time, Liu had emerged from the long period of depression and opium addiction into which he sank several years earlier. Liu originally retreated to Chongqing with the Nationalist sports apparatus, but then risked everything to come back to Beijing to find his girlfriend, a famed martial arts competitor. When Liu discovered that she had already married, he resigned himself to a life of alcohol, opium and self-pity in the Japanese-controlled Beijing. However, a wealthy friend of his forced Liu to quit these vices by assigning one of his bodyguards to follow him around constantly and make sure he did not fall off either wagon. Interview with Dong Hanwen, 4 June 1996, Taipei, Taiwan.

carried out in roughly the first three decades of the Republican period that this physical culture world could serve as a refuge of sportsmanship, honest competition, fitness and health, away from the ugly and embarrassing outside world of Pan-Asianism or just plain bootlicking collaboration. Few likely were won over by the silly claims of Nanjing, Beijing or Xinjing *tiyu* publicists, but the *tiyu* structure they tried so hard to promote ended up housing young athletes and fitness buffs grateful for one last "apolitical," pure sporting retreat.

Physical Culture in the Civil War Period, 1945-48

It did not take long for the glory of victory in the Eight Years' War of Resistance to be shorn away by the advent of Guomindang-Communist civil warfare in late 1945. Whatever peace dividend possibly could have existed after an invasion as devastating as the Japanese ravaging of China was quickly spent by steadily worsening inflation in Nationalist-held territories and skyrocketing military expenses incurred by Generalissimo Chiang's war against the CCP. The lustrous postwar that so many had imagined was stolen by these newest tragedies of corruption, poor judgment, and bad governance. It was replaced in Nationalist areas by a new sort of siege mentality, as the Guomindang and its agents attempted simultaneously to re-take lands lost to the Japanese imperialists for years or even decades, and to shelter their citizenry from harmful communist, liberal or even slightly democratic ideologies. Physical culture in this civil war period can tell one story of this process, as the Nationalists hoped to use their *tiyu* program to instill once more the disciplines and loyalties that they believed had won them the long war against the Japanese, and to present to their people and to the nations of the world the face of the newly victorious Republic of China.

General Aims of the Civil War-Era *Tiyu* Movement

The brief optimism that victory brought Chinese in 1945 allowed those in the Republican *tiyu* bureaucracy to dream as well. On 7 September, in the last CNAAF meeting held in Chongqing before relocating in Nanjing, members of this national sporting body resolved to apply to the International Olympic Committee to host the XVth Olympiad in 1952.[107] The bid, like so many Nationalist schemes, was never brought to fruition,[108] instead giving way to more practical and perhaps cynical directions in the *tiyu* project.

Physical culture in the postwar/civil war period showed an intensification of the commitment to rationality, discipline, and order that marked the Nanjing Decade. During this period of rapid and nerve-wracking disintegration of the national economy, many turned to *tiyu* to provide what other aspects of life could not. In 1947, a P.E. coach at Guilin Middle School wrote, "People joined together form a community. Communities joined together form a nation. These are phrases that everyone knows, proverbs that everyone accepts as true." He looked to physical culture as a way to achieve this community and nation, as well as for "the nation and race to throw off once and for all this danger of [national] extinction."[109] Other *tiyu* experts worked to

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[107] "Tixie lishihui" [CNAAF Standing Committee meeting], *Dagongbao (L'Impartial)*, 8 September 1945, p. 3.

[108] Chinese IOC representative and Guomindang heavy Kong Xiangxi supported this resolution, and pledged to use his influence in the central government to raise money for a new Olympic stadium. However, this resolution was never brought up at IOC meetings. Hua Chenqi, "Jiu Zhongguo shenban Aoyunhui de yi chang fengbo" [A storm over Old China's plans to host the Olympic Games], *Tiyu wenshi (Sport History)* 55 (May 1992), pp. 67-68.

[109] Lü Rongling, "Duiyu jiujiu Tiyujie de qiwang" [My hopes for September 9th Sports Day], in *Zhonghua quanguo tiyu xiejinhui Guangxi sheng fenhui huikan: Sanshiliu nian "jiujiu" Tiyujie teji* [Publication of the Guangxi Provincial Branch of the Chinese National Amateur Athletic Federation: Special "September 9th" Sports Day 1947 Issue] (Guilin, 1947), p. 25.

bring about changes in the general directions of physical culture. In 1948, Shanghai's China Books published a work called *New Citizens' Calisthenics* which advocated a return to past days of *ticao* (calisthenics and gymnastics) dominance over competitive sports. Jiang Xiangqing of the Shanghai Municipal Athletic Grounds opined, "One could say that this [*ticao* to sports] transition was in keeping with the times, but it was regrettable how one side [*ticao*] was totally neglected. I feel that we could change the name of *ticao*, but that we should not destroy its basic characteristics, because *ticao* does have its strong and valuable points."[110]

Some were very explicit about their understanding of the disciplining uses of physical culture. Militarist Cheng Qian, Honorary Chairman of the Ninth Hubei Province Games in 1947, wrote on his estimation of competitive sports:

> [In a competition] One must show a bright and positive attitude, respect sporting morality, and strictly obey the discipline of the sport. We all hope for victory, but if we should fail, we must continue on and keep striving for victory. We absolutely must not blame others for our own failures. We must not protest the judgments of the referees. If we do, then we are no better than rowdy horsemen spoiling for a fight. This is simply contrary to the lofty goals of team sports....
>
> There is so little justice or fairness in society of which to speak. The result is that there is no right or wrong. People take pride in destroying order and disrupting discipline. Observing rules and abiding laws is seen as stupid and weak. All one hears and sees is a lot of cruelty and dishonesty.... But if one wants to make China independent and strong, then all our citizens must heartily awake, thoroughly reform, wipe out habits of vanity, perfunctoriness, deception and selfishness, and honor the virtues of justice, determination, responsibility and respect for law. Today's Games are the touchstone for these virtues.[111]

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[110] Jiang Xiangqing, "Jiang xu" [Jiang's preface], in Zhang Juefei, *Xin guomin cao* [New citizens' calisthenics] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1948), p. 1.

[111] Cheng Qian, "Fayang yundong jingshen jianshe xin Zhongguo" [Bring forth the sporting spirit and build New China], in *Hubei di jiu jie quan sheng yundong dahui tekan (The Special Publishing of Hubeh Provincial Athletic Meet)* (Hankou, 1947), p. 1.

Wang Xuezheng's work *Physical Culture and Education*, published in 1945 (then again in 1946 and 1947) included a Chapter Five titled "An Analysis of *Tiyu* in a Civilized Life." Here, he dealt with several questions of physical culture and "social control" (*shehui kongzhi*). Even more important than Wang's models of "productive empathy" or the fine balance between self-determination and obedience, was his prescient statement that "in democratic nations, the power of social order and control must come from the people themselves."[112] The popularity of Wang's book throughout the final years of the Republican period (and then even on Taiwan) speaks convincingly to the new approaches to control used in the Nationalist *tiyu* project.

Not all physical culture experts were so brazen in their *tiyu* fascism. Chen Zhang'e, a famed athlete, professor of P.E., and returned *Huaqiao*, wrote a biweekly sports column for the *New Fujian Daily*. One of his essays, included in a 1948 volume of his work, addressed the question of "democratic *tiyu*," and how democracy could proceed from sport. Chen based his analysis on the work of Hutchins of the University of Chicago on the three main elements of democracy - justice, law and equality. Chen identified justice in the selfless doctrine of sportsmanship, and maintained that "sporting rules are no different from democratic law," where each were handed down by qualified experts and had to be obeyed. He saw the greatest parallels between sport and democracy in the concept of equality; however, Chen's rendering of the functions of democracy is important as well. He equated "following the orders of the coach or the captain" with "taking directions from the nation, when needed, in order to reach a final goal. When the goal is reached, the contest is over, and all duties come to an end, then

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[112] Wang Xuezheng, *Tiyu yu jiaoyu* [Physical culture and education] (Chongqing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1945; Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1966 reprint), pp. 62-70.

the coached and the coaches, no matter if they are high officials or common laborers, all receive equal treatment and enjoy equal rights."[113] The civil war era was such that even the most liberal and cosmopolitan of *tiyu* thinkers still could really only imagine their craft in terms of top-down discipline. This discipline was sometimes purely fascist, other times pleasantly liberal democratic, but was always centered solidly as the key to "social control" in a state that was falling apart at the seams.

However, try as they did to maintain a healthy refuge of order and discipline away from the chaos of the civil war period, Nationalist physical culture functionaries ultimately could not safeguard the purity of the *tiyu* realm. Corruption, inflation, and reactionary violence[114] - the Three Horsemen of the Republican Apocalypse - were simply too pervasive to keep out of the sports world. The Jilin basketball community was smirched in 1946 when it was learned that Guo Fengyu, Jilin City Police Chief and coach of the Police Vigilance basketball team, was awarded a promotion by Jilin Provincial Chairman Liang Huasheng just for capturing first place in a city basketball tourney.[115] Inflation made it increasingly difficult to maintain a respectable *tiyu*

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[113] Chen Zhang'e, *Tiyu mantan* [Informal discussions on sport] (Shanghai: Dongnan chubanshe, 1948), p. 11.

The Official Proclamation of the Ninth Hubei Games also contained protracted analogies between competitive sport and constitutional democracy. As the proclamation went in one section, "The rules of competition of these Provincial Games are no different from the constitution of a democratic nation, and the officiating rules of the Games are just like the election laws of a democratic nation." "Dahui xuanyan" [Official Games Proclamation], in *Hubei di jiu jie quan sheng yundong dahui tekan*, pp. 2-3.

[114] Suzanne Pepper sees corruption, the civil war, and incompetence as a similar triad of key issues in the intellegentsia's indictment of the Guomindang in the late 1940s. Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle, 1945-1949* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 147-180.

[115] Tan Jialun, "Huiyi 1947 nian qianhou Jilin qiutan er, san shi" [Recalling two or three items from the Jilin basketball world, circa 1947], *Jilin tiyu shiliao* 1982.1 (December 1982), pp. 26-27.

movement. A letter exists from He Zhiliang, Director of the Mass Education Center in Toksun County, Xinjiang, informing provincial authorities in Dihua that even his 600-some billion *yuan* budget would not be sufficient to sponsor a October Tenth County Track Meet.[116] But worst of all were the moments when the joy of sporting competition gave way to terror and brutality. A sunny October Tenth Basketball Tourney in Luoping County, eastern Yunnan, began with a large crowd watching the Banqiao Merchants take on the Stray Bullets, a team made up of soldiers from the local Army encampment. However, these army men, victorious in the good war against Japan, proved to be sore losers in this context. When the Banqiao Merchants broke the game open in the second half to the delight of the crowd, armed troops from the Stray Bullets' unit took to the court, bashing the Merchants about their heads and midsections with the butts and barrels of their weapons.[117]

Among the challenges and tasks facing the Nationalists in the early postwar era was the reconstruction of a new national *tiyu* program. Where their emphasis during the Chongqing period had fallen on the masses and the creation of a healthy *tiyu* for the future, the exigencies and distractions of the civil war resulted in a haphazard, inconsistent commitment that tended to emphasize the large-scale high-profile sports meet over the local-level mass sports that evolved during the war. Agents of the Nationalist *tiyu* bureaucracy attempted to right this important ship, and indeed society as a whole, by focusing on notions of rational order and discipline instructed from

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[116] "Yi ge Xian minjiaoguan zhang de kuzhong: Qing choukuan jiudian bufu" [The pain of a County Mass Education Center Director: Asking for funds to supplement insufficient budgets], *Xinjiang tiyu shiliao* 5 (1991), p. 33.

[117] Li Jiaxiao, "Kao qiangganzi qusheng de lanqiusai" [A basketball game won with the barrel of a gun], *Yunnan tiyu wenshi* 12 (October 1990), p. 55.

above. However, as shown above, this body of discipline proved to be no more than a pretty face when confronted with the harsh realities of the day. Here, I will concentrate on three crucial sites of the civil war *tiyu* project - Taiwan's Retrocession, the 1948 National Games, and the 1948 Olympic Games - and discuss how these attempts again only proved to bring out the worst of the Nationalists' tragically numerous faults.

Sports and the Taiwan Retrocession

When the Guomindang state took the reins of Taiwan government in late 1945, it faced the demanding tasks of stripping Taiwanese culture of its Japanese legacies, and restoring to it an essential and timeless "Chineseness" for which the Taiwanese people presumably had been longing over the last half-century. A "cult" of the benevolent and sagely dictator Chiang Kai-shek was developed, where he was to be honored as "Master of the Nationalist Revolution," "Savior of the People" and "Grand Family Head." Policies of "de-Taiwanization" were enforced, officially degrading any cultures or customs that were distinctively Taiwanese, in order not only to cut the colonial links to Japan, but also to nip in the bud any heretical links between a culturally distinctive and politically distinctive Taiwan.[118] These policies applied to the physical culture world as well, as an ace group of *tiyu* specialists arrived in Taiwan during this Retrocession (*Guangfu*) period to address the important realm of physical culture and fashion it into one safe for the Nationalist, and more importantly, Chinese worlds.

Chief among items on this *tiyu* agenda was the issue of baseball. This game,

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[118] Mau-Kuei Chang, "Middle Class and Social and Political Movements in Taiwan: Questions and Some Preliminary Observations," in Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, *Discovery of the Middle Classes in East Asia* (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1993), pp. 141-148.

imported into Taiwan during the second decade of the colonial period, by the 1920s and 1930s had become an important way in which Taiwanese negotiated their relationship with the colonizing power. In the Taiwan of the postwar 1940s, however, the sport, extremely rare in the ROC proper, carried a distinctively Japanese/colonial stigma. One author has described the rarity, among Guomindang-fearing school administrators, of individuals now willing to accept the presence of a baseball team on their campus.[119] However, at the same time, state agents involved in Retrocession efforts also must have realized what a valuable exception baseball could be to the rule of denying the colonial in Taiwan. Official endorsement of baseball soon became one method of Nationalizing an awkward cultural realm which still comprised a Pandora's Box of colonial thinking and customs. Baseball was included at the First Taiwan Provincial Games, held in October 1946 at the Taiwan National University athletic field, with 20 counties, cities, colleges and government organizations sending baseball teams to the meet.[120] A baseball tournament was held in Taiwan in August 1947, with Shanghai's Pandas and Fudan University teams coming to play against teams from Taipei, Taizhong, Taiwan Power, Taiwan Sugar and Taiwan Charcoal during that bloody summer.[121]

The interesting thing about these Guomindang efforts to actively promote

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[119] Su Jinzhang, *Jiayi bangqiu shihua* [Stories from Jiayi baseball history] (Taibei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1996), p. 27.

[120] *Taiwan sheng di yi jie quansheng yundong dahui* [The First Taiwan Provincial Games] (Taibei: Taiwan sheng di yi jie quansheng yundong dahui xuanchuan zu, 1946), pp. 82-84; Su Jinzhang, *Jiayi bangqiu shihua*, p. 27.

[121] Gao Zhengyuan, *Dongsheng de xuri: Zhonghua bangqiu fazhan shi* [Rising sun in the east: The history of the development of Chinese baseball] (Taibei, 1994), p. 31.

baseball in Taiwan in the immediate postwar period[122] is that Taiwan was clearly the only region of China with any real baseball tradition to speak of. Taiwan's baseball team won the baseball championship at the Seventh National Games in Shanghai in 1948 - but only three other teams had bothered to enter the competition - the Police and Air Force teams, both of which were stacked with Taiwanese players, and the Philippines *Huaqiao* team![123] The Guomindang could hardly promote baseball as a "Chinese" custom. Thus, their work to hijack the game's unique popularity in Taiwan for their own uses still had to be done on explicitly Taiwanese terms. The game of basketball soon became fashionable in Taiwan, promoted by the sizable *waishengren* "provincial-outsider" population concentrated in the north. But baseball remained an arena where Taiwanese people could successfully, and without any fear of reprisal, challenge the Guomindang's policies of "de-Taiwanization" and claims to represent a true Chinese culture which Taiwanese needed for their own good.

The game of baseball and its role in Guomindang-ruled Taiwan is central to the story of Taiwan's traumatic and rapid transition from war to decolonization to a new oppression delivered in the rhetoric of "Retrocession" to Chinese rule. Edward Said has described the standard mode of decolonization, where native intellectuals work for the "rediscovery and repatriation of what had been suppressed in the natives' past by

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[122] Later, in 1949, a Taiwan Province Baseball Committee was formed, with Xie Dongmin (future ROC Vice President) as Chairman. That same year, this Committee began holding annual provincial baseball tournaments at all levels of play. Zhan Deji, "Woguo bangqiu yundong de fawei yu zhanwang" [The humble beginnings and future hopes for our nation's baseball movement], *Jiaoyu ziliao jikan* 10 (June 1985), p. 436.

[123] *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui huakan* [Seventh National Games Official Pictorial] (Shanghai: Shenbaoguan, 1948), p. 30.

the processes of imperialism."[124] However, in Taiwan, after 28 February 1947 any process of looking for distinctively "Chinese" roots was unthinkable. The early postwar hopes voiced by many in support of Chinese rule of Taiwan soon were dashed violently and unmercifully by Guomindang troops, and then compunded by the carpetbagging of hundreds of thousands of bureaucrats and hangers-on. Relieved and enthusiastic searching for a Chinese Taiwan thus quickly gave way to a yearning for cultural artifacts from the good old colonial days. Baseball was one of these, and this complicated picture of a Taiwan stuck between a Japanese rock and a violent Guomindang hard place explains much of baseball's continued popularity after the Japanese were long gone from Taiwan.

There were other elements of the Retrocession *tiyu* project besides baseball, however. This period saw an influx into Taiwan of top *tiyu* administrators charged with using this physical realm to ease Taiwan's masses, confused and disoriented by the "slave life" they led for half a century,[125] back into polite Chinese society. As mentioned above, the First Taiwan Provincial Games were held beginning on 25 October 1946 to mark the first anniversary of Retrocession. Chiang Kai-shek and Song Meiling, in Taiwan for this first glorious anniversary, visited the Games, for which new Provincial Chief Administrator Chen Yi served Official Chairman. Any fan lucky enough to obtain a copy of the official Games program would not have missed the central point of the meet. The first twelve pages of the program contained, in order: a drawing of the ROC flag, words and music to the song "Blue Sky, White Sun, Red

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[124] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), p. 210.

[125] Tong Xiangzhao, "Cong Taiwan xuanshou tanqi" [Talking about the Taiwan athletes], *Zhengyanbao*, "Quanyun tekan" [National Games Special Publication], 11 May 1948, p. 4.

Earth," a drawing of the Guomindang flag, words and music for the "National (Party) Anthem," a drawing of the Three People's Principles Youth Brigade flag, the words and music to their official anthem, a drawing of the official Games banner, words and music to the official Meet anthem (celebrating "New Taiwan's new heroes"), a photo of Sun Yat-sen and a copy of his last will and testament, Sun's famous slogan "The Great Way is that all under heaven belongs to the people," a photo of Chiang Kai-shek, and an inscription by Chiang reminding unsophisticated Taiwanese to "understand ritual, know shame, take responsibility, observe discipline."[126]

During the opening ceremonies, the order in which the 26 teams (of 2369 total athletes) proceeded onto the National Taiwan University grounds was instructive as well. Following the military band and color guard, the first six teams to enter represented Nationalist (and obviously *waishengren*-run) units: the National Defense Forces, Railroad Department, the Police Training Center, the Provincial Political Training Section, the Three Peoples' Principles Youth Corps and the Taiwan Provincial Government Office.[127] Next were three Taipei-based institutions of higher learning: National Taiwan University, the Taiwan Technical College, and the Taiwan Normal College. Then came the county and then the city teams, which were ordered on a counter-clockwise basis around Taiwan (starting with Taipei as 12:00 of course) which almost perfectly followed the general use, value and trustworthiness of these regions to

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[126] *Taiwan sheng di yi jie quansheng yundong dahui*, first 12 unnumbered pages.

[127] The one exception here is the Youth Corps. Zhang Shide, a Taiwanese-born and longtime loyal confidant of Chiang, ran the Corps as his own personal domain, and incorporated into the organization several Taiwanese activists with whom he had worked in the 1920s before moving to the mainland. Douglas Lane Fix, *Taiwanese nationalism and its late colonial context* (UC-Berkeley Ph.D. Dissertation, 1993), pp. 291-296.

the new Nationalist regime sitting at the northern tip of the island.[128] These all-too-clear symbols left little to any but the dimmest or most idealistic imagination about the ground rules of the new Nationalist order in Taiwan.

This same recognition of the overbearing nature of these First Taiwan Games later came to Taipei *tiyu* functionaries as well. By the time of the Second Taiwan Games, the main structure was changed, with the Nationalist-heavy official organizations eliminated from participation as explicit teams, and all athletes split up between 17 geographical units.[129] However, this minor adjustment of late 1947, made one year of Nationalist rule and some 30,000 Nationalist executions after the First Games, did not quite come in time to reassure the local populations of the regime's good intentions. The staging of this meet to conclude a year that saw such merciless brutality on the part of the Nationalists recalls the most embarrassing of the Wang Jingwei-era attempts to use *tiyu* to put a happy face on a stunned and spiteful population. Even a new Games Chairman, Wei Daoming (like Chen Yi before him, also beginning an unfortunate reign as Provincial Government Chair), and the work of a Planning Committee that included two future ROC Vice Presidents (Yan Jiagan and Xie Dongmin) could not make these Games into anything but a farce. The atmosphere was so poisoned by the bloody events of the 1947 spring and summer that even Nationalist-stacked local governments did not even dare to open their pocketbooks to

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[128] The order of the county teams was: Taipei, Xinzhu, Taizhong, Tainan, Gaoxiong, Taidong, Hualian and Penghu. The city teams went: Taipei, Jilong, Xinzhu, Taizhong, Zhanghua, Jiayi, Tainan, Gaoxiong and Pingdong. *Taiwan sheng di yi jie quansheng yundong dahui*, p. 55.

[129] These 17 units were the same eight counties and nine cities that sent teams to the First Games. "Taiwan sheng di er jie quansheng yundong dahui" [The Second Taiwan Provincial Games], p. 11, File 19470000, Second Historical Archives, Nanjing, China.

support the meet. The Provincial Government, originally scheduled to spend only 3 million *yuan* on the Games, ended up having to cough up the full 13,892,260 *yuan* price tag for this futile parade and exercise of a kinder and gentler provincial regime.[130]

Moving away from the political side of *tiyu* in Retrocession Taiwan, the world of physical culture provided opportunities in this civil war period that changed athletes' very lives. During the war against Japan, basketball aficionados in the Army's 16th Division Supply Vehicles Squadron put together an ace team that barnstormed from Chongqing to Nanjing and back after the end of the war. When military higher-ups took a liking to the team led by ex-Olympian Wang Shixuan, the team was adopted by the new Combined Supply Services (*Lianqin*) Bureau of the Defense Department. Not long after the *Lianqin* squad took third place in the 1948 National Games, word came down that a streamlined team would be invited to relocate to Taiwan with the Bureau. Eight lucky players, and their families, were able to leave for Taiwan in 1949 with Coach-Captain Wang, recently promoted to Regiment Commander for his efforts.[131]

The exodus to Taiwan of Nationalist military personnel brought others as well. Li Shiming, who starred in track and field for Manzhouguo and both Nanjing regimes during the 1930s and 1940s, found himself relocated to the Air Force base in Gaoxiong County, with the unit in which he taught physical education. Yu Xiwei, the Dalian native who dominated the Manzhouguo track world, was assigned to the same base where he too continued his work as a fitness instructor for the Air Force. Dong

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[130] "Taiwan sheng di er jie quansheng yundong dahui," pp. 8, 28.

[131] Cao Zhiji, "Wo suo zhidao de Ziqi shiliu tuan lanqiudui he 'Lianqin' lanqiudui" [The 16th Division Supply Vehicles Squadron and Combined Supply Services Bureau basketball teams that I knew], *Sichuan tiyu shiliao* 17 (August 1986), pp. 54-55; Interview with Nie Xiaohu (son of Cao Zhiji, *Lianqin* team member), 1 May 1997, Chengdu, China.

Hanwen, the warlord's son who became a force on the North China track scene in the 1930s, was able, through the influence of his in-laws, to get to Jilong in March 1947 and find a manager's post at the state-run sugar plant in Miaoli. Where Dong would wait a few years to get back into competitive sport,[132] Li and Yu were quickly back at their sporting ways. Yu, after two decades of competitive track, achieved an amazing triumph by winning the men's all-around points championship at the 1948 National Games. Li added further laurels to his extensive scrapbooks when, at age 43, he won the 1500 meter race at the Fifth Taiwan Games in 1950.

Mr. Li was proud to give me an enlarged copy of a photo taken in the winner's circle after his amazing victory, but I have wondered if he has ever seen in the photo what seems so apparent to me. In the picture, Li appears in his Gaoxiong County tank top, a sweatshirt draped around his shoulders to stave off the October chill. We see a Li who, though having aged considerably during his trying wartime years, grins ecstatically as he looks out over the cameras into the Gaoxiong "hometown" crowd. Beside him is young Xie Yuanquan, a college student running on the Taipei City squad, more than two decades Li's junior. Li has his arm at Xie's back, in a supremely sportsmanlike gesture of the graceful winner. But Xie wants no part of this ceremony, as he stares hard, almost malevolently, directly into the camera held perhaps by a friend of Li's. I have never been able to confirm the story that I see in this shot. However, until I learn otherwise, I will continue to see this photo as just one more tale in the bitter story of the Nationalist occupation of Taiwan. No signs point to any untoward contact by Li during the race; rather, his victory was a valiant one, earned with a last-

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[132] Dong went on to found a "Old Horses" basketball squad made up of mainland veterans that became quite successful in the Taiwan organized basketball structure. He still leads the team today at age 87.

second burst from the crowd of runners approaching the finish line. But it is unlikely that young Xie, almost certainly a native resident of Taiwan, understood Li's "steal" in this way. Having gotten to know Mr. Li, I will always think of him as an exception to the stereotype of the Nationalist carpetbagger in Taiwan. But for Xie or other native Taiwanese involved in the sports world of the early Guomindang years, it is likely that few instances could capture their frustration more faithfully than this depiction of the aged Nationalist *waishengren*, worn down by decades of defeat and corruption in his homeland, snatching yet another pearl from the deserving hands of the aggrieved and bitter Taiwanese youth.

The Seventh National Games, 1948

During the spring of 1948, the Nationalists continued to take desperate measure after desperate measure to maintain its increasingly tenuous hold on power in the Chinese mainland. China's First National Assembly had recently met and "elected" Chiang Kai-shek president, despite his effuse protestations to the contrary, and also granted him extraordinary emergency powers for use in the civil war. The Nationalists concentrated great numbers of troops at Kaifeng, the gateway to the railway junction at Zhengzhou, in a last-gasp attempt to offset their crippling losses throughout the rest of northern China. The government issued ration cards for staple items in larger urban areas, but prices, which by June had increased some 700 times in the last twelve months, continued to rise.[133] And China also held its Seventh National Games, a great affair that brought 2677 athletes from all over China to Shanghai.

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[133] Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990), pp. 498-508.

These Seventh National Games continued three important traditions of the prewar national meets. They were originally scheduled to begin on National Day, 10 October 1947. The meet was postponed due to political and financial constraints. And these Games were to carry far more national significance than any normal meet. This festival, which marked the reunification of China, was to be an important step in reminding Chinese of the immensity of their recent (although by then seemingly so distant) victory, and of the glory of the Republic now "ruling" over its greatest geographical expanse in decades. As one observer wrote,

> Now our bondage has finally been cast off. We see Taiwan athletes taking part in the National Games for the first time. The provinces and cities of the Northeast, even amidst the fires and chaos of [civil] war, do not fear danger, and all have sent teams over land and water, from beyond the passes and mountains. Overseas Chinese athletes, and teams from border provinces like Xinjiang, Xikang and Qinghai, all have made long treks to these Games. It is this kind of fervent and enthusiastic emotion that allows us to feel the solid cohesion and the great ties of intimacy that exist amongst those of the Chinese nation-race.[134]

On the surface, there was much for the nationally-minded to be excited about at the Games. The national turnout was quite impressive, with 29 provinces, 13 municipalities, and seven Overseas groups sending teams, which were joined by one police squad and teams representing the four branches of the military.[135] An estimated

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[134] Chen Xunyu, "Ganxiang yu xiwang" [Emotions and hopes], in *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui huakan*, p. 1.

[135] Overseas Chinese communities in Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaya, Saigon, Toronto, Honolulu, and Siam all sent teams to the Games. Famed *Huaqiao* sports figure Chen Zhang'e, in an essay written for the Philippine basketball team, assigned them the "missions" of "gloriously representing the 120,000 Overseas Chinese." and "spreading the word of the sporting spirit among Overseas Chinese." *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui zhixu ce* [Official program of the Seventh National Games] (Shanghai, 1948), p. 17; Chen Zhang'e, *Tiyu mantan*, p. 4.

One team that attracted much attention was the Xinjiang squad of 51 athletes. This group, which took about two weeks to reach Shanghai from Dihua by bus and plane, represented the finest in Republican ideals. The Uighur, Kazakh, Han, Hui, Russian and Xibo races were all represented on the team, which was filled with the finest athletes from almost all areas of Xinjiang (unlike former

average of 65,000 people a day ventured out to Jiangwan from the city center for the meet.[136] The Games schedule also featured the richest selection of competitions ever for these athletes, with new events like ping-pong and wrestling (for men and women), and men's weightlifting and (Western-style) boxing pushing the total to 11 men's and eight women's events.[137] And the media reported endlessly on the new technologies - from *Shenbao*'s own high-tech Games headquarters, to the airplanes used to transport athletes from Xinjiang or Southeast Asia, to the gymnasium electronic scoreboard, to the automobiles driven to the Stadium by spectators[138] - being utilized and shown off at these games.

Those with a taste for dramatic pageantry would have enjoyed the Games as well. The Games, which were also to serve as a means of selecting the Chinese national delegation to the London Olympiad later that year, borrowed from Olympic symbolism with a well-planned torch relay from the capital Nanjing to the Games site at Shanghai.[139] On 2 May, three days before the Games were to begin, a solemn torch-lighting ceremony was held at the Presidential Mansion in Nanjing. Using a copper pot

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Xinjiang teams whose athletes were all from the provincial capital Dihua). Xiao Guipei, "Xinjiang jianguo qian canjia Di qi jie quanyunhui jianjie" [A brief introduction to Xinjiang's delegation to the pre-PRC Seventh National Games], *Xinjiang tiyu shiliao* 1 (1985), pp. 43, 27.

[136] *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui huakan*, p. 61.

[137] The schedule also included nine demonstration events: men's and women's archery, Chinese boxing (*quanshu*, formerly an official competition in the days when *guoshu* was still a nationally-significant form) and badminton, and men's gymnastics, diving, water polo, baseball, racewalking, and mini-soccer. *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui zhixu ce*, pp. 103-117.

[138] Some 30,000 automobiles were parked at the Stadium during the 12-day meet. *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui huakan*, p. 61; Zhongyang dianying qiye gufen youxian gongsi production, "Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui (7th National Athletic Meet of China 1948)," 1948 film.

[139] The modern Olympic torch relay "tradition" was invented by Hellenophile Adolf Hitler for the 1936 Games at Berlin; one is not sure if this irony was ever grasped by Nationalist Games planners.

that had belonged to the late President Lin Sen, and wax left over from the recent War Memorial ceremony at the city's Spiritual Valley Temple, ten torches were lit for the relay. Seven teams of 10 students from Shanghai's Jiaotong University P.E. Department, all dressed in matching white tank tops and shorts and black high-top running shoes, were selected to carry the torches over the 380-kilometer (236 miles) route, which was divided into eight legs. (One lucky member of each team also carried on his back Chiang Kai-shek's handwritten address to the Games athletes, rolled up in a small tube.)[140] Pictures from the torch run show the runners followed on bicycles by government cadres and soldiers with rifles slung over their backs, and several Army jeeps. *Shenbao* even sent a special van to follow this mobile Nationalist ritual on its route through Yixing, Wuxi, Changshou, Taicang, and Jiading.[141] A full-color retouched photograph of these rosy-cheeked torchbearers entering the stadium through an entryway lined with cheering young girls eventually was used on the cover of the official Games pictorial.

However, there were many unfortunate and ugly events at these Games that even these inspiring moments of the Games could not hide. The grandeur of the Opening Ceremonies, with the arrival of the sacred National Games flame, parachute jumps, athletes' procession, and mass calisthenics routines, was ruined for some with the collapse of the front railings of several bleacher sections. Dozens of members of

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[140] Zhongyang dianying qiye gufen youxian gongsi production, "Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui"; Jin Yuliang, "Jiu Zhongguo Di qi jie 'Quanyunhui' kaimushi jiqi tedian" [The Opening Ceremonies and other special events at the Seventh "National Games" of Old China], *Tiyu wenshi (The Journal of Sport History and Culture)* 84 (March 1997), pp. 28-29.

[141] A *Shenbao* cartoon drawing of the inside of the van, showing numerous control panels and men using earphones and microphones, likely thrilled the technologically inclined reader. *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui huakan*, pp. 2-3.

the packed crowd plunged to the ground several feet below, with nine fans (eight men, one woman) suffering serious injuries.[142] The inflation that threatened to paralyze Nationalist rule also made its presence felt at the Games. With 40 billion *yuan*[143] in total expenditures, Games organizers had to rely heavily on ticket sales. But in an economy so racked by inflation, ticket prices ended up being raised twice during the 12-day meet. Choice seats at the stadium that went for only 200,000 *yuan* at the beginning of the meet were sold for 400,000 *yuan* later; the cheapest seats at any event required an investment of 50,000 *yuan* (about US$0.04), a development that one paper called "a violation of sporting principles."[144] And the official Games pictorial published weeks later went for a price of 300,000 *yuan* (or about 8 US cents)!

The overwhelming commercialism of this meet is another reason it has gone down in Chinese sports history as the "Money Games" [*Qianyunhui*, a pun on *Quanyunhui*, "National Games"]. The Asian Beauty Cap Store made a killing selling

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[142] "Silingtai panlan'gan zheduan, guanzhong duodi duo ren shoushang" [Bleacher banister breaks, spectators fall to the ground, many injured], *Zhengyanbao*, "Quanyun tekan" [National Games Special Publication], 6 May 1948, p. 1.

Those in charge of municipal construction, when blamed for the accident, protested that the 40 days and a 2.5 billion *yuan* budget granted them to prepare the stadium for the Games was not enough. Indeed, theirs was not an easy job, considering the serious damage done to the stadium in an explosion of armaments stored there facility in 1946. "Quanyunhui changgong jianlou, Gongwuju zhang you suo shuoming" [National Games stadium construction poor, Public Works Bureau Head has an explanation], *Zhengyanbao*, "Quanyun tekan" [National Games Special Publication], 6 May 1948, p. 1; Shining, "1946 nian Shanghai shi tiyuchang bei hui" [The 1946 burning of the Shanghai Municipal stadium], *Tiyu wenshi (Sports History)* 68 (July 1994), back inside cover.

[143] *Yuan*-US dollar market exchange rates grew from 179,045:1 in January 1948 to 1,167,154:1 in May. Taking 600,000:1 as an average rate over this time gives a total outlay of some US$70,000. Chang Kia-Ngau, *The Inflationary Spiral: The Experience in China, 1939-1950* (Cambridge, MA: The Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1958), p. 314.

[144] "Ruchangjuan yi zai zhangjia, shi you wei yundong yuanze; tianjingchang wan mi jingpao, kantai shang guanzhong huobing" [Ticket prices go up again, a violation of sporting principles; At the track and field stadium during the 10 kilometer run, an open fight breaks out], *Zhengyanbao*, "Quanyun tekan" [National Games Special Publication], 12 May 1948, p. 3.

"Seventh National Games Commemorative Caps" in front of the stadium. However, other small businesses, each of whom paid 30 million *yuan* (US$30) to rent a stall for the duration of the Games, lost money because of the devastating inflation. These small businesses were hurt further by the presence of outfits like the Great Million Restaurant, set up as a promotion for Great Million Cigarettes, which with their great capital could afford to charge a criminally low 80,000 *yuan* for a meal.[145] The most obnoxious commercial force, unsurprisingly, was Coca-Cola, who paid a total of 1.002 billion *yuan* to have

> wooden stalls set up all around the stadium, with their commercial trademark [on flags] at the top of every flagpole fluttering in the wind, the bright red lettering so shocking and disturbing (*chumu jingxin*), and guaranteeing that every single spectator would see it constantly, wherever they went.... People have calculated that there is no way that [Coca-Cola] could make their money back during the ten days of the Games. But this is fundamentally not the point. If nothing else, their advertisements have told us "Worship us and only us."[146]

In terms of imagining the evil invisible forces behind the worsening economic conditions in Shanghai and elsewhere, Coke was it for these commentators who saw these Games as a crystallization of everything that was going wrong in China.

There would be few refreshing pauses during this meet from the other forces that threatened the very basis of Nationalist credibility. Every day, these tens of thousands of fans saw these once-sacred Games become a pitiful travesty of their ideal goals of bringing together the people of a new victorious China to join in friendly competition. Obviously, this ideal itself was flawed, as the press could not help but

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[145] *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui huakan*, pp. 61-62.

[146] *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui huakan*, p. 62.

point and chuckle at some of the strange newcomers to their China. Some reporters wondered why those athletes belonging to "this unique race" from Xinjiang constantly wore their odd caps and long boots even in hot May weather.[147] Others were somewhat repulsed by the dark skin and laughable Mandarin skills of the Taiwan athletes, and explained their surprising successes in the Games by pointing out that as naturally obedient "slaves" they had been trained well by Japanese colonizers.[148]

The shows of disunity on the playing fields were even more disturbing. Athletes from the Northeast, whose arrival was much celebrated (considering their tragic Manzhouguo past and the civil war that raged there now), quickly overstayed their welcome. The Dalian soccer team was disqualified from these and the next National Games after they beat up referee Xu Shaowu for his calls against them in their quarterfinal game with Shanghai. And to make matters worse, Liu Changchun, the ex-Olympian with a checkered collaborationist past now serving as Dalian Delegation Leader, threatened to lead a united all-Northeastern boycott of the Games to protest this ruling.[149] The referees, supposedly the repositories of republican fairness and sportsmanlike virtue, were described by one observer as "martyrs on the field" for all the times they were humiliated and attacked during the meet. Their compensation was

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[147] Jiang Youmei, "Nanjing daibiao wu ren zhaodai, Xinjiang xuanshou mai hao jipiao" [Nanjing delegation without accommodations, Xinjiang athletes have already purchased their (return) plane tickets], *Zhengyanbao*, "Quanyun tekan" [National Games Special Publication], 4 May 1948, p. 1.

[148] "Xuanshou jianying" [Athlete shorts], *Zhengyanbao*, "Quanyun tekan" [National Games Special Publication], 5 May 1948, p. 4; Tong Xiangzhao, "Cong Taiwan xuanshou tanqi," p. 4.

[149] *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui huakan*, p. 22; "Dongbei xuanshou jiang tuichu Quanyun?" [Will the Northeastern athletes all withdraw from the Games?], *Zhengyanbao*, "Quanyun tekan" [National Games Special Publication], 11 May 1948, p. 2. The Northeast was represented by 125 athletes from ten provinces (by the new postwar Nationalist reckoning - Liaoning, Liaobei, Songjiang, Andong, Hejiang, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Xing'an, Nenjiang and Rehe) and three municipalities (Harbin, Dalian and Shenyang). *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui zhixu ce*, p. 17.

criminally meager as well. They received no salary at all, only food coupons of 100,000 *yuan* per meal, which was hardly enough to eat one's fill. (The equivalent of US$0.09, this would have procured two tea eggs and two pieces of bread.) The stress of the soccer Final Four games, designed to be the marquee event of the meet, proved to be too much for the soccer referees as any sense of order vanished. Players on the Air Force team threatened one referee with handguns, and the Hong Kong-Police game turned into a minor riot, with fans clashing with police and security on the field. Finally, the soccer refs walked off their jobs and boycotted the last day of competitions.[150]

This military presence at the Games was an important symbol of the state of Nationalist rule. Many observers voiced concerns about this somewhat overwhelming martial presence, both in terms of the soldiers who worked at or participated in the meet. These concerns had to be voiced somewhat subtlely, of course. One reporter commented that the entry of the "five military teams" (Army, Navy, Air Force, Police, Supply Services) resulted in a serious dilution of talent in the tournament, as they were put together of athletes who would have strengthened provincial and municipal teams.[151] A *Shenbao* cartoonist was a little more daring with his drawings of a "Hong Kong vs. Shanghai" soccer game, which depicted skilled and lithe players attempting to head the ball, and a "Police vs. Army" contest where the physical contact between players made the game look more like a rugby fray.[152] Even a final report on traffic

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[150] *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui huakan*, pp. 59, 62; "Kangyi duiyuan ouru zuqiu caipan ba chui" [Protesting athletes' beating and humiliating, soccer referees put down their whistles], *Zhengyanbao*, "Quanyun tekan" [National Games Special Publication], 15 May 1948, p. 3.

[151] *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui huakan*, p. 20.

[152] *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui huakan*, p. 20.

administration at the Games managed to include a slap at the army: "According to the report compiled by the Transportation Section, statistics show that all the accidents that occurred involved either military personnel or military vehicles. We ask that the authorities of every [military] division will issue strict guidelines on respecting and obeying laws, and will undertake thorough reforms."[153] These concerns most certainly were part of a larger observation about the role of the military and the police in the authoritarian Nationalist state. It was the military whose budgets that bled the Nationalist economy dry, that subjected northern China to more warfare after a decade of Japanese invasion, that soon began massacring demonstrating students and dissidents, and that embodied the worst of Nationalist corruption and cynicism. These images of military violence and authoritarian blundering at the Seventh National Games have surely been stretched and exploited by PRC historians looking for instances of Nationalist *tiyu* depravity. However, by the end of this meet, there was little else (besides commemorative caps and Coca-Cola, perhaps) that sports fans could take from these last Nationalist National Games.

The 1948 Olympic Games

The Nationalists' last significant *tiyu* project on the Chinese mainland was the delegation to the XIVth Olympiad in London. Unfortunately, this Olympic endeavor was carried out with all the efficiency and common sense that characterized the Guomindang's last years in Nanjing.

It is a tribute to the resilience of the Nationalist sporting community to say that

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[153] *Di qi jie quanguo yundonghui huakan*, p. 61.

many individuals had high hopes for these Games. One writer forecasted that the Chinese delegation to the Olympics would

> serve as a means of strengthening friendly relations between China and Great Britain. For, not only will the members of the Chinese Olympic team fulfill their assignment of promoting this friendship through taking part in the sports events but they will also have an excellent opportunity to express China's sincere admiration to the British for their wonderful culture and titanic efforts to recover from the devastation brought about by the war....
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> Finally, China's taking part in the Olympic Games shows that, despite chaos and hardship due to warfare and animosity among political parties and cliques, the Chinese common people are at heart united by brotherly love and harbor no grudge against one another nor against any other people. They have the ability to cooperate and stand together upon any question which affects the honor, prestige and reputation of their country and, in addition, are most ready to participate in functions which are international in scope.[154]

However, it was unlikely that many involved in the planning for these Games could admit to expectations, or even desperate hopes, as bright as these.

China's Olympic planning began in earnest in February 1948, when the CNAAF met and resolved to seek US$50,000 each from Nanjing, sympathetic and wealthy individuals, and Overseas Chinese. The Nanjing connection, despite the repeated pleas of respected CNAAF members Zhang Boling and Wang Zhengting, was predictably unreliable. Three months after the CNAAF's request, the Executive Yuan committed some 5 billion *yuan*, then by market rates worth less than US$5,000, one tenth of the original request! When Nanjing finally coughed up the 5 billion *yuan* on 4 June, this sum could buy only about US$2,500.[155] The CNAAF also turned to provincial

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[154] Hsieh Chang-an, "Development of Physical Education in China," *The China Weekly Review* 110.3 (19 June 1948), p. 84.

[155] Dong Shouyi, "Aolinpike yu Zhongguo" [The Olympics and China], in Ji Hongmin, Yu Xingmao and Lü Changfu, eds, *Aoyunhui yu Zhongguo* [The Olympics and China] (Beijing: Wenshi ziliao chubanshe, 1985), p. 29; Chang Kia-Ngau, *The Inflationary Spiral*, p. 314.

governments when it became apparent that Nanjing could not provide much help. A letter of 2 March, sent from Zhang Boling to Yunnan Provincial Government Chairman Lu Han, exists in the Yunnan Provincial Archives. In the letter, Zhang cites the Olympics as the "most ancient of international sporting traditions," reminds the reader that China's 1930s Olympic delegations "deeply captured international public opinion and respect," and points out that these Games would be the first chance for China to join with its United Nations partners in amateur competition. The letter mentions that some £32,057 would be necessary to send a team, and closes by requesting that Chairman Lu wire a donation of 500 million *yuan* (US$1100) to Shanghai's Xinhua Credit Bank by 10 April![156] Not surprisingly, there is no record that Yunnan's or any other provincial government contributed a single *yuan* to the Olympic cause.

Fundraising among Shanghai capitalists was more successful. In May, basketball fans Zhong Yuting, Gu Qianlin, Gu Jiazhen and Wang Tongyuan each pledged 2 billion *yuan* (US$1600), requesting only to accompany the team as official "advisors."[157] Prominent *Huaqiao* Hu Wenhu, the Tiger Balm magnate and owner of the Singapore (*Xingdao*) Soccer Team, sent his son Hu Hao to Shanghai to negotiate his contribution. His original condition, that all 12 members of his Singapore squad would be named to the 18-man Chinese national team, was obviously inappropriate. However, Hu's second request, that his son be able to accompany the Olympic delegation as another "official advisor," proved amenable to the cash-starved Olympic Committee. Funds supposedly donated from Philippine *Huaqiao* (but later found to be

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[156] "Jiu dang'an li" [Inside the old archives], *Yunnan tiyu wenshi* 3 (June 1984), p. 41.

[157] Zhong was owner of Shanghai's strong Lianhua Basketball Team. Dong Shouyi, "Aolinpike yu Zhongguo," p. 30.

fabricated by Hao Gengsheng in order to maximize his influence during this planning period!) were the deciding factor in ensuring that an Olympic team could be sent to London.[158] Finally, the Olympic basketball and soccer teams departed on pre-Games tours of Southeast Asia to raise one last cache of badly-needed funds.

A limited budget dictated that the Olympic delegation would have to be much smaller than in 1936. A slimmed-down squad of 32 athletes (all men), less than half the size of the 1936 team, was judged to be the largest team that could be sent with the funds at hand. Besides the 18-man soccer and 10-man basketball squads, teams which simply had to go both for their commercial and popular value, only four athletes (three runners, one swimmer) were able to take part in other Olympic events.[159] However, the delegation was also weighed down, and many other athletes' places taken, by 20 other "managers," "advisors," "secretaries," and "assistants," most of whom did very little but treat themselves to the finest of London's accommodations and spend the Olympic period sightseeing about the city.[160]

The delegation, hauling with it tons of food for all the Chinese athletes' meals in an attempt to pinch *yuan*, was well-received in London, honored by invitations into Londoners' homes and a royal reception at Buckingham Palace.[161] However, the Games themselves proved to be another "failure" for the Chinese, who left London, as

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[158] Dong Shouyi, "Aolinpike yu Zhongguo," pp. 30-31.

[159] The team was again joined in Europe by the Chinese-Dutch veteran Olympic cyclist Howard Wing, whose medal hopes were dashed when he was injured in the 1-kilometer preliminaries.

[160] Hao Gengsheng and Wang Zhengting both brought their wives along on their European junket. Jin Yuliang, "Di 14 jie Aoyunhui yu Zhongguo daibiaotuan" [The XIVth Olympiad and the Chinese delegation], *Tiyu wenshi (Sports History)* 65 (January 1994), pp. 45-47.

[161] Gu Bingfu, translated by Xin Yu, "China's Participation in the Olympics (II)," *China Sports* 336 (September 1996), pp. 6-7.

one report pointed out, as one of the 19 nations (of 59 total) not to win a medal.[162] The soccer team, exhausted by their 32-game road trip through Southeast Asia, was eliminated by Turkey, 4-0, in the first round. The Chinese runners and swimmers also went quietly in the early rounds of their competitions.

The one bright spot was the Chinese basketball team, put together of five Shanghai players, one player each from the *Lianqin* Supply Bureau and Navy teams, and two Filipino and one Malayan *Huaqiao* players.[163] The squad, arriving in London with star player Li Shiqiao suffering from a case of the measles contracted in Singapore, was seeded in Group B with the Philippines, Chile, Korea, Belgium and Iraq. The Chinese team did quite well in the Group B round-robin, losing only to the Filipinos and the eventual sixth-place Chileans, beating the Koreans and Belgians, and setting an Olympic record by walloping the Iraqi team, 125-25. Unfortunately, however, the Chinese were one of five teams to finish Group B with a 3-2 record. With luck that only a Chinese Olympic team could boast, the complicated Olympic tie-breaking system determined that the Chinese finished fifth place out of the six Group B teams![164] Stunned by their banishment to the third and lowest consolation round, the Chinese defeated the Swiss and the British, and then lost to the Italian team to finish

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[162] "Woguo canjia Di shisi jie shijie yundong canzao shibai" [Our nation's disastrous failure in the XIVth Olympiad], in *Shuilibu saqi nian qiuji yundonghui tekan* [Special Publication of the Water Conservancy Department Autumn 1948 Athletic Meet] (Nanjing: Shuilibu, 1948), pp. 31-32.

[163] The heavy Shanghai presence was the result of the Shanghai team's having won first place at the 1948 National Games, in accordance with CNAAF regulations. Tang Mingxin, *Woguo canjia guoji lanqiusai lishi* [The history of our nation's participation in international basketball competition] (Taibei: Zhonghua quanguo lanqiu weiyuanhui, 1963), pp. 26-27.

[164] The point-calculation system counted only the points scored in games versus the other 3-2 teams. If the Chinese squad's 100-point victory over Iraq had been included, they would have finished first in Group B and advanced to the Final Eight bracket. Tang Mingxin, *Woguo canjia guoji lanqiusai lishi*, pp. 29-31.

18th place (out of 23) overall despite their final 5-3 record.[165]

The Chinese delegation's problems did not end with these puzzling tiebreakers, however. At some point before the Games were over, Wang Zhengting and other Olympic officials realized that they did not have enough money to pay for the delegation's return plane tickets. Wang began negotiating with Zheng Tianxi, Chinese Ambassador to Britain, and Xia Bingfang, Manager of the Bank of China's London branch, for loans. But Wang's plans to visit Paris before returning to China gave both men pause as to his reliability and intentions. While the Chinese athletes waited in the Olympic Village, the Games long concluded, Wang managed to scrape together enough money for the tickets. A wire of US$3000 from Kong Xiangxi in New York, another sum wired from Calcutta promoters who owed the soccer team money for their exhibition games there, loans from the businessmen/"advisors" Gu Qianlin and Wang Jingchun of US$500 and £150 respectively, and a £100 windfall won by selling the team's leftover food to a Chinese restaurant in London, supplemented by a series of small donations from British well-wishers, finally proved to be enough to purchase the tickets and bring to an end yet another Olympic adventure.[166]

The events of this Olympiad might well serve as an appropriate final judgment of the Nationalist physical culture enterprise, or even as an analogy to their entire governing enterprise, during the civil war period. Game athletic determination that is only foiled by bad luck, poor planning and criminal nepotism might seem like the makings of another bad sports movie. But there are few other ways to describe the

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[165] Tang Mingxin, *Woguo canjia guoji lanqiusai lishi*, p. 31.

[166] Dong Shouyi, "Aolinpike yu Zhongguo," pp. 35-36.

results of this 1948 Olympic delegation and its failed bid to grab some last tiny sliver of glory for the fading Nationalist regime. It was only months before the final curtains fell on the 38-year Republican interregnum. Comparisons to the sports world surely cannot explain the entire history of the Guomindang's final collapse. However, these glimpses at the management of the *tiyu* mission, recognized by all to be a crucial aspect of the cultural war against communism, disorder, and loss of national identity or faith, are telling. Petty factional and corrupt bureaucratic traditions, though again only a part of the story, can and did go a long way in sinking even the most ambitious of states. The brutality seen at the Seventh National Games in Shanghai, and the imperious Nationalist browbeating delivered in the First Taiwan Provincial Games also remind us of other reasons why it was difficult for the Guomindang to keep its hold on Chinese who wished to share in the feelings of victory and peace that 1945 was supposed to have delivered. As the civil war era brought out the worst in Nationalist traditions and habits, so did the *tiyu* enterprise during this period regress into the petty short-sightedness and pathetic tantrums that characterized all we have learned to despise about Nationalist rule in China.

Conclusion

Here I have raced through 11 years of trends, achievements and disgraces that made up the complicated physical culture world of the wartime (Sino-Japanese and Nationalist-Communist) period. I have examined briefly the *tiyu* projects as carried out by not only the Nationalist state in Chongqing and then Nanjing, but also by the Communist soviet and border area governments, and by puppet states accountable to Japanese overlords established in Xinjing and Nanjing. However, as different as life

and governance was in these different environments, I have shown that in none of them did physical culture ever depart radically from models established and popularized during *tiyu*'s important period of development in the 1920s and 1930s.

Finding, to little surprise, that the Manzhouguo and Nanjing puppet states and then the civil war-era Nationalist regime produced the least innovative approaches to fulfilling physical culture's role in the modern nation-state, it also became apparent that the Chongqing and Communist experiences did bring forth some transformation in the *tiyu* projects carried out in these locales. In Chongqing, the exigencies of wartime and the consolidation of formerly opposing or radical camps under unified *tiyu* leadership produced a more consistent Nationalist structure. Not only were the excesses of the militaristic, "national essence" and "elite" sports movements eliminated by the material conditions of the war and the move to Chongqing, but the lack of any greater national *tiyu* constituencies forced advocates of all brands of physical culture to take their disciplines to the southeastern Sichuan masses. A "mass-ized" *tiyu* culture, based on new traditions such as Capture-the-Traitor Mountain Climbing Competitions, popular community baseball and martial arts classes, and National Sports Day celebrations, took the place of the ideologically fractured and inefficient *tiyu* project of the Nanjing Decade. The "triumphant" Nationalist return to Nanjing after the war seemed to make many forget why education and *tiyu* in particular had bothered to undertake this new focus on the masses. But a "mass" precedent was set, where we can see the Nationalist enterprise evolving in ways that, if nothing else, give the lie to notions of 1937 as the end of Republican history.

The Communist Party's physical culture project also gave way to new Chinese *tiyu* models and forms. However, I prefer to see this CCP physical culture not as a

fundamental shift, some far-seeing "red *tiyu*" revolution that foreshadowed later PRC world sporting dominance, but as a series of necessary and practical variations on a strong and almost hegemonic modern *tiyu* theme. My discussion above showed how the basic units of this "red *tiyu*" project differed little from Nationalist efforts in the physical culture world, from the sites of *tiyu* activity and design, to the forms of the sports, exercise and games themselves, to the predictable ideological or propagandistic sheaths which were wrapped around physical culture efforts. The CCP meets were clearly on a smaller scale than the grand Nationalist affairs, but again Communist observers protested too much when they insisted that the prizes of shoes, cigarettes or bullets awarded in CCP meets were fundamentally different from the silver cups and pennants won by vain and "trophy-istic" competitors in Nationalist events. The Red Army did seem to play a new role in the dissemination of *tiyu* forms in the soviet base areas than was ever asked of expected of Nationalist troops in greater China. "Club" and "Lenin Room" systems, each of which provided sports and games at a local level, were a clear example of local penetration and cultural organization that the Nationalists could rarely maintain in such explicit form. However, these *tiyu* adaptations to new CCP organizational models impresses me neither as a fundamental "red" sea change or as some ahistorical omen of later USSR-styled commitment to sporting excellence.

The ideological justifications or outward appearances of the *tiyu* projects in these different wartime environments were as different as the regimes that designed them. But no matter what the color, shine, shape or even taste, none of these apples had fallen very far at all from the Republican-era physical culture tree, by now a sturdy, broad-trunked structure offering shade and shelter to any Chinese attempt to create a strong nation-state based on the strength and discipline of its individual bodies.

EPILOGUE

The People's Republic of China sporting era began on 22 October 1949, just three weeks after the dramatic founding of the new state. A great Beijing Municipal Athletic Meet, planned by the new capital's New Democracy Youth Corps and Education Department bureaucracies, attracted over 30,000 total participants and spectators to the Xiannongtan Stadium over the event's three days. Leading PRC figures like Nie Rongzhen and Ma Xulun, official observation groups from several cities including Shanghai, Taiyuan, and Xi'an, and several Soviet technical experts and embassy staff, all were in attendance at this great "mass-ized ... collectivized ... politicized ... nationalized" celebration of sport and the new nation.[1] Four days later, the new All-China Athletic Federation was formed out of the ashes of the old Republican CNAAF. And *tiyu* was officially praised by this new Communist body for its ability to "develop the working ability of the human body and foster revolutionary spirit ... to give people healthy and energetic bodies ... to train people to be strong and brave and to have the spirit to overcome any difficulty ... to inspire people's flexibility, wisdom and creativity."[2]

Sports and physical culture under the new Communist regime would change greatly with the 1950s importation of Soviet Russian models of training, bureaucracy, and socialist education. However, this official evaluation of the role of physical culture

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[1] Yang Zhengyan, "Xin Zhongguo de di yi ci yundonghui" [New China's first athletic meet], *Tiyu wenshi* 9 (August 1984), pp. 24-25.

[2] "Zhonghua renmin gongheguo tiyu yundong dashiji" [Chronicle of PRC physical culture and sports], *Tiyu wenshi* 9 (August 1984), p. 91; Yue Dong, "Winners or Losers? Women, Sports and Physical Fitness in the People's Republic of China (1950s-1960s)," unpublished paper (1993), p. 4.

in a socialist China should not surprise the reader who has taken in my eight chapters on China's modern *tiyu* project. Nor, odds are, would it have surprised the loyal planners and agents of the Nationalist *tiyu* structure who were safely ensconced in Taipei by this time. One reason for this continuity certainly involves those Nationalist *tiyu* actors who did not flee with the Nanjing regime, but who stayed on to work for the cause of physical culture in a socialist China. Of these there are a great number, the most notable being Ma Yuehan and Dong Shouyi, who moved smoothly from national- and international-level posts and responsibilities under the Guomindang to similar assignments in the PRC.

A more important reason for the continuity between Nationalist and Communist conceptions of physical culture (despite any claims to a uniquely "red *tiyu*") lies in the rock-solid and almost unquestionable national logic of the modern *tiyu* model built during the Republican interregnum. The connections between the modern, competitive nation-state (itself a recent historical invention whose logic few would ever really question) and a self-disciplining, healthy populace that is physically, mentally and morally fit to be a proper citizenry, simply were not in that broad range of categories and conceptions that the CCP sought to change with their grand revolution. The physical culture and sporting project developed during the Republic had problems. It lacked credibility on the elite level of competitive sport - it had never produced a world champion or Olympic medal of any kind. It was insufficient on the mass level as well, as large segments of China's urban and rural populations still never had benefited from these new games and exercises. Many of those who were lucky enough to participate in this new realm were doing so with positively unsocialist attitudes, as they joined in sport for sport's sake, or worse, for the sake of glory and material gain. But few of

modern Chinese *tiyu*'s founding principles would ever come under serious interrogation by the new masters of China.

Nationalist-Communist fighting on the mainland had hardly ceased when the war turned to another vitally important battleground - the Olympic Games. Beginning in 1951, two Chinese Olympic Committees - one representing the Taipei Nationalist regime[3] and encouraged by IOC Chairman Avery Brundage, the other representing Beijing and aided by the Soviet Union - began making their respective cases for their exclusive right to represent "China" at the 1952 Helsinki Olympiad.[4] The IOC, long before formulating their "Olympic solution" which recognized the Republic of China only as "Chinese Taipei," in July 1952 ruled to allow both Chinese teams to join the Games. ROC representative Hao Gengsheng declared that his athletes would never compete in the same Games with Chinese Communist athletes, and announced the ROC's withdrawal from the 1952 Olympics. The coast was now clear for the PRC Olympic delegation, who also had refused to commit to an Olympiad which recognized the old ROC renegades. However, the PRC team only left Beijing on 25 July (perhaps only after ensuring that Taiwan would not send a team), six days after the Games had begun in Helsinki. Premier Zhou Enlai dismissed any who would quibble over such minor details, declaring, "Raising the five-starred red [PRC] flag at the Olympic Games

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[3] Of the 25 members of the old Republican Chinese Olympic Committee, 19 were now on Taiwan serving the Chiang regime. Jonathan Kolatch, *Sports, Politics and Ideology in China* (New York: Jonathan David Publishers, 1972), p. 224.

[4] The PRC's acceptance in IOC circles was apparently greased by the Fédération Internationale de Football Association's (FIFA) recognition of the PRC's All-China Athletic Federation earlier in 1952. Liu Chin-ping (Liu Jinping), *Zhonghua minguo Aolinpike weiyuanhui huiji yanbian zhi lishi kaocha. 1949-1981 (A Historical Survey of the Changes of ROC's Olympic Committee Membership from 1949 to 1981)* (Taibei: Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue Master's Thesis, 1995), pp. 29-30; Brian B. Pendleton, "The Mantis and the Chariot: A Case Study: FIFA and the Football Association of the People's Republic of China," *Arena Review* 3.4 (October 1979), pp. 15-16.

is in itself the victory." The PRC flag was raised, and one Chinese male swimmer able to join a backstroke preliminary race, before the Games ended.[5] And remaining intact was one of the very bases of the modern Chinese *tiyu* project, where inclusion in the sporting rituals of the world community is understood as a fundamental victory for a Chinese nation entering the ranks of modernity.

The PRC-ROC battle for Chinese sporting legitimacy continued for the better part of three decades, although the fracas usually would be characterized more by "worse" than by "better." At the 1956 Melbourne Olympiad, which the ROC joined and the PRC boycotted, an agent working for the PRC pulled off a switch in the Olympic Village flags department. The intended result, the raising of the PRC's red flag upon the ROC delegation's arrival, stunned and shocked the free sporting world.[6] Taiwanese Olympic legend C. K. Yang (Yang Chuanguang) alleges that he was drugged before the 1964 Tokyo Olympic decathlon. Traitorous teammates Ma Jingshan and Chen Jue apparently spiked Yang's game-day orange juice, and then defected to the PRC in just one of many tit-for-tat schemes designed by both sides.[7]

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[5] Liu Chin-ping, *Zhonghua minguo Aolinpike weiyuanhui*, pp. 30-32; *Dangdai Zhongguo* congshu bianji weiyuanhui, eds., *Dangdai Zhongguo tiyu* [Sports and physical culture in contemporary China] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1984), pp. 402-404; Gu Bingfu, translated by Xin Yu, "China's Participation in the Olympics (II)," *China Sports* 336 (September 1996), p. 7; Kolatch, *Sports, Politics and Ideology in China*, pp. 171-173.

[6] However, the ROC was only able to join these Olympics as "Formosa China." Liu Chin-ping, *Zhonghua minguo Aolinpike weiyuanhui*, pp. 38-39.

Interestingly, the PRC's withdrawal from the Games seems to have been due to their reaction to seeing the ROC flag flying atop the Olympic Village standards, and also to their official entry being classified as "Peking China." Kolatch, *Sports, Politics and Ideology in China*, pp. 180-181.

[7] In 1963 Yang had broken the world record and was a sure favorite to win the gold medal, says his friend and fellow decathlete Rafer Johnson. However, Yang finished in a puzzling and disappointing fifth place at Tokyo. Yang says that he only learned of the plot in 1978 from a ROC intelligence agent. "Sports legend alleges foul play," *China Post*, 5 April 1997.

This sporting dispute was so bitter not only because both sides wanted desperately to be recognized as the sole sporting representatives of "China," but because they also held deep and similar faiths in the significance of the Olympic movement and competitive sporting competition for the health and future of their nations.

It should be clear to even the most casual observer that the PRC sporting project has taken Chinese *tiyu* to breadths, lengths and depths that the Republican *tiyu* endeavor was never able to reach. The CCP's commitment to *tiyu* as a reliable agent of health and discipline, Soviet models of training and sports bureaucracy, and the Party's unprecedented reach into local life, all allowed PRC sports and physical culture to eclipse quickly the efforts and records left by the Republican regime. The PRC's explicit politicization of *tiyu*, what John Hoberman calls "Maoist sport,"[8] has provided the greatest justification for those who would see PRC *tiyu* as a radically different entity than its Republican-era predecessor. The Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO), an anti-colonialist answer to the Olympic Games designed largely by Indonesia and China, were a powerful symbol of China's sporting solidarity with and leadership of the Third World.[9] The Chinese commitment to sports diplomacy in courting the underdeveloped nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America seemed a stroke of evil Communist genius to frustrated Western observers.[10] And the weirdly over-sportsmanlike behavior of 1970s Chinese athletes coached to value "friendship first,

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[8] John M. Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), pp. 219-225.

[9] Kolatch, *Sports, Politics and Ideology in China*, pp. 189-201.

[10] While in Shanghai several years ago, I was able to purchase a small Cultural Revolution-era comic book describing this Third World mission. Pan Guoxiang and Sun Yu, *Yinqiu chuan youyi* [Friendship spread by a little silver ball] (Shanghai: Xinhua shudian, 1974).

competition second" unnerved and stymied European athletes who felt mocked by defeated Chinese players' "smiles of exquisite amusement."[11]

However, not all about the CCP's sports project in Mao's day were so odd or new. Official 1950s programs to "rediscover, systematize and raise standards" of martial arts, to organize groups of *wushu* practitioners, to publish books on different martial arts forms, to teach *wushu* in physical education centers and classes, and to hold large-scale *wushu* competitions with the aim of popularizing these "traditional" forms, surely would not have offended even the most dogmatic of Guomindang martial arts advocates.[12] Likewise, early 1950s work to organize a "labor-defense system" of physical culture (after 1952 known in full as the "Ready for Labor and Defense of the Motherland Physical Culture System"[13]) could only have made the old 1930s-era advocates of fascist-style "militarized *tiyu*" proud. Most recently, the 2000 Olympiad bid which flamed out so spectacularly in 1993 was just the latest manifestation (if a much more aggressive and better-planned one) of Olympic dreams of the world's athletes at sport in Beijing, dreamt by Chinese sporting leaders since even before the fall of the Qing!

Sociologist Susan Brownell's work on Chinese sports and physical culture in the 1980s deals with more recent connections between the individual Chinese body and

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[11] Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology*, p. 222.

[12] *China Handbook* Editorial Committee, translated by Wen Botang, *Sports and Public Health* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1983), pp. 48-49.

[13] Kolatch, *Sports, Politics and Ideology in China*, pp. 135-140.

This program came straight from the Soviet Union's GTO "Ready for Labor and Defense" programs first designed in the 1930s. James Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society: Development of Sport and Physical Education in Russia and the USSR* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 128-130.

the Chinese nation, and in particular the notion of "training the body for China." While my work shows that this notion - of training and competing for China - was an important one in the first half of this century, I have also concentrated heavily on how China's modern *tiyu* was more than just this instrumentalist force, but in fact a way for Republican-era Chinese to learn about and live their new nation. Brownell's work does not touch on this theme explicitly. However, one can still see this theme present in many of the physical culture forms and models she discusses. Perhaps most pertinent in this regard is her chapter on sport and "public culture" in the 1980s, when episodes involving budding soccer clubs, the reportage work *Superpower Dream* uncovering the faults of the Chinese sports system, and the great victories of the national women's volleyball team, all allow one to see how Chinese sport is still understood as an important avenue by which to engage with the nation-state and to learn one's role as a modern sports-minded citizen.[14]

Finally, sports and physical culture under the Republic of China state have remained an important priority since its 1949 relocation to Taiwan, as this regime faced similar needs of spreading forms of modern discipline to the island's population while producing athletes skilled enough to win international recognition for the ROC. The most visible area of this endeavor has of course been Little League baseball, a realm which has allowed Taiwanese to navigate an incredible tightrope-walk between memories of Japanese colonialism and the realities of Guomindang-American hegemony in Taiwan. In a tremendous run perhaps unmatched in the history of international sport, Taiwanese teams won ten Little League World Series titles between

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[14] Susan Brownell, *Training the Body for China: Sports in the Moral Order of the People's Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 70-87.

1969 and 1981, and sixteen in the 27-year period from 1969 to 1995.[15]

This success brought a desperately-appreciated sense of victory to Taiwan in a time when its most important ally, the United States, was gradually shunning the island for ties to the PRC. But it also allowed the playing-out of a very complicated jumble of national and racial tensions with respect to relations between "native Taiwanese" and "provincial outsider" populations, as well as between Han Taiwanese and aborigine populations (as many of these top baseball teams were made up of aborigine youth from eastern Taiwan). Taiwanese baseball served as an important table of negotiation during this tense period, a site where Taiwanese could exchange measures of integration for measures of independent expression, measures of "Chinese" identity for measures of pro-Japanese nostalgia, and measures of the martial-law autocratic Guomindang state for measures of an independent Taiwanese culture and society.[16] And in this way, despite the colonial legacy that baseball was, it also carried on the most important of modern Chinese *tiyu* traditions. These young boys from eastern and southern Taiwan perhaps had no idea of the almost century-long heritage that their efforts represented - as their sport became one more realm designed perfectly for teaching, learning and living what it meant to be a fit and active citizen, at all times keeping firmly in mind the interests, status and boundaries of one's Chinese nation-state home.

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[15] In 1975, foreign teams were not allowed to participate in the Little League World Series.

[16] Andrew Morris, "Taiwan Baseball and a Globalized Taiwan Identity," paper presented at the North America Taiwan Studies Conference, University of Texas at Austin, 29-31 May 1998. pp. 9-13.

APPENDIX: TABLES

TABLE 1-1: Physical Education in the 1904 Educational System

Level	Age	Year	Activities	Hours of Total per Week
Kindergarten (*Mengxuetang*)	5-7	1-2	Games	1
Lower Primary	7-12	1	Exercises, Games	3/30
(*Chudeng xiaoxuetang*)		2-5	Above plus Calisthenics	3/30
Upper Primary	12-16	1	Calisthenics, Exercises	3/36
(*Gaodeng xiaoxuetang*)		2-4	Military Drill plus above	3/36
Middle School (*Zhongxuetang*)	16-21	1-5	Calisthenics, Military Drill	2/36
Higher-level School (*Gaodeng zhongxuetang*)	21-24	1-3	Calisthenics, Military Drill	3/36

TABLE 1-2: Qing-Era Physical Education Training Schools

Name of Institute	Location	Founded
Hangzhou Educational Association *Tiyu* Institute	Hangzhou	1904
Military Academy *Ticao* Research Institute	Changsha	1904
Fengtian *Ticao* Training School	Shenyang	1905
Shanghai *Ticao* & Games Institute	Shanghai	1905
Sichuan Chengdu Zaiwu Academy *Ticao* Academy	Chengdu	1905
Songjiang Prefecture Louxian County Study-Promotion Society *Ticao* Institute	Songjiang	1905
Sichuan Higher Academy *Tiyu* Academy	Chengdu	1906
Sichuan *Tiyu* Training Academy	Chengdu	1906
Ticao Training School	Kunming	1906
Chinese *Ticao* School	Shanghai	1907
Fujian Normal Academy *Tiyu* Training School	Fuzhou	1907
Henan *Tiyu* Training Academy	Zhengzhou	1907
Summer Women's *Ticao* & Games Lecture Series	Suzhou	1907
Wang Family Shuren Academy *Ticao* Program	Zigong, Sichuan	1907
Chinese Women's *Ticao* School	Shanghai	1908
Chongqing *Tiyu* Academy	Chongqing	1908
Study-Promotion Society *Ticao* Research Institute	Tianjin	1908
Fengtian Official *Ticao* Training School	Shenyang	1909
Shouzhou *Ticao* Training School	Shouzhou, Anhui	1910
Fujian Provincial *Tiyu* School	Fuzhou	1911
Short-Session *Tiyu* Instructors Training School	Changsha	1911

TABLE 3-1: Physical Education Schools Founded 1920-1927

School Name, Location	Date	Length	Founder (if known)
Chengdu Higher Normal School P.E. Department	1920	2 yrs	Lu Peixuan
Hangzhou Women's P.E. School	1920	1 yr	Wu Wenmei
Shanghai Liangjiang Women's P.E. School	1920	2 yrs	Lu Lihua
Zhejiang P.E. Normal School (Hangzhou)	1920	2 yrs	Cai Juezai
Shanghai P.E. Normal School	1921	2 yrs	Wu Zhi
Yueyun High School P.E. Department (Hunan)	1922	2 yrs	
Zhongshan P.E. Vocational School (Suzhou)	1923	2 yrs	Zhu Zhongming
Fengtian Private P.E. Vocational School	1924	2 yrs	
Shanghai Hujiang Women's P.E. Vocational School	1924	2 yrs	Sun Hebin
Soochow University P.E. Department	1925	2 yrs	Xu Minhui
Southwestern P.E. Vocational School (Chengdu)	1925	2 yrs	Liu Shenzhan
Chengdu YWCA Music & P.E. School	1926	2 yrs	Fu Ziyun
Liaoning Provincial Normal School P.E. Dept.	1926	3 yrs	
National Chengdu University P.E. Department	1926	4 yrs	
Republican University P.E. Department (Beijing)	1926	2 yrs	
Sichuan Provincial Fourth Normal School P.E. & Arts Program (Wanxian)	1926	3 yrs	
Xiachu High School P.E. Department (Hunan)	1926	1 yr	
East China P.E. Vocational School (Shanghai)	1927	2 yrs	Zhang Dongping
Shanghai Chinese P.E. School	1927	1 yrs	Gu Jilai

TABLE 3-2: Independent *Tiyu* Organizations Founded 1920-1927

Organization Name	Location	Date Est.
Changsha *Tiyu* Study Society	Changsha	1920
Chinese National *Tiyu* Research Society	Nanjing	1922
Guoji Study Society	Qingdao	1922
Beijing Elementary School P.E. Research Society	Beijing	1923
Hunan Provincial *Tiyu* Association	Changsha	1923
Jiaozhou-Jinan *Tiyu* Association	Qingdao	1923
Zhonghua Bookstore *Tiyu* for Morality Association	Shanghai	1923
Tianjin Daode Martial Arts Research Society	Tianjin	1923
Gansu Provincial Education Center Recreation Department	Lanzhou	1925
Chinese Educational Reform Society P.E./Hygiene Division	Nanjing	1925
Jimei School P.E. Association (For Research)	Xiamen	1925
Yunnan *Tiyu* Federation	Kunming	1926
Tianjin Municipal *Tiyu* Federation	Tianjin	1927

TABLE 3-3: Physical Culture-Related Book Publication Information, 1920-1927

Place of Publication	Number	Type	Number
Shanghai	91	Martial Arts	35
Beijing	8	General P. E.	33
Hangzhou	3	Sports	30
Guangzhou	1	Calisthenics	24
Changsha	1	*Tiyu* administration	1
Sichuan	1		
Tianjin	1		
Xiamen	1		
Hong Kong	1		
??	1		

TABLE 3-4: Specialized Physical Culture Periodicals, 1920-1927

Name	Type	Run	Publisher
Jingwu zazhi	Monthly	1920-1925	Shanghai Central *Jingwu* Ass'n
Wushu	Monthly	1921	Shanghai Chinese *Wushu* Ass'n
Tiyu yanjiu	?	1921	Nanjing Higher Normal P.E. Dept
Physical Education Quarterly	Quarterly	1922-1923	Southeastern U. P.E. Department
The Chinese Journal of P.E. & Hygiene	Quarterly	1924	Southeastern U. P.E. Department
Tiyu zhoubao	Monthly	1924	Chinese P.E. Normal (Shanghai)
Tiyu zhoubao	Monthly	1927	? (Qingdao)
The Sports World	Quarterly	1927-29	Shanghai Liangyou Printers
Tiyu	Monthly	1927-28,31	Beijing *Tiyu* Magazine Society

TABLE 5-1: 1930 Fourth National Games Participation by Team

Team	Men	Women	Total
Shanghai	141	58	199
Jiangxi	105	52	157
Hunan	115	37	152
Zhejiang	86	39	125
Liaoning	94	29	123
Nanjing	88	25	113
Hubei	82	28	110
Beiping	54	50	104
Tianjin	61	31	92
Guangdong	59	28	87
Anhui	48	31	79
Jiangsu	44	35	79
Hong Kong	65	0	65
Fujian	43	6	49
Harbin	13	6	19
Qingdao	11	8	19
Shandong	14	0	14
Suiyuan	12	0	12
Kobe	10	0	10
Sichuan	9	1	10
Hebei	9	0	9
TOTAL	1163	464	1627

TABLE 5-2: 1934 Public Athletic Grounds Statistics

Province/City	Number	Budget (*yuan*)	Avg. Budget/site
Sichuan*	327	24131	73.80
Shandong	79	22063	279.28
Henan	66	13027	197.38
Jiangsu	61	108211	1773.95
Hebei	59	26840	454.92
Guangxi	57	18879	331.21
Guangdong*	56	19440	347.14
Guizhou*	55	730	13.27
Hunan	49	11121	226.96
Shaanxi	42	5726	136.33
Shanxi	39	4196	107.59
Anhui	31	7706	248.58
Gansu	31	2946	95.03
Fujian	29	24569	847.21
Xikang*	22		
Yunnan	21	34045	1621.19
Jiangxi	16	3550	221.88
Chahar	16	1950	121.88
Zhejiang	10	22497	2249.70
Ningxia	9	1760	195.56
Rehe	8	127969	15996.13
Qinghai	6	95	15.83
Shanghai	6	9792	1632.00
Liaoning*	5	600	120.00
Beiping*	4	120	30.00
Nanjing	2	54	27.00
Qingdao*	1		
Harbin	1	17000	17000.00
Hubei	1	1840	1840.00
Tianjin	1	20000	20000.00
TOTAL	1110	530857	478.25

* 1929 data (1934 data unavailable)

TABLE 5-3: 1934 Jiangxi Athletic Grounds Participation by Occupation (*Jie*)

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Student	243,744	38.85%
Military/police	121,872	19.43%
Children	91,404	14.57%
Merchants	50,202	8.00%
Bureaucrats	33,351	5.32%
Women	22,815	3.64%
Workers	21,351	3.40%
Other	42,585	6.79%
TOTAL	627,324	100.00%

TABLE 5-4: Education Department Summer Physical Education School (Nanjing) Alumni (1933-1934) by Home Province

Province	# Students
Jiangsu	29
Guangdong	16
Shandong	13
Shanghai	11
Hebei	9
Hubei	9
Zhejiang	7
Anhui	7
Hunan	6
Sichuan	5
Fujian	4
Shaanxi	3
Henan	3
Yunnan	2
Guangxi	2
Jiangxi	2
Shanxi	2
Chahar	1
TOTAL	131

TABLE 5-5: Nanjing Higher Normal - Southeastern University - Central University Physical Education Department Graduates and Students by Class and Home Province, 1917-1934

Province	'17	'20	'23	'24	'25	'26	'27	'29	'30	'31	'33	'34	Total	%
Jiangsu	23	7	3	3	8	5	6	5	5	4	4	3	76	41.8
Zhejiang	1	4	4	2	1	1	2			7	2	2	26	14.3
Sichuan				1	2	1	1		9	2			16	8.8
Hunan	5	1	1	1		2		1	2	1			14	7.7
Anhui	2	4			1		1		2	2			12	6.6
Jiangxi	1	1	1		2		1			1	2		9	4.9
Fujian					2				2				4	2.2
Hubei				1			2		1				4	2.2
Shandong					1		1		2				4	2.2
Henan		1					1			1			3	1.6
Beiping									1	1			2	1.1
Liaoning									2				2	1.1
Yunnan			1	1									2	1.1
Guangdong									1				1	0.5
Guizhou		1											1	0.5
Hebei					1								1	0.5
Jilin									1				1	0.5
??									4				4	2.2
TOTAL	32	19	10	9	18	9	15	6	32	19	8	5	182	100

TABLE 6-1: 1933 Fifth National Games Participation by Team

Team	Men	Women	Total
Shanghai	128	58	186
Hunan	125	48	173
Henan	110	63	173
Hebei	111	49	160
Jiangsu	91	62	153
Beiping	108	42	150
Guangdong	99	28	127
Sichuan	89	32	121
Fujian	95	22	117
Nanjing	80	33	113
Jiangxi	68	34	102
Anhui	64	30	94
Hubei	60	27	87
Zhejiang	58	10	68
Guizhou	58	7	65
Shandong	49	16	65
Shanxi	53	6	59
Liaoning	38	9	47
Qingdao	22	16	38
Suiyuan	24	12	36
Hong Kong	23	10	33
Heilongjiang	18	0	18
Harbin	3	12	15
Jilin	13	0	13
Xinjiang	9	0	9
Yunnan	8	0	8
Shaanxi	5	1	6
Gansu	6	0	6
Rehe	6	0	6
Ningxia	5	0	5
Qinghai	4	0	4
Batavia	2	0	2
Philippines	?	?	?
TOTAL	1632	627	2259

TABLE 6-2: 1933 Fifth National Games Results for Men's and Women's Events

Men's Event	1st Place	2nd Place	3rd Place	4th Place
Track & field	Shanghai	Beiping	Hebei	Liaoning
All-around	Shanghai	Beiping	Guangdong	Nanjing
Swimming	Guangdong	Hong Kong	Liaoning	Shanghai
Basketball	Hebei	Shanghai	Nanjing	Guangdong
Soccer	Shanghai	Guangdong	Hebei	Hong Kong
Volleyball	Shanghai	Guangdong	Zhejiang	Hong Kong
Baseball	Guangdong	Hebei	Hong Kong	Beiping
Tennis	Shanghai	Sichuan	Batavia	Hebei
Guoshu	Beiping	Henan	Qingdao	Shandong

Women's Event	1st Place	2nd Place	3rd Place	4th Place
Track & field	Shanghai	Guangdong	Shandong	Henan
Swimming	Hong Kong	Guangdong	Qingdao	Liaoning
Basketball	Shanghai	Guangdong	Hebei	Beiping
Volleyball	Shanghai	Beiping	Guangdong	Hong Kong
Softball	Guangdong	Shanghai	Beiping	Nanjing
Tennis	Shanxi	Sichuan	Beiping	Shanghai
Guoshu	Nanjing	Zhejiang		

TABLE 6-3: 1935 Sixth National Games Results for Men's and Women's Events

Men's Event	1st Place	2nd Place	3rd Place	4th Place
Track	Shanghai	Malaya	Shanxi	Liaoning
Field	Shanghai	Liaoning	Beiping	Nanjing
All-Around	Liaoning	Shanghai	Guangdong	Beiping
Swimming	Guangdong	Hong Kong	Malaya	Shanghai
Soccer	Hong Kong	Malaya	Guangdong	Shanghai
Basketball	Hebei	Nanjing	Shanghai	Beiping
Volleyball	Shanghai	Hong Kong	Guangdong	Malaya
Tennis	Shanghai	Java	Malaya	Sichuan
Baseball	Shanghai	Guangdong	Beiping	Hebei
Guoshu	Henan	Beiping	Shanghai	Shandong

Women's Event	1st Place	2nd Place	3rd Place	4th Place
Track & Field	Shanghai	Malaya	Guangdong	Fujian
Swimming	Guangdong	Hong Kong	Guangxi	Nanjing
Basketball	Shanghai	Guangdong	Fujian	Jiangsu
Volleyball	Shanghai	Guangdong	Hunan	Beiping
Tennis	Shanxi	Shanghai	Nanjing	Sichuan
Softball	Shandong	Hebei	Guangdong	Shanghai
Guoshu	Hunan	Henan	Shanghai	Qingdao

TABLE 7-1: Independent Martial Arts Organizations Founded 1910-1912

Martial Arts Organization	Location	Year
Pure Martial *Ticao* School	Shanghai	1910
Gansu Chinese Pure Martial Association	Lanzhou	1910
Chinese Martial Arts (*Wushu*) Association	Qingdao	1911
Chinese Warriors (*Wushi*) Association	Tianjin	1911
Hunan Changsha Martial Arts (*Guoji*) Ass'n	Changsha	1911
Martial Arts (*Quanshu*) Research Society	Shanghai	1911
Chinese Martial Study Society	Beijing	1912
Swordsmanship Research Society	Beijing	1912
Tiyu Research Society	Beijing	1912

TABLE 7-2: Winter 1934 Men's and Women's Course Schedules, Central *Guoshuguan* (Instruction Section)

Men

Boxing	3 hours	Chinese	2
Bayonets	2.5	Physiology & Hygiene	1
Taijiquan	1	*Guoshu* History	1
Mantis-fists	1.5	Party Principles	1
Xingyi	3	Geography	1
Ape-Back Cudgels	1	Mathematics	2
Short-sword Fencing	1	Military Studies	1
Wrestling	9	History	2
Fencing	4.5	Sun Yat-sen Study	2
Bagua	1.5		
Military Drill	3		

Plus: Saturday afternoon field trips
Saturday evening and Sunday morning lectures on scholarship and morality

Women

Three-power Swords	4.5 hours	Chinese	2
Six-direction Spears	2	Physiology & Hygiene	1
Taijiquan	1	*Guoshu* History	1
Pushing-hands	1	Party Principles	1
Xingyi	2	Geography	1
Ape-Back Cudgels	3	Mathematics	2
Bayi Boxing	1	Military Studies	1
Bagua	3	History	2
Military Drill	3	Sun Yat-sen Study	2
Independent Review	10.5		

Plus: Saturday afternoon field trips
Sunday morning lectures on morality

TABLE 7-3: Fall 1935 Men's and Women's Course Schedules, Central *Guoshuguan* (Training Section)

Men

Boxing	4.5 hours	Chinese	2
Bayonets	1	Physiology & Anatomy	1
Pushing-hands	1	*Guoshu* History	1
Wrestling	4	Party Principles	1
Chinese Boxing	7.5	History & Geography	1
Weaponry	6.5	Mathematics	1
Archery	1	Military Studies	1
Practice with Partner	1	Music	2
Team Sports	1	First Aid	1
Military Drill	2	Physical Education Outline	1
Gymnastics	1	Lectures	1
		Sun Yat-sen Study	1.5

Plus: Saturday afternoon field trips and scientific lectures

Women

Chinese Boxing	12 hours	Chinese	2
Weaponry	10.5	Physiology & Anatomy	1
Taijiquan & Pushing-hands	1	*Guoshu* History	1
Archery	1	Party Principles	1
Practice with Partner	2	History & Geography	1
Team Sports	1	Mathematics	1
Calisthenics	1	Military Studies	1
		Music	2
		First Aid	2
		Physical Education Outline	1
		Lectures	1
		Drawing	1
		Sun Yat-sen Study	1.5

Plus: Saturday afternoon field trips and scientific lectures

GLOSSARY OF NAMES

Aita Inosuke	愛田猪之助	Chen Shichao	陳士超
Bai Baokun	白寶琨	Chen Tiesheng	陳鐵生(笙)
Bai Chongxi	白崇禧	Chen Weiming	陳微明
Bai Chunyu	白春育	Chen Yi	陳儀
Bu Xuekuan	布學寬	Chen Zhang'e	陳掌諤
Cai E (Songpo)	蔡鍔(松坡)	Chen Zhaoying	陳肇英
Cai Juezai	蔡倔哉	Chen Zhenggong	陳正公
Cai Yuanpei	蔡元培	Cheng Hanzhang	程瀚章
Cai Zongxian	蔡宗賢	Cheng Jinguan	程金冠
Cao Zhi	曹志	Cheng Qian	程潛
Chen Baiyuan	陳百元	Cheng Tianfang	程天放
Chen Duxiu	陳獨秀	Chi You	蚩尤
Chen Gongbo	陳公博	Chiang Kai-shek	蔣介石
Chen Gongzhe	陳公哲	Cui Zhiru	崔峙如
Chen Hanqiang	陳漢強	Dai Jitao	戴季陶
Chen Jiageng	陳嘉庚	Dai Ze	戴澤
Chen Jitang	陳濟棠	Deng Zhongxia	鄧中夏
Chen Guofu	陳果夫	Diao Zuoqian	刁作謙
Chen Lifu	陳立夫	Ding Chaowu	丁超五
Chen Mingshu	陳銘樞	Ding Wenjiang	丁文江
Chen Qimei	陳其美	Dong Futing	董福亭
Chen Shi	陳時	Dong Hanwen	董漢文

Dong Shouyi	董守義
Du Tingxiu	杜庭修
Du Yufei	杜宇飛
Duan-fang	端方
Feng Guifen	馮桂芬
Feng Wenbin	馮文彬
Feng Yuxiang	馮玉祥
Fu Baolu	符保盧
Fu Ziyun	傅子筠
Gao Qiu	高俅
Gao Zi	高梓
Gao Zhendong	高振東
Ge Jing'en	葛敬恩
Ge-lei	葛雷
Gu Desheng	谷得勝
Gu Jiazhen	顧家振
Gu Jilai	顧極來
Gu Qianlin	顧乾麟
Gu Yuxiu	顧毓琇
Guo Bingwen	郭秉文
Guo Fengyu	郭風玉
Guo Jie	郭潔
Guo Shaoyu	郭紹虞
Guo Xifen	郭希汾
Han Changli	韓昌黎
Han Fuju	韓復榘
Hao Boyang	郝伯陽
Hao Gengsheng	郝更生
Hayakawa Tômei	早川東明
He Haohua	何浩華
He Long	賀龍
He Siyuan	何思源
He Yingqin	何應欽
He Zhiliang	賀志良
Hu Anshan	胡安善
Hu Hanmin	胡漢民
Hu Hao	胡好
Hu Shi	胡適
Hu Wenhu	胡文虎
Hua Tuo	華佗
Huang Di	黃帝
Huang Qiangya	黃強亞
Huang Yanpei	黃炎培
Huang Zhiduan	黃芷端
Huang Xing	黃興
Huang Xing (Shengbai)	黃醒(勝白)
Huo Dongge	霍東閣
Huo Yuanjia	霍元甲

Inoue Akio	井上昭夫
Iwahara Taku	岩原拓
Jiang Baili	蔣百里
Jiang Jingguo	蔣經國
Jiang Menglin	蔣夢麟
Jiang Shanjing	江善敬
Jiang Xiangqing	蔣湘青
Jiang Xiaoxian	江孝賢
Jiao Xiangzong	焦湘宗
Jin Guidi	靳桂第
Jin Zhongkang	金仲康
Kang Youwei	康有為
Kong Xiangxi	孔祥熙
Li Bailian	李百練
Li Dazhao	李大釗
Li Fengbao	李風苞
Li Fuchun	李富春
Li Hongzhang	李鴻章
Li Houji	李厚基
Li Jinglin	李景林
Li Junfu	李俊夫
Li Lili	黎莉莉
Li Lisan	里立三
Li Shiming	李世明
Li Yuanhong	黎元洪
Li Zongren	李宗仁
Liang Cheng	梁誠
Liang Huasheng	梁華盛
Liang Qichao	梁啟超
Lianshi	煉石
Liao Zhongkai	廖仲凱
Lin Baisheng	林柏生
Lin Boqu	林伯渠
Lin Boyuan	林伯原
Lin Daiyu	林黛玉
Lin Sen	林森
Lin Wangsu	林望蘇
Lin Yungai	林雲陔
Lin Zexu	林則徐
Ling Zhi	凌之
Liu Bannong	劉半農
Liu Bei	劉備
Liu Bocheng	劉伯承
Liu Changchun	劉長春
Liu Min	劉敏
Liu Qingxu	劉清徐
Liu Shaoqi	劉少奇
Liu Shenzhan	劉慎旃

Liu Sijiu	劉思久
Liu Ya	劉亞
Liu Yinhu	劉印虎
Liu Zhensheng	劉振聲
Long Yun	龍雲
Lu Han	盧漢
Lu Lihua	陸禮華
Lu Peixuan	陸佩萱
Lu Shouzhong	陸守忠
Lu Weichang	盧煒昌
Luo Jialun	羅家倫
Ma Hongkui	馬鴻逵
Ma Liang	馬良
Ma Xulun	馬敘倫
Ma Yuehan	馬約瀚
Ma Yufu	馬裕甫
Ma Zizhen	馬子貞
Mai Kele	麥克樂
Mai Menghua	麥夢華
Mao Zedong	毛澤東
Meng Zhuang	孟壯
Nie Rongzhen	聶榮臻
Nie Yuntai	聶雲台
Niu Yongjian	鈕永建
Nong Jinsun	農勁蓀
Noto Tokushige	納戶德重
Ou Jujia	歐煦甲
Qi Yaoshan	齊耀珊
Qian Xingsu	錢行素
Qin Jin	秦晉
Qiu Feihai	邱飛海
Qiu Jin	秋瑾
Qiu Jun	邱濬
Rong Qing	榮慶
Shang Qiyu	商啟宇
Shao Rugan	邵汝幹
Shao Yuanchong	邵元沖
Shen Dingyi	沈定一
Shen Guoquan	申國權
Shen Siliang	沈嗣良
Shi Kefa	史可法
Shu Hong	舒鴻
Shu Xincheng	舒新城
Sima Qian	司馬遷
Situ Guang	司徒光
Song Jiaoren	宋教仁
Song Junfu	宋君復
Song Meiling	宋美齡

Song Qingling	宋慶齡
Song Ruhai	宋如海
Song Zheyuan	宋哲元
Song Ziwen	宋子文
Sun Baoxin	孫寶信
Sun Che	孫澈
Sun Chuanfang	孫傳芳
Sun Cunzhou	孫存周
Sun Diyun	孫迪雲
Sun Guiyun	孫桂雲
Sun Hebin	孫和賓
Sun Jinshun	孫錦順
Sun Ke	孫科
Sun Lutang	孫祿堂
Sun Shan	孫山
Sun Yat-sen (Wen)	孫逸仙(文)
Taixuan	太玄
Tan Sitong	譚嗣同
Tan Wenbiao	譚文彪
Tan Yankai	譚延闓
Tanaka Giichi	田中義一
Tanaka Ryûzô	田中隆三
Tang Baokun	唐寶堃
Tang Hao	唐豪
Tang Shaoyi	唐紹儀
Tang Weizhi	唐蔚芝
Tang Xueyong	唐學詠
Tano Seita	田野清太
Tongzhi	同治
Tsuboi	坪井
Wang Chonghui	王寵惠
Wang Guowei	王國維
Wang Jingchun	王景春
Wang Jingxi	王精熹
Wang Jingwei	汪精衛
Wang Runsheng	王潤生
Wang Shijie	王世杰
Wang Shixuan	王士選
Wang Shiying	王世穎
Wang Tongyuan	王統元
Wang Zhengting	王正廷
Wang Zhuangfei	王壯飛
Wang Ziping	王子平
Wang Ziqing	王子慶
Wang Zuyao	王祖耀
Wei Daoming	魏道明
Wei Yuan	魏源
Wu Bangwei	吳邦偉

Wu Demao	吳德懋
Wu Guozhen	吳國楨
Wu Tiecheng	吳鐵城
Wu Tingfang	伍廷芳
Wu Weizhen	吳維楨
Wu Wenmei	武問梅
Wu Yunrui	吳蘊瑞
Wu Zhi	吳志
Wu Zhifu	吳摯甫
Wu Zhihui	吳稚暉
Wu Zhiqing	吳志青
Wu Zhongxin	吳忠信
Xia Bingfang	夏秉方
Xia Shufu	夏樹福
Xiang Shaohong	向紹洪
Xiang Ying	項英
Xiao Qin	蕭芹
Xiao Yaonan	蕭耀南
Xiaozong	孝宗
Xie Dongmin	謝東閔
Xie Yuanquan	謝淵泉
Xu Chengji	許承基
Xu Minhui	許民輝
Xu Shaowu	徐紹武
Xu Teli	徐特立
Xu Yandong	徐延棟
Xu Yibing	徐一冰
Xu Yusheng	許禹生
Xuanzong	玄宗
Xue Ziliang	薛子良
Yamamoto Tadaoki	山本忠興
Yan Fu	嚴復
Yan Jiagan	嚴家淦
Yan Xishan	閻錫山
Yan Xiu	嚴修
Yan Yuan	顏元
Yang Cheng	楊晟
Yang Chuanguang	楊傳廣
Yang Sen	楊森
Yang Shaochuan	楊少川
Yang Xianjiang	楊賢江
Yang Xiaochuan	楊小川
Yang Xiuqiong	楊秀瓊
Yang-Liu Gufang	楊劉谷芳
Yang-Tian Hengqiu	楊田衡秋
Yao Chanbo	姚蟾伯
Ye Jianying	葉劍英
Yu Fengzhi	于鳳至

Yu Hanmou	余漢謀
Yu Rizhang	于日章
Yu Xiwei	于希渭
Yu Youren	于右任
Yuan Baozhu	遠葆珠
Yuan Dunli	袁敦禮
Yuan Shikai	袁世凱
Yue Fei	岳飛
Yun Daiying	惲代英
Zeng Biao	曾飆
Zeng Guofan	曾國藩
Zhan Tianyou	詹天佑
Zhang Aiping	張愛萍
Zhang Baixi	張百熙
Zhang Baochen	張寶琛
Zhang Boling	張伯苓
Zhang Dongping	張東屏
Zhang Guotao	張國燾
Zhang Jian	張謇
Zhang Jiwu	章輯五
Zhang Renjun	張人駿
Zhang Shouren	張壽仁
Zhang Shusheng	張樹聲
Zhang Taiyan	章太炎
Zhang Tianlang	章天浪
Zhang Xueliang	張學良
Zhang Xueshi	張學詩
Zhang Yu	張裕
Zhang Yuan	張遠
Zhang Yufang	張毓芳
Zhang Yuying	張毓英
Zhang Zhidong	張之洞
Zhang Zhijiang	張之江
Zhao Yuanren	趙元任
Zheng Tianxi	鄭天錫
Zheng Zhenwen	鄭貞文
Zhong Yuting	鍾玉亭
Zhou Changxing	周長星
Zhou Dawen	周大文
Zhou Enlai	周恩來
Zhou Jiaqi	周家騏
Zhou Xisan	周錫三
Zhou Zuoren	周作人
Zhu De	朱德
Zhu Liang	朱亮
Zhu Zhixin	朱執信
Zhu Zhongming	朱重明
Zuo Zongtang	左宗棠

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Aifoluo	愛佛羅
Asahi Shinbun	朝日新聞
baduanjin	八段錦
baguaquan	八卦拳
bahe	拔河
baida	白打
banyuqiu	板羽球
baquan	八拳
batuanjin	八團錦
bibang	彼邦
bingcao	兵操
bingfu	病夫
bingtai mei	病態美
bingxi	冰嬉
bingzhe	病者
bingzheng	病癥
bunka	文化
caoyan	操演
Chang'an jun	常安軍
Changjie jun	常捷軍
chise tiyu	赤色體育
chongtu	衝突

Chongyang	重陽
Chuannan lianhe yundonghui	川南聯合運動會
Chu cai Jin yong	楚材晉用
Chudeng xiaoxuetang	初等小學堂
chuiniu jiangshi	吹牛將士
chuiwan	捶丸
chulei bacui	出類拔萃
chumu jingxin	觸目驚心
cuju	蹴踘
cuqiu	蹴球
Dadong shuju	大東書局
dafantong	大飯桶
Dagongbao	大公報
dahui	大會
Damojian	達摩劍
Dang zheng jun xue tiyu cujinhui	黨政軍學體育促進會
daoyan	導言
Datongbao	大同報
Datong shu	大同書
dawo	大我
da xia hun	大俠魂
Daiakan	大亞環
de zhi ti sanyu	德智體三育
Dengzhou wenhuiguan	登州文會館

Di ba ci guohuo zhanlanhui	第八次國貨展覽會
Di san ci quanguo yundong dahui	第三次全國運動大會
Di yi ci quanguo lianhe yundonghui	第一次全國聯合運動會
dianbao	電報
ding	鼎
dong	動
Dongbei tiyu xiejinhui	東北體育協進會
Dongfang ba daxue yundonghui	東方八大學運動會
dongfang bingfu	東方病夫
Dongfang zazhi	東方雜誌
dong sheng	東省
dong tequ	東特區
Dongwu daxue	東吳大學
Dong Ya bingfu	東亞病夫
duanlian zhuyi	鍛煉主義
Duanwujie	端午節
ducao guan	督操官
duiqiu	隊球
Dujunshu wushudui	督軍署武術隊
duo zi duo sun zhuyi	多子多孫主義
dutong	都統
duxue	督學
fabi	法幣
fanlie	凡例

fan tiyu	反體育
fei tiyu	非體育
fengjian buluo	封建部落
fengshui	風水
Fujian tiyu tongxun	福建體育通訊
fuli	福利
fuwei	輔衛
ganqing lianluo	感情聯絡
Gaodeng xiaoxuetang	高等小學堂
Gaodeng zhongxuetang	高等中學堂
gaoji di yi lei	高級第一類
gexin	革新
gonggong tiyuchang	公共體育場
gongli	公曆
Gongnong duben	工農讀本
gou'an	苟安
gouqiu	鉤球
Guangfu	光復
guanjiao	摜跤
guanshu	灌輸
gudai tiyu	古代體育
guidao zhuyi	鬼道主義
guizuhua	貴族化
gunshu	棍術

guo	國
guocao	國操
guocui tiyu	國粹體育
guohua	國華
guohuo	國貨
guoji	國技
guojia	國家
Guokao	國考
guoli	國歷
guomin bisai	國民比賽
guomin de yundong	國民的運動
Guomin tiyu jikan	國民體育季刊
Guomin tiyu shu	國民體育署
guominxing	國民性
guomin youxi	國民游戲
guomin zhi shangwu jingshen	國民之尚武精神
guoqing	國情
guoshi	國士
Guoshu yanjiuguan	國術研究館
guowen	國文
guowu	國武
Guowu huiyi	國務會議
Guoyu duben	國語讀本
guozu	國族

guyou	固有
hanwei	捍衛
Hanwen chuanxisuo	漢文傳習所
Hanyu pinyin	漢語拼音
haoshang	好尚
helihua de xiuxi	合理化的休息
Hexing	和興
hongburang	紅不讓
Hongchang	紅場
hongse tiyu	紅色體育
Hongse Zhonghua	紅色中華
Hongxian	洪憲
hua	華
Huabei	華北
Huabei yundonghui	華北運動會
Huabei Zhi	華北直
Huadong Su	華東蘇
Huanan	華南
huanqiu da yundonghui	寰球大運動會
Huazhong E Wenhua	華中鄂文華
Huazhong yundonghui	華中運動會
Hubao	滬報
Huguo yundong	護國運動
Hunan guanbao	湖南官報

jiadeng	甲等
jianchashi	監察使
Jianguo jiaoyu	建國教育
Jiangnan daxue tiyuhui	江南大學體育會
jiangpin zu	獎品組
jiankang mei	健康美
jianshencao	健身操
jianshen jiuguo	健身救國
jianxian	劍仙
jiaolian	教練
jiaoxi jiyi	教習技藝
jiaoyuan	教員
Jiaoyu tongxun	教育通訊
Jiao yu xue	教與學
Jiaoyu yu rensheng	教育與人生
jie	界
jieji guannian	階級觀念
jiji	技擊
Jijibu	技擊部
jijin	急進
jijishu	技擊術
jinbiao zhuyi	錦標主義
Jin-Cha-Ji	晉察冀
jing	靜

Jingshi daxuetang guanxue dachen	京師大學堂管學大臣
Jingwu	精武
Jingwu tiyuhui	精武體育會
jingzheng	競爭
jinhua zhi mu	進化之母
jin-meng-na-zhi-an	津蒙那知安
jiren	吉韌
jishu	技術
jiti	機體
jiuwang shi	救亡室
jiyong	技勇
jûdô	柔道
jue	爵
jueji	絕技
juewu	覺悟
Julebu	俱樂部
jun guomin	軍國民
jun guomin tiyu	軍國民體育
jun guomin zhi jiaoyu	軍國民之教育
jun guomin zhuyi	軍國民主義
junguo zhuyi	軍國主義
junxun	軍訓
junzi de jingshen	君子的精神
junzi haoran	君子浩然

junzi zhi zheng	君子之爭
juzi	鉅資
kai-mai-la	開麥拉
kaozheng	考證
kelikoutuo	克立扣脫
Kôseishô	厚生省
leitai	擂臺
li	力
lianghao fenzi	良好分子
lianshenyuan	練身院
Lianqin	聯勤
Liantai	聯泰
Liening shi	列寧室
liqun	利群
liuwang xuanshou	流亡選手
lixue	理學
Lizhi she	勵志社
lunzhu	論著
luohou	落後
maocai	毛菜
Meiji Jingû	明治神宮
meiri de mianbao	每日的麵包
men	門
Mengxuetang	蒙學堂

Minnan tiyu lianhehui	閩南體育聯合會
Minzhengting	民政廳
minzhong tiyu	民眾體育
minzhong zhi jiankanglü	民眾之健康率
minzoku	民族
minzu	民族
minzu tige	民族體格
minzu tizhi	民族體質
minzu zhuyi	民族主義
modeng nülang	摩登女郎
mu	畝
muyecha	母夜叉
nan Cheng bei Liu	南程北劉
nanquan	南拳
nanren shan yong	南人善泳
neidiren	內地人
neimu	內幕
Nichinichi Shinbun	日日新聞
nong	農
nüxing taotai	女性淘汰
nüxing zhishu	女性指數
OuMei ren	歐美人
paiqiu	排球
pingminhua	平民化

pingmin zhuyi	平民主義
Pingyingtuan	平英團
po quanguo	破全國
puji	普及
qiangqiu	搶球
qianqian wanwan	千千萬萬
Qianyunhui	錢運會
qiangshu	槍術
qigong	氣功
qili	氣力
Qingmingjie	清明節
Qingnian shihua	青年實話
qipao	旗袍
qiu	球
quan	權
quanfei	拳匪
Quanguo xuexiao qufendui di yi ci tiyu tongmenghui	全國學校區分隊第一次體育同盟會
quanguo xin	全國新
quanjiao	拳腳
quanjie duilian	勸戒對聯
quanshi	拳師
quanshu	拳術
quanyi	拳藝

quanyong	拳勇
Quanyunhui	全運會
qun	群
qunxing	群性
ren'ai	仁愛
ren buru ma, qiu buru dao	人不如馬，球不如刀
rendao zhuyi	人道主義
renlei zhi genben	人類之根本
renmin	人民
renti yundongxue	人體運動學
Riben yanjiu	日本研究
rouruan ticao	柔軟體操
saipao	賽跑
san gongsi	三公司
Sanmin zhuyi yu shijie datong	三民主義與世界大同
saotuiquan	掃腿拳
seiji	政治
Shaan-Gan-Ning	陝甘寧
Shan pu ying	善扑營
Shanghai Dongya tiyu xuexiao	上海東亞體育學校
Shang Qingdi er shu	上清帝二書
shangwu jingshen	尚武精神
Shaolin	少林
Shaonian xianfeng	少年先鋒

Shaonian xianfengdui	少年先鋒隊
Shedehui	射德會
shehui kongzhi	社會控制
shehui quanti	社會全體
shehui tili	社會體力
shehui tiyu	社會體育
Shenbao	申報
shengchanhua	生產化
Shengjing shibao	盛京時報
shenquan	神拳
shenti de zuzhi	身體的組織
shenti jiaoyu	身體教育
shenti zuzhi	身體組織
shenxin	身心
shi	士
Shibao	時報
shidao	視導
Shijie tiyushi gangyao	世界體育史綱要
shiwu gu baogao	事務股報告
shoubo	手搏
shu	術
shuaijiao	率角
shuitu bufu	水土不服
shuyu	術語

Sichuan wushi zonghui	四川武士總會
sumô	相撲
suqing feihuo	肅清匪禍
taiiku	体育
taijicao	太極操
taijiquan	太極拳
taisô	體操
taju	踢鞠
tantui	潭腿
ti	體
Tianjin daxuetang	天津大學堂
ticao	體操
ticaojie	體操界
ticaoshu	體操術
Ticao yiming	體操譯名
Ticao zhuanxiuke	體操專修科
tici	體詞
tidenghui	提燈會
tige jiancha	體格檢查
tili	體力
tiqiu	踢球
tiyu	體育
tiyujia	體育家
Tiyu jie	體育節

Tiyu jikan	體育季刊
tiyushi	體育史
Tiyu shiyan qu	體育實驗區
Tiyuxue	體育學
Tiyu yu jiankang jiaoyu	體育與健康教育
Tiyu zazhi	體育雜誌
Tongwenguan	同文館
tongzhi	同志
tongzhi	統制
tongzhizhe	統制者
touhu	投壺
tu	土
undô	運動
undôkai	運動會
waishengren	外省人
Wanmu caotang	萬木草堂
wangguo nu	亡國奴
wangguo wanyi	亡國玩藝
wang le	亡了
wansui	萬歲
Weimei	維梅
wen	文
wenhua	文化
wenruo	文弱

wenyi	文藝
Women Zhongguoren	我們中國人
Wo neng bi ya	我能比呀
wu	武
Wudang	武當
wu de youxi	武的游戲
wuguan	武館
wu he zhi zhong	烏合之眾
wuhua	武化
wu jiu	五九
Wuning	吳寧
Wushi	武士
wushu	武術
wu teshi	五特使
wuyi	武藝
Wu-Yue chunqiu	吳越春秋
wuzhuang wu xiang yundong	武裝五項運動
Xia	夏
xiaobang	小邦
Xibei yundonghui	西北運動會
xin	心
Xin Chongqing	新重慶
Xingdao	星島
xingyi	行意

Xinminbao	新民報
Xinxin	新新
xuanshou zhi	選手制
xuewen	學問
yadan	鴨蛋
yakyû	野球
yang	洋
yang	陽
yangcao	洋操
yangnu	洋奴
yangqiang dui	洋槍隊
yang-tu	洋土
yanshuoci	演說辭
yaojing	妖精
yapo	壓迫
yapozhe	壓迫者
yeqiu	野球
yewai bangqiu	野外棒球
yeyu yundong	業餘運動
yingyou	應有
yiqi yongshi	意氣用事
Yiqunbao	益群報
yiwei	翊衛
yong	用

youse renzhong	有色人種
youxian youqian	有閑有錢
Yufan	裕繁
yun	運
yundong	運動
yundong chengji jilu	運動成績紀錄
yundonghui	運動會
yundong jianjiang	運動健將
yundong pinxing	運動品性
yundong pinxing ziping jilu	運動品性自評紀錄
yundong xiaoshuo	運動小說
yundongyuan shici	運動員誓詞
yundongyuan timing	運動員題名
Yunnan ribao	雲南日報
yuzhong	育種
zaji	雜技
Zangwen chuanxisuo	藏文傳習所
zhandou zhi jingshen	戰鬥之精神
Zhanguo	戰國
zhaodai zu	招待組
zhaopai	招牌
zhengdang	正當
Zhengyibao	正義報
zhengzhi	政治

Zhongguo jianxueshe	中國健學社
Zhongguo minxing	中國民性
Zhongguo wushu	中國武術
Zhongguo xin ticao	中國新體操
Zhonghua quanguo tiyu xiejinhui	中華全國體育協進會
Zhonghua shuju	中華書局
Zhonghua tiyu xiehui	中華體育協會
Zhonghua xin wushu	中華新武術
Zhonghua yeyu yundong lianhehui	中華業餘運動聯合會
Zhongxuetang	中學堂
Zhongyang guoshuguan	中央國術館
Zhongyang ribao	中央日報
Zhongyang tiyuchang	中央體育場
zhuangshi	壯士
Zhuangzi	庄子
zhuti	主體
zhuyihua	主義化
zijue	自覺
ziqixin	自啟心
Zongli	總理
Zuozhuan	左傳

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